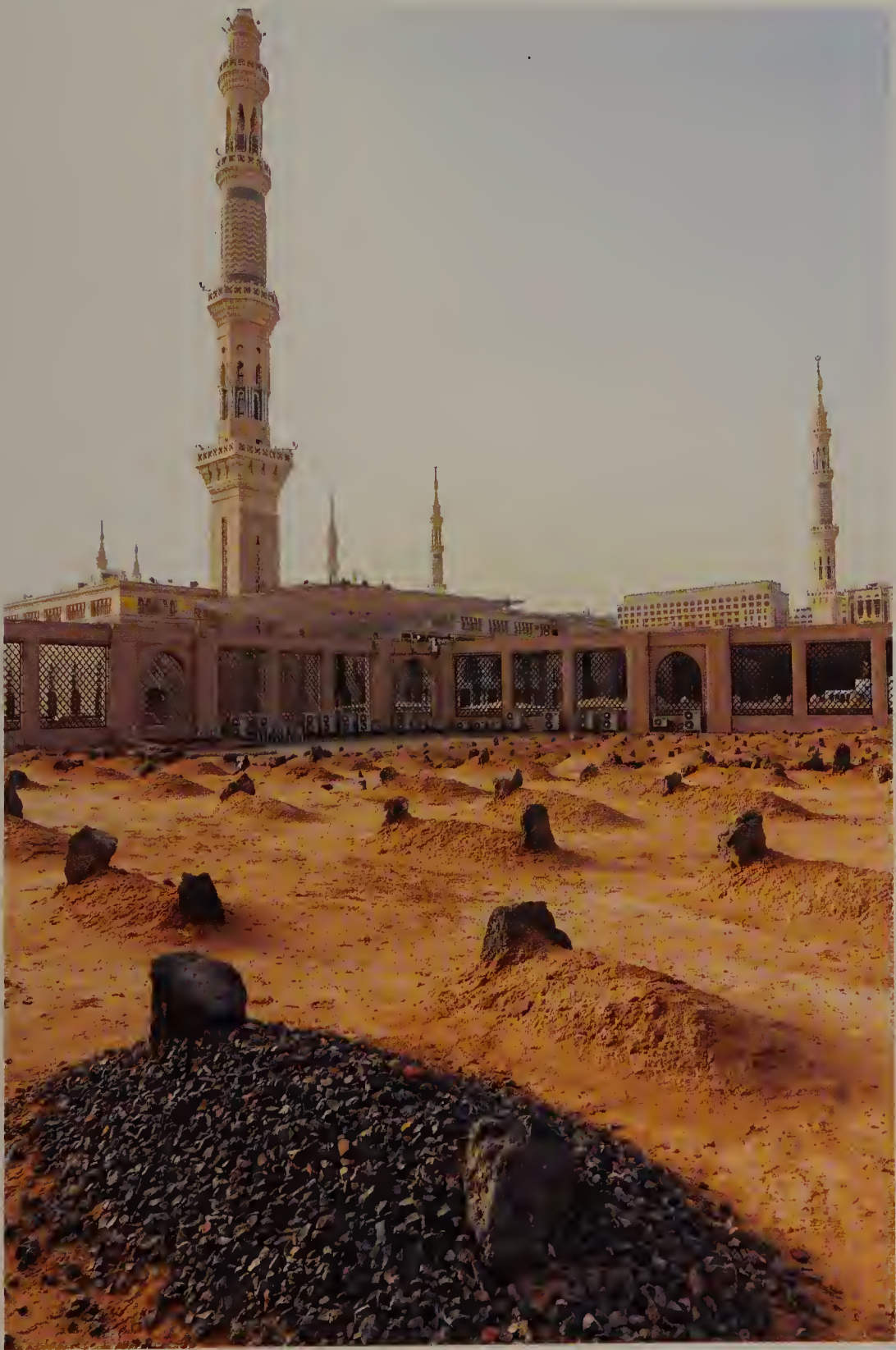


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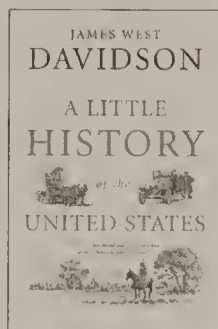
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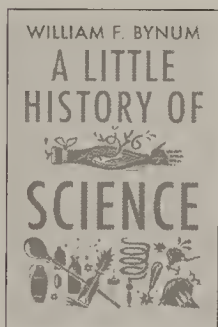


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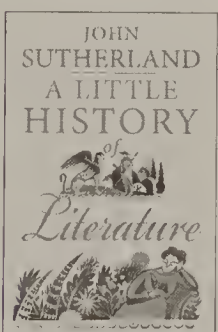


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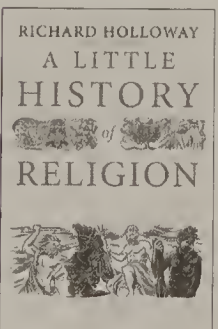


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Cover Illustration: The Baqi' Cemetery in Medina with a view of the Prophet's Mosque, 2015. iStock.com/Mawardi Bahar. In 1926, Ibn al-Sa'ud 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Sa'ud ordered his forces to destroy the Baqi' and Mu'alla cemeteries in Medina and Mecca. The destruction at al-Baqi' caused particular anguish among Muslims around the world because of the many descendants and companions of the Prophet who were buried there. For years, their tombs had been the object of veneration and devotion during the annual Hajj to Mecca, based on the belief that the dead could hear the prayers and entreaties of the faithful. Their demolition marked the onset of a new type of politics that did not allow the commingling of the living and the dead. The holy cities had been captured by Ibn al-Sa'ud the previous year in his quest for control of western Arabia. As a result, his government was now responsible for managing the Hajj. The religious significance of this pilgrimage is well known, but in "Governing the Living and the Dead: Mecca and the Emergence of the Saudi Biopolitical State," John M. Willis demonstrates the important role it played in the development of a modern form of government in what became the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. By tending to both the physical and the spiritual health of the pilgrims, the Saudi authorities articulated a new form of sovereignty that was intimately concerned with life and death. The result was the emergence of an understanding of life in its physical and spiritual capacities that could be actively governed by the state.

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In This Issue

The April issue includes an *AHR* Forum on a digital project in which novel mapping techniques are used to track eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British architects on the “Grand Tour” in Italy. There are also articles on suicide in early Latin America, biopolitics in Saudi Arabia, and the mobilization of young people in Japanese-occupied Taiwan during the Second World War. Six featured reviews are followed by our extensive book review section. “In Back Issues” calls readers’ attention to issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

In “Fatal Differences: Suicide, Race, and Forced Labor in the Americas,” **Marc A. Hertzman** examines the relationship between race and suicide in Latin America and the Western Hemisphere more broadly. He shows how ideas about suicide helped generate and reinforce multiple forms of racial difference, and how colonial ideas survived long after independence and the abolition of slavery, often in new forms. The extant historiography on suicide emphasizes moral, religious, and medico-legal responses to self-destruction. Less attention has been paid to race or to the brutal fact, widely acknowledged (though rarely discussed in depth) by scholars of slavery, that forced servitude also made suicide a quintessentially economic issue—a threat to production and to planters’ and traders’ bottom line. As slavery and forced labor became part of dominant global value systems that determined who counted as human, Hertzman argues, the choice to end one’s own life became a means for making that determination. Eventually, exceptional stories of heroic suicide by native or black martyrs became incorporated into national narratives. That process, however, depended on the decoupling of self-destruction and economic production, which helped turn acts once seen as threats to colonial foundations into stories of sacrifice and national birth. Over time, and despite significant changes, suicide continued to function as a durable marker of racial differentiation.

A concern with “bare life” is also the theme of “Governing the Living and the Dead: Mecca and the Emergence of the Saudi Biopolitical State” by **John M. Willis**. Between 1924 and 1925, the armies of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. al-Sa‘ud captured the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, consequently assuming the responsibility of the annual Hajj pilgrimage. Although the religious significance of these events has long been recognized, their importance to the emergence of modern government in what became the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has often not been recognized. Willis contends that the management of the pilgrimage was critical to the articulation of a new form

of government that took as its object life itself, or what Michel Foucault called “biopolitics.” With the annual influx of thousands of pilgrims from across the globe, the Saudi authorities erected a public health administration to tend to the pilgrims’ physical needs while simultaneously creating a religious administration that saw to their spiritual health. The result was the emergence of an understanding of life in its physical and spiritual capacities that could be actively governed by the state.

From state authorities’ concern with a population’s health and well-being, we move to a different set of concerns in a very different context. In “Between ‘Rural Youth’ and Empire: Social and Emotional Dynamics of Youth Mobilization in the Countryside of Colonial Taiwan under Japan’s Total War,” **Sayaka Chatani** takes us deep into a little-known chapter related to the Second World War. Between 1937 and 1945, hundreds of thousands of (especially rural) young men in colonial Taiwan embraced Japanese imperial nationalism and even sought to become volunteer soldiers. There was, in fact, a “volunteer fever” across the island, an aspect of the frantic ideological mobilization of Japan’s wartime empire. By examining the grassroots process of imperial youth mobilization in the Taiwanese countryside, Chatani explains the social and emotional mechanisms of ideological indoctrination. She argues that Taiwan’s case is analytically useful because while Japan’s wartime mobilization was comparable to that of other totalitarian regimes, its colonial setting allows us to trace the rapidly changing nature of state-society interactions. Chatani’s article emphasizes the centrality of social contexts, tensions, and relationships, including collective emotions generated within them, in determining the processes and results of ideological indoctrination. This approach, she concludes, expands the scope of “everyday history” and opens up new terrain in studies of totalitarian mobilization.

The *AHR* Forum, “Digital History: Mapping the Republic of Letters,” begins with an introductory essay collectively authored by **Dan Edelstein, Paula Findlen, Giovanna Ceserani, Caroline Winterer, and Nicole Coleman**. In “Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project,” they introduce the larger project out of which this forum grew. For the past nine years, the authors, along with other scholars, have been exploring the limits and possibilities of computation and visualization for studying early modern correspondence whose massive and dispersed character has long challenged students. They have been guided by several questions: Beyond cliometrics, what new ways of discovery and analysis do today’s Big Data offer? What can we learn by visualizing the archives and databases that are increasingly accessible and viewable online? What might the next research steps be, as linked data rapidly develops further possibilities? In a variety of case studies focusing on metadata (in the letters of Locke, Kircher, Franklin, and Voltaire and the journeys of the Grand Tour), they have experimented with visualizations to produce maps of the known and unknown quantities in their datasets, and to represent intellectual, cultural, and geographical boundaries.

The featured article in this forum demonstrates an example of the fruits of the Mapping the Republic of Letters project. In “British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy:

The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture,” **Giovanna Ceserani, Giorgio Caviglia, Nicole Coleman, Thea De Armond, Sarah Murray, and Molly Taylor-Poleskey** draw on a dynamic digital database of eighteenth-century British travelers in Italy. They offer a case study focused on British architects to demonstrate the potential of digital resources for historical research. Based on the entries in John Ingamells’s *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy, 1701–1800* (1997)—which covers the itineraries and lives of more than five thousand travelers—their project adds a new richness and granularity to the understanding of the “Grand Tour,” an extended tour of Europe undertaken by British aristocrats as part of their education. The authors show what these tours actually consisted of and what they did for British architects in Italy and beyond. The article depicts patterns of places visited, of funding, and of social and professional gains and interactions, and thus shows a history of architecture that goes beyond the influence of Italian architectural models on British thought and design. This approach to the Grand Tour reveals the transformation of “architecture” from a gentlemanly passion and artisanal craft into a modern profession and discipline. By indicating some of the ways in which the Grand Tour served this transformation, the authors also suggest the broader promise of their project’s digital approach for scholars of various interests.

In “Reading the Grand Tour at a Distance: Archives and Datasets in Digital History,” **Jason M. Kelly** takes the essay by Ceserani et al. as a point of departure from which to examine the limits and potentials of digital history, especially as it relates to the construction of archives and digital datasets. Through a critical reading of the sources used to create the Grand Tour Project, he shows how datasets can both hide and embody hierarchies of power. Comparing the Grand Tour Project to other digital projects currently in production, such as *Itinera* and *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, Kelly offers suggestions for alternative readings of the Grand Tour narrative. He concludes by summarizing a series of challenges faced by historians as they contemplate best practices for creating and maintaining digital datasets in the twenty-first century.

June’s issue will include articles on Roma migration in the Habsburg Empire, slavery and emancipation in the Caribbean, China’s history of foreign relations, political policing in the U.S. and the UK, and global heritage sites in the twentieth century.

In Back Issues

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 122nd year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 22, Number 3 (April 1917)

Perhaps the most interesting—certainly the best-researched—article in the April 1917 issue is “The English Criminal Law and Benefit of Clergy during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries” by Arthur Lyon Cross. In a sense, the title misrepresents Cross’s findings and may deter present-day readers from reading the piece, as it suggests as much attention to the church as to criminal law. But in fact, his article is even more about crime itself than the title implies, offering as an addendum a statistical breakdown of accused criminals’ fates from the records of the court of Old Bailey for much of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. Indeed, this article from a hundred years ago could easily stand alongside subsequent work in the social history of crime, criminality, and justice in this period by E. P. Thompson, Denys Hay, and others in the 1970s. Cross’s approach, however, does bring the clergy into the picture in ways that these later historians tended not to do. He begins with the early law regarding the “benefit of clergy,” which privileged those accused of certain capital crimes—first clerics, then others—to be tried in ecclesiastical courts and thus spared the ultimate penalty. If convicted, they still suffered severe punishments—branding, imprisonment for a year, or confinement in the workhouse—but at least they were not hanged. What began as a clerical privilege progressively morphed into a strategy for getting around the “sanguinary laws” of this period, which deemed scores of minor offenses, in particular theft and arson, to be capital crimes. One set of these laws, the notorious Black Act (which Thompson wrote about to great effect), passed in 1722, created fifty-four capital offenses. Although the legal system certainly kept the hangman busy—as Cross points out, until the reforms of the early nineteenth century, the number of executions was “scandalously large”—these draconian laws had the perverse effect of prompting the

acquittal of many people who were patently guilty, so wary were juries of imposing the death penalty for minor crimes. Playing upon this common outcome, criminals themselves often preferred to be tried for capital rather than lesser crimes. By the eighteenth century, the benefit of clergy was extended to anyone accused of what was called a “clergyable felony”—that is, a crime for which this privilege was automatically applicable. But what the Parliament gave with one hand, it took away with the other: more and more crimes were deemed felonies without benefit of clergy. The list of offenses made non-clergyable grew significantly, thus preserving the “sanguinary” cast of British justice in the eighteenth century, despite this traditional and adaptable clerical privilege.

Volume 47, Number 3 (April 1942)

There are only two articles in the April 1942 issue. “The First Parliamentary Election in Manchester,” by L. S. Marshall, provides a detailed account of the 1832 contest for a seat in the House of Commons in this burgeoning industrial city. Drawn mostly from newspapers—partisan organs for various parties and positions—it is particularly good at reminding us of the range of issues in play, as well as the different social groups engaged in the contest, from the working class to the landed Tory elite. Despite the participation of the radical reformer William Cobbett, the election was rigged against the growing industrial population because of the limited franchise. While Marshall does not highlight this, the election season was characterized by a fundamental contradiction. On one level, the campaign was an occasion for the lively airing of issues ranging from anti-slavery and the control of the East India Company to Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the Corn Laws, as well as other important topics, both local and national—evidence of a robust public sphere in the new industrial city. On another level, of course, the highly restricted electorate, limited to men of property, meant that many of these mooted issues had little chance of finding a Mancusian voice in the House of Commons.

The other article in this issue, “Recent Work on the French Revolution,” is notable in several ways. First, its author, Beatrice F. Hyslop, was something of a rarity as a woman in our profession. She was a long-time member of the faculty of Hunter College, with publications to her credit on the American press and the French Revolution and the *cahiers de doléances*, among other topics, and she was a founding member of the Society for the Study of French History. This piece is notable as well because it is one of the few review essays to be found in the *AHR* up to this time. Nowadays this genre of article is a staple of our reading lists, appreciated especially by graduate students. But until the 1960s, it does not seem to have been a common feature in scholarly journals. Hyslop’s essay is especially thorough, for the most part a survey of recent French works. She begins by noting that two of the major French journals that would normally feature works on the Revolution, the *Révolution française* and *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, had suspended publication, owing, of course, to the German occupation. And while she begins her survey with the work of the leading historian of the French Revolution, Georges Lefebvre, she adds somewhat wistfully, “During the present enforced silence it is to be hoped that he is able to assemble materials for future publication.” Her review essay proceeds in something of the manner of the *Annales*: from

the social and economic studies of Lefebvre; to C. E. Labrousse and Henri Hauser, with an emphasis on price curves and the economic plight of the peasantry before the Revolution; to François Olivier-Martin's pioneering work on the corporative organization of the *ancien régime*; to new books on the period of the Terror by Americans Donald Greer and R. R. Palmer; to the two-volume life of Robespierre by the English historian J. M. Thompson, published in 1935, which, she comments, "will probably remain the authoritative biography." Near the end of her review, she observes that because of the war, "the responsibility of keeping French Revolutionary research alive rests at the present time with historians in America." And she concludes with the comment that "[c]ontemporary events are challenging accepted interpretations of the decade of the French Revolution and should eventually bear new historical fruit." For evidence of this "fruit," see "In Back Issues" in the February 2017 issue of the *AHR*.

Volume 72, Number 3 (April 1967)

The April 1967 issue might be seen as a snapshot of the discipline, the articles representing five points on the compass of history a half a century ago. To be sure, the compass's range is limited by today's standards, with all of the articles hewing to the historical world of the U.S. and Europe. But the topics are varied and the approaches quite eclectic. They are all worthy of consideration.

The first article, "Guillaume Budé and the First Historical School of Law," is by Donald R. Kelley, who would go on to establish himself as one of his generation's leading intellectual historians. His many subsequent contributions have transformed our understanding of humanism, law, and the study of history in the early modern period. This piece is a foretaste of his 1970 landmark book *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance*. Here, through a close reading of Budé and other humanists (although as an aside he notes that Budé would have been "horrified" to be called a humanist, so averse was he to "modern jargon"), Kelley demonstrates how their philological and historical studies served to dismantle a monolithic and uncritical view of Roman law and circumscribe its relevance for contemporaries. With the Roman example at an arm's distance, so to speak, subsequent humanists turned away from an exclusive preoccupation with antiquity—they threw off that "classicist bias"—turning increasingly toward the study of medieval history and institutions that ultimately served to shore up the important Gallican tradition so fundamental to French identity in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

"*Ex parte McCardle*: Judicial Impotency? The Supreme Court and Reconstruction Reconsidered" is by another luminary of his generation of historians, Stanley I. Kutler. A long-time member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, he is probably best known as the editor of the Nixon Watergate tapes, as well as for his successful lawsuit against both the former president and the National Archives to win the recordings' release. In this article, which presages his 1968 book *Judicial Power and Reconstruction Politics*, he argues against the view that the Supreme Court in the *McCardle* case proved "impotent and quiescent" in failing to block congressional overreach dur-

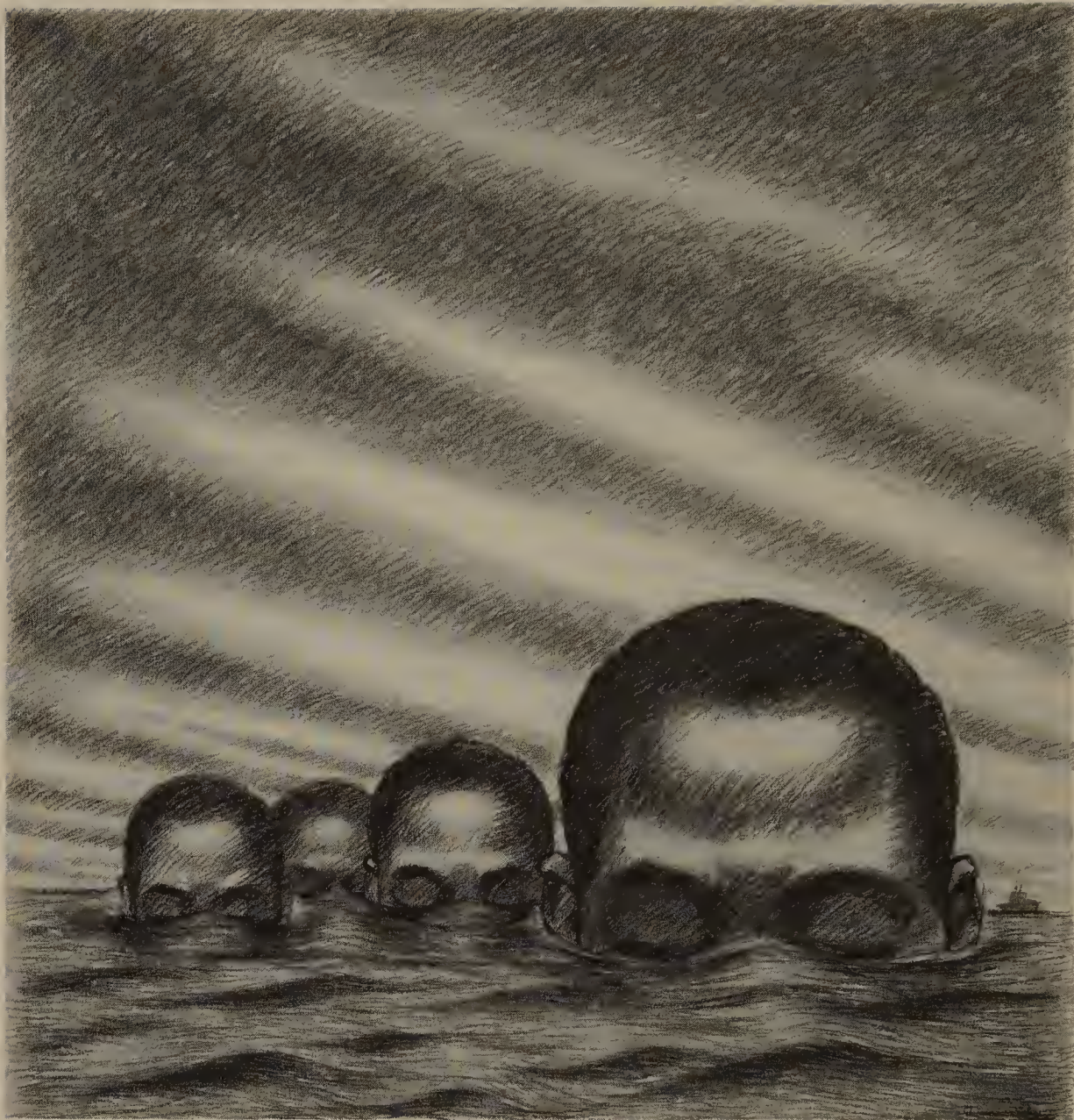
ing the early years of Reconstruction. Republicans feared something quite different: a court that would rule the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. In anticipation of an adverse ruling, there were proposals in Congress to curtail the Court's effectiveness—for example, by requiring a two-thirds vote among the justices to invalidate congressional legislation. As it turned out, the Court's decision in *McCardle* was to deny its jurisdiction, thus, in effect, allaying Republicans' concerns. And historians, argues Kutler, have taken this as proof of the justices' failure to exercise their constitutional authority in the face of both congressional and public intimidation. But he goes on to demonstrate that this is a shortsighted assessment that does not take into consideration the decision in a subsequent case, *Ex parte Yerger*, a case that "so many accounts of Reconstruction and constitutional history ignore." In *Yerger* the Court seized upon the constitutional guarantee of *habeas corpus* to rule in favor of the plaintiff, thus affirming the tradition of judicial action despite some very real threats from various congressional quarters to restrict the Court's authority. More to the point, he concludes, together these judicial decisions stiffened the justices' authority vis-à-vis the legislative branch, ushering in an era when the Court "unquestionably exercised power and commanded prestige as it never had done before." For today's readers, Kutler's account reminds us that challenges to the constitutionally sanctioned authority and independence of the judiciary are hardly unprecedented in U.S. history.

The next article in this issue, "Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," is by Emmet Larkin, a leader in the establishment of Irish studies in this country and a member of the history faculty of the University of Chicago from 1966 to 2006. The article amounts to a monograph on the economic history of Ireland in the period just before and following the Great Famine, with special attention to the place of the Church in that history. In a series of appendixes, Larkin presents statistics on emigration, land evictions, landholdings, paupers, national income, per capita income for both Ireland and Britain (with a breakdown between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland), and national income available for investment. While his research yields a wide and disparate range of information, it is guided by a question relevant not only for Ireland in this period but for any economy bound by investment patterns in land and buildings as opposed to more productive opportunities: What impact does this "traditional" investment strategy—a characteristic of a *rentier* economy—have on economic growth? After a rigorous examination of the evidence, he concludes that the Church's economic activities, which amounted to a significant and, in the period after the Famine, growing share of the whole economy, "certainly increased the probabilities against economic growth."

Larkin's piece is followed by "The Impact of Christian Science on the American Churches, 1880–1910" by Raymond J. Cunningham, who taught at Fordham University for many years. (An AHA prize for the best article published by an undergraduate in a history journal was established in his memory.) His essay traces the usually hostile reception of Christian Science in this period, especially among the various Christian denominations threatened by its growing appeal. One could reliably turn to this short article for a good primer on this religious movement's early history. A couple of points stand out. First, its initial success relied in part on the "magazine revolution." Publish-

ers of these new periodicals found that the writings of “the recluse of Concord,” Mary Baker Eddy, “made salable copy”: “It is not too much to say that one could scarcely go among the reading public of 1900 without encountering interest in the cult.” Second, attempts to counter the influence of Christian Science in Massachusetts took the form of proscribing its “healers” through legislation that would have mandated mental health practitioners to be certified by the state medical board of physicians. Interestingly, these efforts failed, not primarily because of the opposition of followers of Christian Science, but rather because others were concerned that this was really a pretext for doctors to establish a medical monopoly. While hardly sympathetic to Mary Baker Eddy’s “gospel of healthy-mindedness,” William James, the great pioneer of religious psychology, added his prestige to the opposition for the simple reason that in some cases it seemed to work.

The issue’s final article takes us into more recent times and a subject that in 1967 was only beginning to find its scholarly voice. In “The Conversion of Myths into Political Power: The Case of the Nazi Party, 1925–1926,” Dietrich Orlow, who taught at Boston University from 1971 to 2002 and authored many books on twentieth-century German and European history, provides a close study of the dynamics of ideological conflict and increasing bureaucratization that ultimately guaranteed Hitler’s authoritarian control over the NSDAP in the years following his release from prison. The terms “myths” and “power” in his title would seem to capture the historiographical stakes of his contribution: to move beyond a preoccupation in the study of the Nazi movement with ideology and personalities (especially Hitler) in favor of seeing how its “myths” gained the traction of “power”—which is to say the consolidation of Hitler’s uncontested authority over the party. Competition and conflict were rife within the Nazi ranks in this period; it was generational, geographical (northern versus southern Germany), and ideological. It represented the greatest threat to the party since Hitler’s arrest in 1923. Ultimately, he managed to finesse these differences—in part, by deft bureaucratic and political maneuvers; in part, it was mythmaking that prevailed. Hitler “mythologized his own person.”



Ibo Landing #7. Charcoal on paper, 52 × 52 in. Copyright © 2009 Donovan Nelson/Valentine Museum of Art. An artistic rendering of a collective suicide carried out in 1803 off the coast of Georgia in a place now called Igbo Landing (also Ibo, Ebo, and Ebos Landing), where a group of recently arrived slaves drowned themselves, it is believed, in order to allow their souls to travel back across the Atlantic and return home. That remarkable, powerful act of resistance represents just one of a broader set of meanings assigned to suicide during and after slavery's reign.

Fatal Differences: Suicide, Race, and Forced Labor in the Americas

MARC A. HERTZMAN

IN A CRUCIAL BATTLE DURING the European invasion of the Andes, native soldiers captured the Sacsahuamán fortress from Spanish forces in Cuzco. The conquistadors eventually secured the iconic structure, but only after a fierce battle, and despite the heroic efforts of one particularly courageous Inca fighter, Cahuide. According to an unsigned 1539 manuscript chronicling Spanish exploits in Peru, as the Europeans streamed into Sacsahuamán, Cahuide envisioned “the doom” to come and ended his life: “Unable to bear the sight of [the Spaniards] overtaking the fortress . . . [he] leaped from the top of the fortress.”¹ Two centuries later, a Portuguese-American author, Sebastião da Rocha Pita, described a similar scene at Palmares, the famous community of fugitive slaves (*quilombo*) in what is today northeastern Brazil. Rocha Pita was not present for the battle, which had taken place in 1695, but he nonetheless narrated it in the first person: “Not wanting to become our captives or to die by our swords,” he wrote, the *quilombolas*, led by their leader, Zumbi, “threw themselves off of [a nearby peak].” With “that kind of death,” he added, they “showed that they had no love for life in slavery, and did not want to lose at our hands.”²

The broad similarities between these two stories suggest the seeming universal qualities of suicide, which is often cast in Europeanist treatments as a quintessentially human act.³ Within Latin America, that apparent universality is especially alluring.

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¹ “Relación del sitio del Cuzco y principio de las guerras civiles del Perú hasta la muerte de Diego de Almagro, 1535–1539” [1539], Biblioteca Nacional de España, sala de MS., J. 130, reproduced in *Varias relaciones del Perú y Chile; y conquista de la isla de Santa Catalina, 1535 á 1658* (Madrid, 1879), 32–33. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

² Sebastião da Rocha Pita, *História da América portuguesa* (1730; repr., São Paulo, 1976), 219.

³ For example, Jean Baechler writes, “Humanity is one and . . . suicide is a solution universally employed in certain typical situations.” Baechler, *Suicides*, trans. Barry Cooper (New York, 1979), 39. Also, Georges Minois, *History of Suicide: Voluntary Death in Western Culture*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Balti-

The stories of two individuals in different corners of the region engaged in a bloody struggle against colonialism suggest a powerful potential link across a familiar scholarly divide. Historians often divide the region's putatively black regions (Brazil and the Caribbean) from its native regions (Spanish-speaking nations often labeled indigenous or mestizo), a practice that reflects some demographic realities but is also problematic.⁴ In addition to rendering whiteness as a stable, silent presence in both spheres, the division—what Barbara Weinstein calls the “Afro”-“Indo” divide—erases histories that cross regional and linguistic lines, and marginalizes groups that do not fit the binary.⁵

A universalist approach to suicide might treat stories such as Cahuide's and Zumbi's as a path over the Afro-Indo divide. However, suicide is not, in fact, a universal, transcultural phenomenon, but rather an act ascribed multiple meanings across the world. Further, European and Euro-American colonialists often turned suicide into a vehicle for generating and reinforcing racial difference, in turn often connected to geographic and epistemological borders and distinctions.⁶ Like drunkenness, homosexuality, and any number of actions defined as criminal, suicide was racialized and pathologized over time. But suicide is unique for its relationship to the meaning and power to give and take life. Did that power belong to God? To masters? Could “pagans” or slaves possess it? At the heart of these questions lies the privilege of selfhood and the right to be considered human.

To understand the relationship between self-destruction and race, we might ask, to paraphrase Terri Snyder, what a collection of (in this case mainly white, mainly male) historical actors—writers, conquerors, clergy, travelers, surgeons, slave traders, masters, scholars—talked about when they talked about suicide.⁷ Their literal and figurative dialogues took place across three eras. During the colonial period (ca. the 1500s to ca. the 1820s), white European and Euro-American observers attached distinct meanings to African and Native American self-destruction, defining the former as a pathological act and an assault on economic order, and the latter as a sign of indigenous frailty. Post-independence discourses continued to emphasize racial difference, though often in new ways. Colonial “dying native” figures melted easily into postcolonial landscapes, but black suicide existed more uneasily within emergent national discourses, which were shaped by fears of slave rebellion and the potential economic and social effects of emancipation. Consequently, black self-destruction often fell from view, especially in Latin American abolition debates—a stark contrast to the

more, 2001), 2–3, 268. Though conscious of the fact that the word “suicide” originated in late-seventeenth-century England, for simplicity I use the term throughout.

⁴ Because this article addresses people and places that used distinct racial labels and categories, many of which changed over time, some shorthand is necessary, and so I generally apply terms most recognizable to U.S. audiences. Though conscious of the supreme inadequacy and troublesome nature of the term “Indian,” I occasionally employ it to refer to the Americas' First Peoples, especially to reflect the language used in primary sources.

⁵ Barbara Weinstein, “Erecting and Erasing Boundaries: Can We Combine the ‘Indo’ and the ‘Afro’ in Latin American Studies?,” *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 19, no. 1 (2008): 129–144.

⁶ I use “America” and “Americas” to refer to the entire hemisphere.

⁷ Terri L. Snyder, “What Historians Talk about When They Talk about Suicide: The View from Early Modern British North America,” *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007): 658–674.

North Atlantic, where anti-slavery activists frequently employed suicide as an effective political weapon.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, suicide continued to mark racial difference, though once again the terms of the conversation changed. For years after their deaths, the stories of Cahuide and Zumbi all but disappeared from the written record.⁸ During the late nineteenth century, both reemerged within national histories that embraced non-white groups discursively while marginalizing them in concrete ways. As slavery came to an end, some of the angst previously directed toward black slaves was transferred to Asian indentured laborers. All of this set the stage for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when suicide became an increasingly popular object of scholarly study across America. Some experts argued that civilization, previously often understood as a refuge from the suicidal “manias” of backward people, was just the opposite—a condition that in its modern incarnation created stresses that drove whites to kill themselves in alarming numbers, even as the groups most often (and negatively) associated with suicide were suddenly depicted as all but inured to it. Non-white people, scholars explained, were too backward to understand, much less succumb to, the pressures of modern society. Other pundits vacillated, acknowledging the supposed white suicide epidemic while still linking self-destruction to non-white groups. Across these changes and reversals, suicide functioned as a marker of and metaphor for racial difference, as a discursive mechanism that helped elevate whites over non-whites, and as a tool capable of alternately lumping non-white groups into a single mass or dividing them into distinct subsets.

BEFORE THE 1980s, FEW HISTORIANS wrote about suicide. After Émile Durkheim published *Le suicide* in 1897, the subject belonged primarily to social scientists.⁹ The first historical studies, written mainly by Europeanists, charted how suicide became increasingly “secularized” over time. What was mainly a religious concern during the early modern era fell increasingly under the gaze of medics, jurists, and states.¹⁰ Others have since argued that secularization implies a false teleology for what was a more complex process encompassing a “hybrid” set of moral and medico-legalistic perspectives.¹¹

The Europeanist literature has shaped a small but growing body of work on suicide in the Americas, where colonial encounters raise difficult questions regarding

⁸ There is hardly any scholarship about Cahuide. References for Zumbi are noted below.

⁹ Until 1967, when Jack Douglas argued that each suicide must be understood on its own terms, most scholars followed Émile Durkheim in treating social isolation as the primary explanatory mechanism for suicide. By the time that historians began to take up the matter, Róisín Healy writes, “the foundations of the Durkheimian tradition were shaky.” Douglas, *Social Meanings of Suicide* (Princeton, N.J., 2015); Durkheim, *Le suicide: Étude de sociologie* (Paris, 1897); Healy, “Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe,” *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 3 (2006): 903–919, here 906.

¹⁰ David Wright and John Weaver, “Introduction,” in Weaver and Wright, eds., *Histories of Suicide: International Perspectives on Self-Destruction in the Modern World* (Toronto, 2009), 3–18, here 4. See also Minois, *History of Suicide*; Jeffrey R. Watt, ed., *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

¹¹ Susan K. Morrissey, “Drinking to Death: Suicide, Vodka and Religious Burial in Russia,” *Past and Present*, no. 186 (February 2005): 117–146, here 145. Craig M. Koslofsky also complicates the secularization school; Koslofsky, “Controlling the Body of the Suicide in Saxony,” in Watt, *From Sin to Insanity*, 48–63.

suicide, a complex, troubling topic in any circumstance. Snyder's *The Power to Die: Slavery and Suicide in British North America* and Louis A. Pérez Jr.'s *To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society* are the only two book-length works on suicide and race in the Americas.¹² Richard Bell, Michael Gomez, William Piersen, Zeb Tortorici, and others have made crucial, related interventions.¹³ All would agree that many questions remain. Though we have a basic understanding of the scope of mortality during the European invasion and under Atlantic slavery, there is no quantitative handle on or cohesive understanding of suicide's role in the carnage. How often did slaves and indigenous people kill themselves? When they did so, was it an act of resistance? Is it even possible to answer these questions? Recent scholarship in Brazil provides the best quantitative data on slave suicide, but it consists mainly of local and regional studies and, like any work on suicide, is limited in its ability to determine intention.¹⁴ Atlantic sailors often wondered whether African slaves who jumped from ships did so in order to kill themselves, or out of a desperate need for water.¹⁵ Surely many slaves who jumped harbored thoughts of both death and escape.

The problem is compounded further by the culturally specific meanings of suicide. Kamikaze pilots are equated with suicide outside of Japan, but as Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney explains, "neither the pilots themselves nor the Japanese public considered their acts to be acts of suicide."¹⁶ What slave owners called suicide seems to have been understood by many slaves and their descendants in the U.S. South and the Caribbean as the liberating act of "flying home," a clear example of how the meanings of self-destruction are so often local, contested, and distinct from those imposed from outside.¹⁷

Nonetheless, scholars often treat the significance of taking one's own life as self-evident, especially when discussing slaves and other "subaltern" groups, for whom suicide is almost always understood as an act of resistance. There is, to be sure, plenty of

¹² Terri L. Snyder, *The Power to Die: Slavery and Suicide in British North America* (Chicago, 2015); Louis A. Pérez Jr., *To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

¹³ Richard Bell, *We Shall Be No More: Suicide and Self-Government in the Newly United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012); Michael A. Gomez, "A Quality of Anguish: The Igbo Response to Enslavement in North America," in Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London, 2003), 82–95; William D. Piersen, "White Cannibals, Black Martyrs: Fear, Depression, and Religious Faith as Causes of Suicide among New Slaves," *Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (1977): 147–159; Zeb Tortorici, "Reading the (Dead) Body: Histories of Suicide in New Spain," in Martina Will de Chaparro and Miruna Achim, eds., *Death and Dying in Colonial Spanish America* (Tucson, Ariz., 2011), 53–77.

¹⁴ See, among others, Ezequiel David do Amaral Canario, "É mais uma scena da escravidão": *Suicídios de escravos na cidade do Recife, 1850–1888* (Recife, Brazil, 2011); Jackson Ferreira, "'Por hoje se acaba a lida': Suicídio escravo na Bahia (1850–1888)," *Afro-Ásia* 31 (2004): 197–234; Fábio Henrique Lopes, "O suicídio como perigo social e urbano: As teses médicas brasileiras," *Revista do Instituto histórico e geográfico brasileiro* 169, no. 438 (2008): 91–112; Saulo Veiga Oliveira, "O suicídio de escravos em Campinas e na província de São Paulo (1870–1888)" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2007); Renato Pinto Venâncio, "A última fuga: Suicídio de escravos no Rio de Janeiro (1870–1888)," *LPH/Revista de História* 1 (1990): 80–89.

¹⁵ See, for example, Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (1983; repr., University Park, Pa., 1994), 34.

¹⁶ Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago, 2002), 20.

¹⁷ On "flying home," see, among others, Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 117–118; Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 57–58, 157–166.

evidence to suggest such a reading. One of the most famous, most poignant examples occurred in 1803, when a group of Igbo slaves perished off the coast of Georgia in what is remembered as a coordinated, collective suicide carried out in response to the horrors of the Middle Passage and as a means for making the spiritual journey back home across the Atlantic.¹⁸ But if slave suicide may often be understood as resistance, there is also reason for caution. Snyder urges historians to move beyond the “resistance model” and also explore a larger “ecology” of meanings and motives.¹⁹ Tortorici asks, “Are historians more likely to frame an African or indigenous person’s suicidal act as resistance to colonialism while seeing similar actions of a European, priest, or wealthy individual as rooted in the immediate particulars of his or her own life?”²⁰ In this spirit, we may ask another set of questions: If, as Tortorici suggests, historians today tend to conceptualize African, native, and other non-white suicides in similar fashion, has it always been that way? How did earlier generations of scholars and other observers understand the relationship between race and suicide in America?

Perhaps by addressing these questions, we can better understand how ideas about suicide helped create and emphasize racial difference (often rendered in gendered and sexualized terms) both within and beyond standard national, regional, and linguistic boundaries. Despite suicide’s potential to condense into a single, searing act the unfathomable violence and tragedy wrought by slavery and colonialism, it also had a quite different symbolic function. Just as often, suicide helped determine which groups became part of national racial mythologies, the terms under which they were admitted, and who was excluded. Ideas about race shaped opinions about suicide, and vice versa. This mutually constitutive process involved black, white, and native peoples—the “triangle” of groups that scholars and laypeople alike so often place at the heart of Latin American societies—and others, too, including the Asian “coolie” laborers who arrived as slavery ended in the nineteenth century.²¹

Economics helped shape conversations about self-destruction. While Europeanist scholars often suggest that capitalism transformed ideas about suicide by creating new modernities and new stresses for workers, there has been little engagement with the brutal fact, widely acknowledged by historians of slavery (though almost always in passing), that masters and traders understood suicide as a drag on production, and indeed much more: a direct assault on capital investment and future earnings. For any society that depended on forced labor, suicide was not only a moral, religious, or medico-legal matter, but also a racial and economic one.²² While laziness or indolence could draw a master’s ire and affect plantation production, suicide—regardless of the intention behind it—was a dramatic attack against white wealth.

¹⁸ Terri L. Snyder, “Suicide, Slavery, and Memory in North America,” *Journal of American History* 97, no. 1 (2010): 39–62, here 39. The deaths at Igbo Landing (also Ibo, Ebo, or Ebos Landing) are depicted in the illustration found at the beginning of this article.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰ Tortorici, “Reading the (Dead) Body,” 61.

²¹ Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 1999), 11.

²² Snyder, whose book concludes with the end of slavery, provides the most extensive discussion of the economics of suicide. Representative examples of the perceived causal relationship between capitalism and modern suicide in Europe are found in Minois, *History of Suicide*, 81, 185.

SUICIDE PRESENTS THORNY METHODOLOGICAL issues and difficult choices. Along with the often impossible task of discerning intent, scholars must confront a challenge familiar to any scholar of slavery, described in a recent *Social Text* forum as the tension between pursuing the goal of “recovering archival traces of black life” and accepting “the archive as a site of irrevocable silence that reproduces the racial hierarchies intrinsic to its construction.”²³ Further, Lisa Lowe writes, any attempt to recover voices lost to slavery and the Middle Passage must be understood “within the limits of an archive that authorizes knowledge . . . in terms of particular interests—those of slave owners and citizens, and not the enslaved.”²⁴ In the Americas, our knowledge of suicide has been irrevocably shaped by the particular interests and views of white elites, who sought to understand and control self-destruction on their own terms and in the process deny the humanity of non-whites. Not enough attention has been paid to that fact, or to its implications for how we understand “recovery” and “silence.”

Pérez makes the fascinating observation that for nineteenth-century Cuba it is far easier to track suicides of slaves and indentured laborers than those of whites or free people of color, due in part to wealthy families’ ability to hide suicide and avoid the stigmas attached to it.²⁵ The disparity also surely comes from planters’ habit of recording (and complaining about) “labor losses,” and colonial observers’ pathologization of non-white suicide. The historical record, then, does not only silence non-white actors and beckon us to recover their stories; it also demands a close examination of how non-white deaths were dissected and scrutinized while other suicides went hidden and unremarked. In other words, to focus on “recovery” and “silence” alone is to fall into the traps discussed by Tortorici and miss other important aspects of the history of suicide.

In contrast to the U.S., with its rich history of slave narratives, Latin America has preserved almost no written accounts by slaves. Though future archival work promises to provide more perspectives from non-elite actors, much of what we know about the history of suicide in the Americas comes from those who spoke and wrote from places of power. During the colonial era, both prominent, influential writers and lesser-known historical actors recorded their thoughts in books, diaries, and, increasingly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, newspapers and academic journals. When traced over time and space, these sources suggest how individuals operating with unique aims, and rarely in a tightly concerted way or within an easily circumscribed set of institutions or genres of writing, tethered race to suicide. While texts such as medical treatises may be explicitly concerned with suicide, there are discussions of self-destruction in works dedicated to other topics—conquest, travel, national identity—that contain the kinds of smaller, passing references that can reveal so much about widely accepted, internalized ideas.²⁶

²³ Laura Helton, Justin Leroy, Max A. Mishler, Samantha Seeley, and Shauna Sweeney, “The Question of Recovery: An Introduction,” *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 1–18, here 2.

²⁴ Lisa Lowe, “History Hesitant,” *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 85–107, here 85.

²⁵ Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 132, 135.

²⁶ In a provocative article recently published in these pages, Lara Putnam argues that historians must be more forthright about their digital search habits. As she and others have shown, the proliferation of searchable texts favors certain sources and historical actors over others and creates “systematic blind spots.” Having generated my core questions and ideas through archival work and close readings of primary and secondary sources, over time I complemented and expanded on those initial works by “side-glancing” through searchable digital repositories to find texts and examples that I might not otherwise

While a narrower study rooted in a single locale, a shorter chronology, or a more obviously unified archive or source base might make it easier to recover more voices of suicides, it is at the same time limited in what it can tell us specifically about the relationships between “Afro” and “Indo” America, between slavery and its aftermath, and between colonial ideas and contemporary knowledge. Though these choices do not make it possible to recover as many voices of those who died by their own hands, they do facilitate a geographically and temporally broad view of the ways in which powerful brokers defined suicide and linked the act to race and forced labor in the Americas. Their words and ideas tell an important story about how suicide and slavery helped define who counted as fully human long after abolition.

The epistemological gaps in our understanding of the history of suicide are fully visible only when twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarly production is understood as an archive that has been shaped by centuries of colonialism. Writing in 1937, five decades after abolition and thirty-five years after independence, a Cuban author took a colonial planter at his word and concluded that native religion “not only did not prohibit suicide, but perhaps . . . even encouraged it.”²⁷ In this case, the genealogy of the idea is clear: a twentieth-century observer finds proof for his assertion in a document written by a slave owner, whose ideas he accepts without question. In other cases, precise origins are not so evident. In 1993, Doris Sommer wrote, “The [Brazilian] Indians often preferred to retreat to the jungle or to commit suicide than remain confined to the stable life of the [Jesuit] missions.”²⁸ No citation accompanies the statement, which, whether or not it is believable, is a good example of the extrapolation that often accompanies scholarly assertions about suicide.²⁹ As these examples suggest, America’s colonial suicide archive is not neatly contained; nor are its origins always easy to trace. That murkiness is important: some racialized ideas about suicide became so successfully naturalized that their origins seem to come from everywhere and nowhere. Today, some foundational assumptions live on intact (for example, the idea that native people “preferred” suicide), while others shape knowledge in other, less direct ways, such as the “resistance model,” a meaningful but also limited rejoinder to centuries of erasure and pathologization.

ERASURE AND PATHOLOGIZATION MARKED discussions of suicide during the colonial era and the nineteenth century. References to African suicide far outnumber mentions of native suicide, though the Caribbean provides a macabre exception. There, indige-

have found, and then doing my best to contextualize those “tertiary” sources. However, the online availability of substantive material that could address my concerns here is limited, and, as Putnam suggests, there are some questions and stories that cannot be adequately addressed through digitalization alone. Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,” *American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (April 2016): 377–402, here 379, 383.

²⁷ Rafael Azcárate Rosell, *Historia de los indios de Cuba* (Havana, 1937), 216.

²⁸ Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 139.

²⁹ Beatriz Reyes-Foster and Rachael Kangas call attention to a similar problem in Mexico, where, they argue, twentieth-century scholars misread Spanish colonial authors, who themselves misrepresented Maya practices and codices, thus mistaking Mayan executions by hanging as suicides and effectively inventing a false “indigenous” suicide tradition. Reyes-Foster and Kangas, “Unraveling Ix Tab: Revisiting the ‘Suicide Goddess’ in Maya Archaeology,” *Ethnohistory* 63, no. 1 (2016): 1–27.

nous people perished remarkably quickly, even by the grisly standards of conquest. That brutal reality facilitated imaginative speculation that was both projected onto Latin America from afar and generated from within. The British historian (and colonialist and white supremacist) James Froude wrote in 1868 that entire Caribbean islands “were left literally desolate from suicide.”³⁰ Juan Pérez de la Riva, a twentieth-century Cuban demographer, estimated that up to a third of the island’s pre-Columbian inhabitants killed themselves after the Europeans arrived.³¹ That figure, which is impossible to verify, is a good example of how observers often render intrinsically elusive aspects of suicide as concrete and readily knowable. Neither Froude nor Riva provides many clues about sources or evidence, instead simply casting suicide as an obvious explanation for colonial decimation.

Similar dynamics mark more romantic depictions. A foundational Cuban narrative describes men and women in the Yumurí Valley who fled the Spanish until they reached the edge of a bluff, where, the tale goes, they leaped to their death.³² Unlike Froude’s and the Cuban demographer’s, this story ascribes a certain romanticized valor to native men and women. But here again its origins are unclear. Like Sommer’s unattributed conclusion about Brazilian Indians’ preference for death, the story has become part of accepted historical knowledge.

Whether wistful or romantic, most colonial accounts of indigenous suicide emphasize victimhood. Perhaps the best-known example comes from Bartolomé de las Casas, who used suicide to critique Spanish colonial violence and demonstrate the need to protect “helpless” natives.³³ Girolamo Benzoni, an Italian merchant who traveled throughout the Americas and, like Las Casas, critiqued the Spanish enterprise there, wrote that “with sighs and tears,” natives “longed for death.” Women whose husbands committed suicide, he continued, aborted pregnancies and followed after their husbands by killing themselves.³⁴ Jesuit cleric Antonio Ruiz de Montoya employed similar tropes, writing of South American Guaraní women, “Upon their husbands’ death, wives fling themselves shrieking from a height of three yards, sometimes suffering death or crippling from the impact.”³⁵ Not all observers associated native suicide with women, but many implied that it had connotations of femininity by calling indigenous people weak and frail. A Spaniard in Mexico wrote that indigenous people were “fatalistic” and allowed themselves “to die like beasts.” A German cleric in North America opined, “Indians die so easily that the mere look and smell of a Spaniard causes them to give up the ghost.”³⁶ A Jesuit wrote of native Brazilians, “Any attack of dysen-

³⁰ James Anthony Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (New York, 1868), 376. On Froude’s British colonial “settler heroic,” see Amanda Behm, “Settler Historicism and Anticolonial Rebuttal in the British World, 1880–1920,” *Journal of World History* 26, no. 4 (2015): 785–813, here 802 n. 57.

³¹ Juan Pérez de la Riva, “Desaparición de la población indígena cubana,” *Universidad de La Habana* 196–197 (1972): 61–84, here 80.

³² Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 5.

³³ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1875), 2: 364; Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (London, 1992), 29–30; Suzanne Austin Alchon, *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2003), 113; Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 3.

³⁴ Quoted and translated in Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 4–5.

³⁵ Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, and Tape*, trans. C. J. McNaspy, John P. Leonard, and Martin E. Palmer (St. Louis, Mo., 1993), 50.

³⁶ Both quoted and translated in Alchon, *A Pest in the Land*, 113.

tery kills them; and for any small annoyance they take to eating earth or salt and die.”³⁷

Discussions of native suicide circulated across the Atlantic and throughout America, propelled by clerics and others who supported colonial and missionary enterprises, and also by those who, like Las Casas, had more ambiguous relationships with them. “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish conquistador and an Incan noblewoman, chronicled Spanish colonial expansion while also asserting indigenous primacy. In 1605, he wrote that “almost all” native people in Cuba hanged themselves after the Spanish arrived. This, Garcilaso explained, led to the mass importation of “Negro” slaves, an assertion that reflects how, from a very early moment, suicide became part of a racialized labor matrix that distinguished Africans from natives and cast the latter as incapable of carrying out the brutal, manly work that fueled colonialism.³⁸

If colonial observers described native self-destruction as a sign of weakness, they understood slave suicide in different terms. For one thing, the matter consumed them more than it did those who wrote about native America. Slave owners, traders, surgeons, ship captains, and statesmen commented regularly about slaves who killed themselves.³⁹ In 1791, the British House of Commons conducted an investigation and hearing dedicated entirely to the topic.⁴⁰ Not only did Europeans and Euro-Americans talk more about African than native suicide, they also used different terms to discuss the two. Slave self-destruction was not a sign of frailty, but rather a marker of pathological aggression and an obstacle to production—in contrast to natives, who surrendered to death, Africans seized it, and in the process diminished their masters’ wealth.

As colonial and nineteenth-century observers waded through racial fantasy and fear, suicidal predisposition became an explanation for monetary loss. A traveler in nineteenth-century Brazil observed, “Suicides continually occur, and owners wonder. The high-souled Minas, both men and women, are given to self-destruction. Rather than endure life on the terms it is offered, many of them end it. Then they that bought them grind their teeth and curse them, hurl imprecations after their flying spirits, and execrate the saints that let them go.” The degree of teeth grinding depended on the master’s own station: “Rich people who lose a slave by suicide or flight scarcely feel the loss, but to many families the loss is ruinous.”⁴¹

In contrast to the “feminine” overtones of native suicide, slaves’ ability to wreak financial pain fed an understanding of African suicide as a “masculine symptom,” a la-

³⁷ Quoted and translated in John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London, 1978), 338. On the myths attached to dirt-eating among African slaves, see Rana Asali Hogarth, “Comparing Anatomies, Constructing Races: Medicine and Slavery in the Atlantic World, 1787–1838” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2012), 97–108.

³⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca, Hernando de Soto, gobernador, y capitan general del reino de la Florida: Y de otros heroicos caballeros, españoles, é indios*, 2nd ed., ed. Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga (Madrid, 1723), 16–17.

³⁹ Mentions of slave suicide were so ubiquitous in Cuba that, Robert L. Paquette writes, “Rare is the Cuban plantation diary or account book that has no mention of them.” Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 71.

⁴⁰ See Snyder, *The Power to Die*.

⁴¹ Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil; or, A Journal of a Visit to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm* (New York, 1856), 440.

bel with deep roots and remarkable durability. The label drew both from ideas about Africans' relationship to death in general, and from more specific, "aggressive" acts of self-immolation—slashing one's own throat or leaping from the deck of a slave ship into the sea. In the early eighteenth century, French slave trader Jean Barbot wrote of Africans' stoic approach to mortality and how, "without caution but with steadfastness," they would "rush into the most dangerous circumstances" with little concern that they might die.⁴² Almost a century and a half later, the British abolitionist Wilson Armistead noted "a spirit of unyielding independence" that "led [Negroes] to commit suicide."⁴³ Between these historical bookends, countless planters and ship captains voiced similar opinions, openly complaining about—and actively strategizing to thwart—truculent Africans who took their own lives. As recently as 2010, a demographic historian resurrected the "masculine symptom" label from scant empirical evidence.⁴⁴

Many slave traders and masters believed that Africans' proclivity for suicide varied by region and group. The reputation of Igbo slaves from the Bight of Biafra as being especially prone to suicide extended through the Caribbean and the lower United States, where traders and masters actively avoided their importation.⁴⁵ Elsewhere, observers attributed suicidal pathos to other groups. Such labels were flexible, to say the least. Fante slaves, for example, were alternately described as disposed and averse to suicide.⁴⁶

Europeans and Euro-Americans used suicide not only to differentiate and label African groups, but also to distinguish between white and black. In the late eighteenth century, a Cartagena Inquisition official suggested that Africans were responsible for introducing the "inhuman and execrable" practice of suicide to the American colony and causing it to spread among non-blacks.⁴⁷ A few decades later, the Irish reverend Robert Walsh wrote that slaves in Brazil "seem to have as keen a sense of bondage, and to repine as bitterly at their lot, as any white men, in the same state in Africa." But, he continued, "I have never heard that suicide is common among the unhappy Europeans, detained in slavery on the Barbary coast; it is the daily practice in Brazil."⁴⁸ Walsh's remarks reflect an understanding of suicide as a mark of debasement: where white slaves suffered the fate handed to them, Africans in Brazil lacked the virtue and discipline to stay alive despite hardship.

Medical treatises made similar distinctions, treating melancholy, for example, as an illness that hampered slaves' productivity and drew them to death. Translating con-

⁴² Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678–1712*, ed. Paul Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, 2 vols. (London, 1992), 2: 639; Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 24, 67.

⁴³ Wilson Armistead, *A Tribute for the Negro: Being a Vindication of the Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Capabilities of the Coloured Portion of Mankind; with Particular Reference to the African Race* (Manchester, 1848), 162.

⁴⁴ Elsa Malvido, "El suicidio entre los esclavos negros en el Caribe en general y en el francés en particular: Una manera de evasión considerada enfermedad, siglos XVII y XVIII," *Trace* 58 (2010): 113–124, <http://trace.revues.org/1577>.

⁴⁵ Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 116–120, 127–128, 131; Gomez, "A Quality of Anguish."

⁴⁶ Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México: Estudio etnohistórico* (Mexico City, 1972), 186; Piersen, "White Cannibals, Black Martyrs," 158 nn. 59–60.

⁴⁷ Cited and translated in Nicole von Germeten, "Archival Narratives of Clerical Sodomy and Suicide from Eighteenth-Century Cartagena," in Zeb Tortorici, ed., *Sexuality and the Unnatural in Colonial Latin America* (Berkeley, Calif., 2016), 23–42, here 35.

⁴⁸ R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1831), 2: 344.

tinental ideas about melancholy and nostalgia into the context of Iberian Atlantic slavery was no straightforward task. In eighteenth-century Europe, nostalgia was considered “a pathological form of patriotic love” that affected mainly those with the means to travel and long for home while away, or who suffered “afflictions of the heart.”⁴⁹ Across the ocean, different terms were applied. Black slaves suffered melancholy and pined for death not because they were refined, but because their first exposure to “civilization” was shocking and disorienting. A Spanish surgeon’s late-eighteenth-century treatise granted slaves the emotional maturity necessary to grasp the tragedy of their plight while also ridiculing them as sensitive, envious, and ungracious.⁵⁰ Portuguese-world slave traders, masters, and medics spent great time and energy discussing *banzo*, a malady that they understood to be a potentially fatal form of nostalgia that afflicted and often resulted in the death of slaves.⁵¹

Traders often treated suicide like any other form of death that diminished their labor stock, discarding into the “bad bush” the bodies of captives who killed themselves on the way to port along with those who perished by other means.⁵² Others went to great lengths to prevent self-inflicted death. Traders and owners broke slaves’ jaws to force food and water down their throats, mutilated the bodies of slaves who killed themselves, and devised other gruesome forms of “deterrence.”⁵³ Keenly aware of their own value, some slaves wielded suicide as a threat. In Lima in 1819, Ana María Murga threatened to kill herself in order to secure her transfer to a less oppressive master. “If . . . Your Excellency orders that I return to his service,” she stated in court, “I am determined to commit suicide, and he [her current master] will lose his money just as I lose my life.”⁵⁴ Though she was unsuccessful in her legal appeal, Murga’s actions leave no doubt about the terms in which many slaves and masters understood self-destruction.⁵⁵

The economic implications of slave suicide were felt all over the Atlantic. Scholars have long noted how people living in Europe treated slavery as a metaphor while stubbornly ignoring its lived realities.⁵⁶ Those who directly trafficked in human labor engaged in a different form of conceptual dislocation. If slavery was more real on the front lines of colonial expansion, that did not make slaves any more human. Nor did geographical distance inure those living in Europe to the financial or legal impact of

⁴⁹ Adrián López Denis, “Melancholia, Slavery, and Racial Pathology in Eighteenth-Century Cuba,” *Science in Context* 18, no. 2 (2005): 179–199, here 182; Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), 292.

⁵⁰ Denis, “Melancholia, Slavery, and Racial Pathology in Eighteenth-Century Cuba,” 183, 185, 186.

⁵¹ For example, Ana Maria Galdini Raimundo Oda, “Escravidão e nostalgia no Brasil: O banzo,” *Revista latinoamericana de psicopatologia fundamental* 11, no. 4 (2008): 735–761; Renato Pinto Venâncio and Maria Célia da S. Lanna, “Banzo: Desnutrição e morte do escravo,” *Ciência hoje* 21, no. 126 (1997): 42–47.

⁵² Vincent Brown, *The Reaper’s Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 34.

⁵³ Vincent Brown, “Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society,” *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 1 (2003): 24–53, here 26–27; Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 42–45; Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 37–41, 58–60.

⁵⁴ Quoted and translated in Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima’s Slaves, 1800–1854* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 182.

⁵⁵ Alberto Flores Galindo suggests that such threats were common. Flores Galindo, *Aristocracia y plebe: Lima, 1760–1830 (Estructura de clases y sociedad colonial)* (Lima, 1984), 126.

⁵⁶ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1999), 263; Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh, 2009), 21.

slave self-destruction. British insurers and investors haggled over whether deaths by suicide should be indemnified in the same way as other “losses.”⁵⁷ Even for individuals living in Europe and separated from colonial slavery by an ocean, suicide drew race and capital into a knot whose very tension revealed the potential fragility of colonial fortunes that depended on denying slaves the quintessentially human ability to kill themselves.

That slavers discarded the bodies of suicide victims just as they would those felled by disease reflects a degree of commonality between suicide and other causes of slave fatality. The same can be said of native America, where colonizers saw suicide as an example of indigenous inferiority and weakness. And yet, suicide also functioned differently. Masters would have had little reason to dismember corpses or devise other elaborate schemes to prevent slaves from killing themselves if “the power to die,” as Snyder puts it, had not represented a unique threat to the masters’ financial interests and larger colonial projects.⁵⁸

Though their relationships to slavery and colonialism differed, the era’s loudest, best-preserved voices depicted suicide as a marker of racial difference. White slaves resisted death; black ones pursued it. Africans leaped from boats, slit their throats, and seized mortality; “fatalistic” natives resigned themselves to death, passively letting it wash over them and carry them away. Certainly, boundaries could blur, resting as they did on race’s perpetually shifting foundations. But affinity did not preclude separation, and when European and Euro-American observers spoke of suicide, they most often spoke of the differences on which their colonial projects depended.

THOSE PROJECTS EVENTUALLY COLLIDED with anticolonial movements. Most of the region gained independence during the early nineteenth century, though Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish control until the turn of the twentieth. Brazil became autonomous in 1822 but preserved its monarchy and slavery until the late 1880s. Across the hemisphere, independence and abolition became intertwined, thanks in part to the heavy reliance on non-white soldiers to defeat colonial forces.

Writing in 1806, just as these processes were convulsing, Andean intellectual Hipólito Unanue asserted that suicide was rare in “civilized” Lima but common among rural Indians ignorant of Christianity’s “benign protection.”⁵⁹ Unanue anticipated some of Alexander von Humboldt’s famous observations about America’s natural history, arguing that Peru was, as Mark Thurner puts it, “more universal than any land in the world.”⁶⁰ That universality, predicated on natural and racial diversity, did not, of course, imply internal equality, a point made plain in Unanue’s musings about suicide, which erased in one fell swoop histories like Ana María Murga’s and reinforced a geographically and racially contingent distinction between civilized and savage.

Across the Americas, discourses of native frailty melted easily into narratives of disappearance. The authors of Latin America’s “national romances” employed dying

⁵⁷ Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 20.

⁵⁸ Snyder, *The Power to Die*.

⁵⁹ Hipólito Unanue, *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima, y sus influencias en los seres organizados, en especial el hombre* (Lima, 1806), 141.

⁶⁰ Mark Thurner, *History’s Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* (Gainesville, Fla., 2012), 85.

native characters in national allegories, often in the mold of James Fenimore Cooper.⁶¹ In one famous example, written in 1865, *Iracema*, an indigenous princess, seduces a Portuguese soldier and gives birth to the “first” Brazilian, knowing that doing so will cause her to die. Her fate exemplifies the outlook of the book’s author, José de Alencar, who thought of Brazil, Doris Sommer writes, as “special, not because of heroic resistance but because of romantic surrender.”⁶² Analogous ideas infused travel writing. In 1852, a Swiss naturalist wrote, “[During] the Spanish conquest . . . a great number of Indians committed suicide in despair.”⁶³ Like many contemporaries (and successors), he took the conquistadors and clergy at their word, thus helping inscribe colonial accounts of conquest in the racial imaginations of nineteenth-century authors and their audiences. Clements Markham, a British naval officer, geographer, and explorer who collected cinchona tree seeds in the Andes and transported them to colonial plantations in India, found “vestiges” of “the time of the Incas” in a Peruvian poem about a native deity who would “meditate suicide on account of his love for Ccori-ttica (the Golden Flower).” Markham marveled, “How true is this idea of one meditating suicide, indignant at the fearful contrast between the calm and beautiful face of nature, and the unrestrained sorrows and stormy passions of his own untutored mind.”⁶⁴ Like many before him, Markham gendered suicide, in this case emasculating the native figure as emotionally and intellectually underdeveloped.

Others trafficked in narratives of black disappearance, especially where national mythologies emerged around fictive white or mestizo identities that excluded people of African descent.⁶⁵ But though observers across the Americas used suicide to explain or forecast the disappearance of both black and native peoples, new discourses, like their colonial antecedents, also functioned to distinguish and separate. Cuban statesman José Antonio Saco described the Caribbean’s black slaves as always ready to fight for “liberty” and juxtaposed them with the region’s first inhabitants, “almost all of whom died from fatigue, suicide, and smallpox.”⁶⁶

The specter of black rebellion also affected abolitionists’ approach toward slave suicide. This was especially so in Cuba, where the prolonged struggles for abolition (1886) and independence (1902) frequently intertwined. In 1819, authorities double-crossed and ambushed Ventura “Coba” Sánchez, the leader of a community of runaway slaves. According to an official report, he then “chose to drown in the Quiviján River rather than surrender.”⁶⁷ Accurate or not, the story gained written prominence only in the twentieth century.⁶⁸ Until then, a powerful former slave who died by his

⁶¹ Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*.

⁶² José Martiniano de Alencar, *Iracema: A Novel*, trans. Clifford E. Landers (New York, 2000); Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*, 150.

⁶³ J. J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru, during the Years 1838–1842*, new ed., trans. Thomasina Ross (New York, 1852), 349.

⁶⁴ Clements R. Markham, *Cuzco: A Journey to the Ancient Capital of Peru* (London, 1856), 190, 191.

⁶⁵ The classic example is Argentina. George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wis., 1980).

⁶⁶ José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo mundo y en especial en los países américo-hispanos* (Barcelona, 1879), 134.

⁶⁷ Quoted and translated in José L. Franco, “Maroons and Slave Rebellions in the Spanish Territories,” in Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, 1996), 35–48, here 43.

⁶⁸ Julia Cuervo Hewitt, *Voices out of Africa in Twentieth-Century Spanish Caribbean Literature* (Lewisburg, Pa., 2009), 369 n. 152; Dirección Política de las FAR, *Historia de Cuba* (Havana, 1985), 121–123;

own hand did not provide the kind of imagery that even abolitionists wanted to embrace. The mid-nineteenth-century decline of the slave trade and the subsequent rise in value of *capital vivente* (working capital) contributed further to this dynamic, as did the enduring fear of black uprising, which made a figure such as Coda dangerous, even (or especially) to abolitionists.⁶⁹

Similar dynamics prevailed in Brazil, where slave owners clung to the argument that abolition would destroy the national economy. U.S. proponents of slavery made economic-based arguments, too, but a whole class of planters also defended the institution on moral terms, casting it as a “positive good.” In Latin America, that kind of moral defense was less common. Brazilian owners even professed ethical opposition to slavery, which, they maintained, had to be preserved to prevent national financial ruin. By defending slavery in these terms—and eschewing a moral argument—Brazilian planters could appear progressive and in favor of ending slavery even while preserving it more than two decades longer than in the U.S.⁷⁰

The relative absence of “positive good” arguments did not, of course, somehow make Latin American slave masters benevolent or less cruel; they benefited when slavery was debated in economic rather than moral terms. Throughout the Atlantic world, owners mortgaged their slaves, but the practice was rarely discussed publicly in the United States, where it functioned as what Bonnie Martin calls “slavery’s invisible engine.”⁷¹ In Brazil, by contrast, the leveraging of human collateral operated more openly, especially during and after slavery’s final days, when owners were compensated for financial losses incurred through abolition. That compensation necessitated public cataloguing, as bald an example as any of capital pushing morality from the picture and reducing humans to nothing more than financial assets.⁷² When slavery was challenged on moral grounds, suicide could galvanize abolitionist efforts. But when capital dominated the debate, self-destruction could be more easily reduced to the cold, brutal terms of slave traders and owners, who viewed it first and foremost as the loss of property.

In the North Atlantic, abolitionist use of slave suicide blossomed after the 1773 publication of the poem *The Dying Negro*, penned by two Britons and featuring a slave who stabs himself in search of freedom and Christian redemption.⁷³ Aphra Behn’s famous abolitionist novel *Oroonoko* and its theatrical adaptation, so popular in the North, left a lighter footprint to the south. First published in 1688, the novel was

César Leante, *Los guerrilleros negros* (Mexico City, 1979); William Luis, *Literary Bondage: Slavery in Cuban Narrative* (Austin, Tex., 1990), chap. 5.

⁶⁹ Pérez, *To Die in Cuba*, 48. Two important exceptions—novels that used accounts of slave suicide to draw attention to the horrors of slavery—are Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco, el ingenio; o, Las delicias del campo: Novela cubana* (1947; repr., Miami, 1969); and Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés, or El Angel Hill*, ed. Sibylle Fischer, trans. Helen Lane (Oxford, 2005).

⁷⁰ Barbara Weinstein, “The Decline of the Progressive Planter and the Rise of Subaltern Agency: Shifting Narratives of Slave Emancipation in Brazil,” in Gilbert M. Joseph, ed., *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North* (Durham, N.C., 2001), 81–101. Weinstein draws on passing observations made earlier by, among others, Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made* (New York, 1969); Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York, 1971).

⁷¹ Bonnie Martin, “Slavery’s Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property,” *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (2010): 817–866, here 819.

⁷² Nancy Priscilla Naro, *A Slave’s Place, a Master’s World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (New York, 2000), 153–155.

⁷³ Thomas Day and John Bicknell, *The Dying Negro: A Poetical Epistle* (London, 1773). See Bell, *We Shall Be No More*, 204–208; Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 13–14, 121–127.

adapted for the stage seven years later and then performed continuously in Britain for well over a century. But in 1795 performances of the play were prohibited in Charleston, South Carolina, and, to our knowledge, it never saw the stage in Kingston, Jamaica.⁷⁴ Though set in Suriname, it was not translated into Dutch until the twentieth century.⁷⁵ Spanish and Portuguese versions came similarly late, and the work does not appear to have been mentioned even in passing in nineteenth-century Brazilian periodicals. Meanwhile, slave suicide became such an enduring fixture in the North that some British planters projected empathy and distress about their charges who killed themselves, casting them, impossibly, as fit for bondage and at the same time imbued with a uniquely English passion for freedom.⁷⁶

Though Brazilian abolitionists also assailed slavery as immoral, the fact that their loudest opponents often defended the institution in economic terms left little space for suicide to function as a critique of slavery. If everyone claimed to agree that slavery was evil, otherwise powerful suicide stories were, in a sense, headed off at the pass. Fears of slave rebellion and post-abolition economic collapse shrank the opening further still. Understood in economic terms and tethered to apocalyptic post-abolition fears, slave suicide was a less effective tool for Brazilian and Cuban abolitionists than for their counterparts in the North Atlantic.⁷⁷

The difference between North and South is further evident through abolitionist approaches to Zumbi.⁷⁸ Brazilian intellectuals began to write about the *quilombo* leader with increasing frequency during the nineteenth century. But even as his story emerged in national and regional histories, abolitionists studiously avoided him. Castro Alves's 1870 poem "Saudação a Palmares" (Salute to Palmares), perhaps the only Brazilian abolitionist piece dedicated to the fugitive slave settlement, does not mention Zumbi.⁷⁹ The famous statesman and anti-slavery advocate Joaquim Nabuco men-

⁷⁴ Mrs. A. Behn, *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave: A True History* (London, 1688). See Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 106–107.

⁷⁵ Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger, "Introduction" to "A Mosaic Setting: A Contrastive History of Genre," in A. James Arnold, ed., *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, vol. 2: *English- and Dutch-Speaking Countries* (Amsterdam, 2001), 471–477, here 473.

⁷⁶ Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 154.

⁷⁷ It seems plausible that the long reach of the Catholic Church, which looked dimly upon suicide, may also help explain its relative absence in Latin American abolitionist discourse. And as in Cuba, Brazilian abolitionists' general avoidance of suicide was not without exception. For example, José de Alencar's play *Mãe* (*Mother*), written in 1859, features a slave who kills herself, an act, Severino João Albuquerque writes, that preserved "one of the slave-holder's most cherished images, that of the slave as the paradigm of blind devotion." Albuquerque, "The Brazilian Theatre up to 1900," in Roberto González Echevarría and Enrique Pupo-Walker, eds., *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*, vol. 3: *Brazilian Literature; Bibliographies* (Cambridge, 1996), 105–125, here 118; Dawn Duke, *Literary Passion, Ideological Commitment: Toward a Legacy of Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian Women Writers* (Lewisburg, Pa., 2008), 223 n. 5. The play can be accessed online at <http://www.dominiopublico.gov.br/download/texto/bi000161.pdf>.

⁷⁸ Useful introductions to Zumbi and Palmares include Edison Carneiro, *O quilombo do Palmares, 1630–1695* (São Paulo, 1947); Jean Marcel Carvalho França and Ricardo Alexandre Ferreira, *Três vezes Zumbi: A construção de um herói brasileiro* (São Paulo, 2012); Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *De olho em Zumbi dos Palmares: Histórias, símbolos e memória social* (São Paulo, 2011); Gomes, ed., *Mocambos dos Palmares: Histórias e fontes (séc. XVI–XIX)* (Rio de Janeiro, 2010); Andressa Mercês Barbosa dos Reis, "Zumbi: Historiografia e imagens" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista–Campus de Franca, 2004); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana, Ill., 1996), chap. 4.

⁷⁹ Dale T. Graden, "History and Motive as Seen through Antônio Frederico de Castro Alves's 'Saudação a Palmares,'" *Brasil/Brazil* 6, no. 9 (1993): 27–45. José Joaquim de Campos da Costa de Medeiros e Albuquerque, a prominent writer, penned a poem about Palmares that highlights Zumbi's sui-

tioned and valorized Palmares and Zumbi but called them “isolated fact[s] in our history.”⁸⁰

That Brazilian anti-slavery activists would be cautious in their treatment is somewhat unsurprising given the fact that two decades *after* abolition, the criminal anthropologist Raymundo Nina Rodrigues celebrated Palmares but criticized those who would “almost lament its destruction.” Brazilians needed to shed their newfound “unconditional idolatry for liberty” and give thanks to history’s real heroes—the colonial forces who defeated Zumbi and destroyed “the greatest of threats to the civilization of the future Brazilian people, this new Haiti, resistant to progress and inaccessible to civilization.”⁸¹ In a country where fear of black rebellion lingered even into the twentieth century, a figure as oppositional and threatening as Zumbi did not offer a viable abolitionist symbol. Brazilian anti-slave activists instead deployed other tropes of moral suasion (for example, the paternalistic protection of slave women and their wombs) while also relying on arguments that slavery prevented industrial development or hindered population growth.⁸² Activists also advanced their cause by plugging into other social movements and exploiting political rivalries and the growing sense that slavery impeded national progress and left Brazil increasingly isolated and backward.⁸³

By contrast, the black abolitionist publishers of New York’s *Anglo-African Magazine* exercised little caution when they printed an article by the African American poet Frances Ellen Watkins Harper in 1860 featuring none other than Zumbi, whose actions projected “hope to see much accomplished in the future progression and welfare of our race.”⁸⁴ Zumbi and his followers “resolved not to be taken alive; death in one of its terrible forms was before them; but they rushed to it in preference to captivity.”⁸⁵ That the Zumbi suicide narrative found its way into North American abolitionism while being carefully avoided by Brazilian activists highlights suicide’s different regional trajectories. In the South Atlantic, anti-slavery advocates remained more cautious than their counterparts in the North Atlantic, even as others around them began to write about Zumbi and other non-white martyrs with increasing frequency.⁸⁶

cide. Tellingly, the piece was published in 1889, on the first anniversary of abolition. Medeiros e Albuquerque, “Palmares,” *Treze de Maio* 2, no. 7 (1889): 39–44.

⁸⁰ Joaquim Nabuco, *A escravidão* (1870) (Recife, 1988), 108. In passing, Silvia Lara treats Nabuco’s and Castro Alves’s texts as evidence of Brazilian abolitionist use of Zumbi and Palmares, but without citing other examples. Lara’s work on Palmares is nothing short of pathbreaking, but on this point, and especially when read alongside North Atlantic abolitionists, I do believe that Nabuco and Castro Alves are better understood as important exceptions rather than illustrations of a larger trend. Silvia Hunold Lara, “Do singular ao plural: Palmares, capitães-do-mato e o governo dos escravos,” in João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds., *Liberdade por um fio: História dos quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1996), 81–109, here 99.

⁸¹ Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, “A troya negra: Erros e lacunas da história de Palmares,” *Revista do Instituto archeológico, histórico, e geográfico pernambucano* 11, no. 63 (1904): 645–672, here 652–653.

⁸² Célia M. Marinho de Azevedo, *Abolitionism in the United States and Brazil: A Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1995); Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2013).

⁸³ For example, Peter M. Beattie, *Punishment in Paradise: Race, Slavery, Human Rights, and a Nineteenth-Century Penal Colony* (Durham, N.C., 2015); Maria Helena Machado, *O plano e o pânico: Os movimentos sociais na década da abolição* (Rio de Janeiro, 1994).

⁸⁴ Jane Rustic [Frances Ellen Watkins Harper], “Zombi, or Fancy Sketches,” *Anglo-African Magazine*, February 1860, 33–37, here 36. I am grateful to Juan Suarez Ontaneda for this reference.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* This language, it is worth pointing out, very closely resembles that used by Barbot.

⁸⁶ This difference is especially notable given the overlap between abolitionist networks in Brazil, Cuba, and the North Atlantic. Azevedo, *Abolitionism in the United States and Brazil*; Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom*.

In the decades after independence, suicide continued to mark racial difference. When discussed in relation to native people, it functioned most often as a metaphor or explanation for disappearance and a means for distancing new nations from their “backward” Indian origins. Though similar dynamics could mark discussions of black suicide, the fear of slave rebellion, the relationship between abolition and independence, and slavery’s enduring economic importance placed clear limits on the effectiveness of suicide as an anti-slavery trope in Latin America. That difference exemplifies suicide’s archival lopsidedness. As evidence of native disappearance, suicide fit into emerging national narratives more smoothly than it did in contexts where slavery stood out like a knot on the body politic. Its comparative absence in South Atlantic abolitionist discourse, then, hardly renders it meaningless. To the contrary, silence and studied avoidance exemplify the ability of suicide to shape discussions of race and nation in multiple ways.

THE POWER OF SILENCE—and the importance of examining absence alongside presence—is clear in the divergent post-independence trajectories of Zumbi and a similar story from the Amazon, where in 1727 Portuguese soldiers captured Ajuricaba, a Manao Indian aligned with rival Europeans. Imprisoned on a riverboat, he and some fellow captives mutinied. Despite being bound in chains, Ajuricaba threw himself overboard. Colonial officials considered the act a suicide, a conclusion that the few historians who mention Ajuricaba accept at face value.⁸⁷

The extent to which Ajuricaba’s story circulated during the eighteenth century is unclear. After independence, it gained limited regional visibility. In 1863, a newspaper in the northeast referenced Ajuricaba in a longer exhortation for Brazilians to embrace their indigenous history. The writer likened him to the Aztec ruler Cuauhtémoc, and to Hatuey, the legendary indigenous fighter who battled the Spanish in Cuba.⁸⁸ An Amazonian almanac published in 1884 lauded Ajuricaba’s “tenacity” and willingness to die for a larger cause. During the same era, a commercial ship and a store in Manaus took his name.⁸⁹ Nabuco included Ajuricaba in a larger study of Brazilian law, first published in 1903, and in 1931 a historian from the Amazon called him one of “the first to battle for liberty in America.”⁹⁰

In contrast to Ajuricaba, who became a regional but not a national symbol, Zumbi’s star rose gradually across the nineteenth century, and then more markedly after abolition (1888) and the transition from an independent monarchy to a republic

⁸⁷ Nádia Farage, *As muralhas dos sertões: Os povos indígenas no Rio Branco e a colonização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991), 62–63; David Graham Sweet, “A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640–1750” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1974), 545–546; Robin M. Wright and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, “Destruction, Resistance, and Transformation—Southern, Coastal, and Northern Brazil (1580–1890),” in Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, vol. 3: *South America, Part 1* (Cambridge, 1999), 287–381, here 365.

⁸⁸ Guilherme Amazonas de Sá, “Discurso que devia ser pronunciado pelo acadêmico Guilherme Amazonas de Sá,” *Diário de Pernambuco*, September 2, 1863, 8.

⁸⁹ “História da província do Amazonas (de 1540 a 1883),” in *Almanach administrativo, historico, estatístico e mercantil da província do Amazonas para o anno 1884* (Manaus, 1884), 90; *Amazonas*, August 19, 1881, 3; *Jornal do Amazonas*, May 6, 1886, 4.

⁹⁰ Joaquim Nabuco, *O direito do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1949), 67–78; Arthur César Ferreira Reis, *História do Amazonas* (1931; 2nd ed., Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1989), 102.

(1889). By the 1920s and 1930s, he was a widely recognized cultural referent, and today he is one of the nation's most prominent historical figures, celebrated in Carnival parades and the namesake for the National Day of Black Consciousness, held on November 20, the day he died. Though Ajuricaba retains valence in small pockets of Brazil, nationally he is largely unknown. His purported suicide—ostensibly as heroic as Zumbi's—has been all but erased.

That erasure is indicative of dynamics both particular to Brazil and more generalizable across the Americas. In contrast to Iracema's "romantic surrender," Ajuricaba died fighting. The fact that he was from the Amazon, far from Brazil's coastal cultural and political powers, where Zumbi and Iracema first gained currency, is also significant. The difference between Ajuricaba and Zumbi also reflects a larger process through which African and black symbols and figures gradually replaced native imagery at the center of the nation's gallery of racial mascots. That complex, fraught process emerged in part from a desire to distinguish Brazil from its putatively Indo-mestizo neighbors, and also as a product of black political and cultural mobilizations.⁹¹

Zumbi's and Ajuricaba's contrasting trajectories underscore suicide's ability to emphasize racial difference not only between white and non-white, but also between black and native. If Zumbi's story provided barren ground for Brazilian abolitionists, in other contexts it gained more traction, with suicide functioning as a mollifying agent that helped turn a story of colonial violence into a more romantic tale that fed into equally fanciful ideas about racial harmony and national unity. Around the turn of the twentieth century, researchers began to write about previously ignored colonial documents about Palmares that showed that Zumbi did not, in fact, commit suicide, and was instead killed by colonial soldiers, who decapitated his corpse and posted his head in public. One new document, a researcher who worked at the National Library wrote, "puts an end to the legend of the suicide of Zumbi."⁹² That was wishful thinking. For years, most studies reproduced the suicide narrative, which retained cachet even as scholars and activists forcefully and repeatedly countered it.

When Zumbi's death is understood as the product of his own hand, it could represent a palatable alternative to a more grisly history. The decapitation and display of his severed head for public consumption betrayed the kind of violence and barbarism that whites so often pinned on Africans. Much more attractive was the narrative conveyed in an influential national history, written in 1822, the year that Brazil declared independence, that described how Zumbi and his charges "voluntarily threw themselves from the top of the peak, not wanting to survive at the cost of losing their liberty."⁹³ In the following decades, regional and national histories incorporated similar accounts, as did foreign writers. In 1857, the North American reverends D. P. Kidder and J. C. Fletcher wrote, "When all hope was gone, [Zumbi] and the most resolute of his followers retired to the summit of a high rock within the enclosure, and, preferring death to slavery, threw themselves from the precipice." Of those captured alive, "[a] fifth of the men were selected for the Crown: the rest were divided among the captors as their booty."⁹⁴

⁹¹ For an overview, see Dain Borges, "The Recognition of Afro-Brazilian Symbols and Ideas, 1890–1940," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 32, no. 2 (1995): 59–78.

⁹² Mario Behring, "A morte do Zumbi," *Kosmos* 3, no. 9 (1906): n.p.

⁹³ Fernando Denis, *O Brasil*, 2 vols. in 1 (Salvador, 1955), 2: 94.

⁹⁴ D. D. Kidder and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1857), 512, 513.

Such accounts found their way into scholarly work. Some sixty years later, University of California historian Charles Chapman wrote, "Seeing that his cause was lost beyond repair, the *Zombe* hurled himself over the cliff, and his action was followed by the most distinguished of his fighting men. Some prisoners were indeed taken, but it is perhaps a tribute to Palmares, though a gruesome one, that [those who did not kill themselves] were all put to death; it was not safe to enslave these men, despite the value of their labor."⁹⁵ Like Kidder and Fletcher, Chapman linked suicide and economic worth. Where masters gnashed their teeth at the financial hit that accompanied slave suicide, Zumbi's death could be cast in different terms—the heroic stand of a freedom-loving precursor to the nation. His suicide thus removed blood from the hands of Brazil's colonial forebears by absolving them of directly killing him, and it helped spin colonial violence and racism into a fictive narrative of racial harmony that, however improbably, took root in a nation that preserved slavery longer than any other in the Americas, and where even in the twentieth century, commentators could use Palmares to evoke Haiti.

IF EURO-BRAZILIANS FEARED the specter of black violence, in Peru racial paranoia centered mainly on indigenous people. Despite the significant presence of African slaves during the colonial era, especially after independence (1824) and abolition (1854), national and foreign observers emphasized Peru's native and Spanish origins, thereby squarely placing the nation within "Indo" America. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Peruvian elites "rediscovered" indigenous culture as part of a region-wide Spanish American process that, writes Rebecca Earle, utilized "pre-Columbian history to construct national pasts that accorded little place to the contemporary indigenous population."⁹⁶ Cahuide, the Inca who killed himself while battling the Spanish at Sacsahuamán, fit the bill perfectly.

Two foreign writers—the Harvard-trained William H. Prescott and Sebastián Lorente, an enormously influential Spanish-born writer living in Peru—reinserted Cahuide into the written record during the mid-nineteenth century.⁹⁷ The first known reference is the unsigned 1539 chronicle of Spanish feats.⁹⁸ For centuries the original version of that text was lost, and scholars consulted copies, which for unknown reasons omit Cahuide's name even while detailing his heroic acts. Two accounts from the early 1570s, one by an Inca nobleman and the other by conquistador Pedro Pizarro, describe the suicide at Sacsahuamán without identifying the fighter.⁹⁹ How Cahuide's

⁹⁵ Charles E. Chapman, "The Negro Numantia," *Journal of Negro History* 3, no. 1 (1918): 29–32, here 32.

⁹⁶ Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham, N.C., 2007), 183.

⁹⁷ Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la conquista del Perú* (Lima, 1861); William Hickling Prescott, *Historia de la conquista del Perú: Con observaciones preliminares sobre la civilización de los Incas* (Madrid, 1853). Lorente "almost single-handedly wrote postcolonial Peru's first generation of republican history textbooks"; Thurner, *History's Peru*, 125.

⁹⁸ "Relación del sitio del Cuzco y principio de las guerras civiles del Perú hasta la muerte de Diego de Almagro."

⁹⁹ Pedro Pizarro, *Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga (Lima, 1917); Diego de Castro Yupangui, *Relación de la conquista del Perú y hechos del Inca Manco II*, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos Alberto Romero (Lima, 1916).

name reentered the historical record is a mystery. In the 1940s, the Peruvian scholar Francisco Loayza dedicated an entire volume to the topic but was unable to draw convincing conclusions and was eventually forced to change the title of his book from *Cahuide Did Not Exist* to the decidedly less provocative *Cahuide Was Not Named Cahuide*.¹⁰⁰

Like Zumbi's, Cahuide's death provided a relatively clean ending to a messy, grisly colonial story. "With Cahuide's defeat," Lorente wrote, "his forces faltered, and some fifteen hundred of them surrendered without further resistance."¹⁰¹ Prescott touched similar chords. Pizarro, he explained, respected Cahuide and sought to capture him alive. "But the Inca chieftain was not to be taken; and, finding further resistance ineffectual, he sprang to the edge of the battlements, and, casting away his war-club, wrapped his mantle around him and threw himself headlong from the summit. He died like an ancient Roman. He had struck his last stroke for the freedom of his country, and he scorned to survive her dishonor."¹⁰² As it did for Zumbi, Cahuide's suicide removed blood from colonial hands; Pizarro wanted to capture him alive, but he chose to kill himself. Cahuide's heroism also provides a contrast to prevailing notions about frail natives and granted a form of agency regularly denied to non-whites. But of course there were strict limits to that budding discourse.

In 1870, Lima's new *gran reloj* included a panel depicting "The Immolation of Cahuide during the Battle of Sacsayhuamán." (See Figure 1.) By the early twentieth century, he was a staple of patriotic historical accounts. Actors performed the defense of Sacsahuamán in 1920, when the University of Cuzco bestowed an honorary degree on Woodrow Wilson, and in 1924, when General John J. Pershing visited Peru.¹⁰³ General-cum-author Felipe de Barra roundly criticized Loayza's suggestion that Cahuide "did not exist," enthusiastically explaining (though without resolving the mysteries surrounding his name) that he was a central component of the "moral education" of schoolchildren and soldiers. Cahuide's name graced military posts along the national border, military buildings and vehicles, street names in cities across the nation, sport clubs, and literary magazines.¹⁰⁴ Barra called him an "intrepid and gallant Peruvian Indian who defended the last bastion of Sacsahuamán and destroyed himself before falling into the hands of the enemy."¹⁰⁵ Such heroism served as a model for latter-day Peruvians, including "a soldier who saw the imminent capture of the flag with which he had guided his men into combat, and in order to save it from enemy hands and from not himself falling prisoner, held the flag high and jumped off [the nearby] cliff."¹⁰⁶ Barra may have been referring to a battle during the War of the Pacific (1879–1883), or he just as easily could have invented the story. Regardless, the

¹⁰⁰ Francisco A. Loayza, *Cahuide no existió: Ensayo crítico-histórico, basado en antiguos documentos irrefutables* (Lima, 1944); Loayza, *Cahuide no se llamó Cahuide: Ensayo crítico-histórico, basado en antiguos documentos irrefutables* (Lima, 1948).

¹⁰¹ Lorente, *Historia de la conquista del Perú*, 299.

¹⁰² William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, ed. Wilfred Harold Munro, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1904), 2: 285.

¹⁰³ Felipe de la Barra, *El indio peruano en las etapas de la conquista y frente a la república* (Lima, 1948), 12. An emissary received the degree on Wilson's behalf.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12 n. 5.



FIGURE 1: Lima's *gran reloj* (clock tower) with a panel depicting "The Immolation of Cahuide during the Battle of Sacsayhuamán." Photo by Eugenio Courret, 1872. Archivo Fotográfico Courret, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima.

tale's meaning is clear. Through Cahuide, certain forms of native suicide could stand for something that they rarely had before: bravery and a font of national strength.

Masculinity facilitated this transformation. An 1898 poem called Cahuide a "lion" and a "great warrior."¹⁰⁷ In 1901, Peruvian artist José Effio painted his likeness in an image clearly inspired by an illustration in Prescott's *Historia de la conquista de Perú*. (See Figure 2.) Loayza described the defense of Sacsahuamán as "the fight of indigenuous virility against foreign intrusion," led by "the figure of an authentic Peruvian, of an Indian warrior, conglomeration of steeled muscles, virile blood, and an inflexible disposition to fight." The man that history would remember as Cahuide, Loayza wrote, was a "great representative of our race."¹⁰⁸

Considered alongside Zumbi and Ajuricaba, Cahuide reveals the ability of suicide to perform multiple kinds of racial differentiation. The ascension of Zumbi and the forgetting of Ajuricaba helped Brazil embrace—in limited and narrow ways—its emerging "Afro" identity, while leaving behind its native past. Cahuide's rise signals an opposite trajectory in Peru, where native figures made their way into national discourses and African-descended people were pushed ever further to the margins of national history. In both cases, whiteness or a white-ish *mestizaje* became an ideal capable of simultaneously incorporating non-white histories and marginalizing non-white people in the present. The heroic capitulation of black or Indian fighters served as a metaphor of sacrifice that cleared the way for the construction of future civilized nations. Like Cahuide, whose death while battling Spanish invaders became a means for projecting a mythical, mixed-race origins story, Zumbi helped generate a tale of national unity that turned a very real example of violent black resistance into a more romantic account of surrender and racial harmony. In both cases, the decoupling of suicide and colonial production helped pave the road to martyrdom. Cahuide was a far cry from the weak native who was said to have perished under the pressure of colonial labor and thus cleared the way for African slavery. While Zumbi deprived a would-be owner of his future labor when he died, he and the other *quilombolas* had already escaped slavery. Indeed, as Rodrigues would argue later, their deaths fit best into emerging national narratives when they were understood as clearing the way for "progress" and "civilization."¹⁰⁹ In this case, and in direct contrast to the slaves whose self-inflicted deaths could wreak havoc on a slave owner's finances, Zumbi's suicide helped remove an obstacle to the colonial slave system.

IF INDEPENDENCE AND ABOLITION forced American nations to confront and acknowledge non-white groups in new ways, suicide underscores the limits of those processes. Previously cast as nameless, faceless savages who either helplessly or aggressively ended their lives, after independence exceptional native and black figures were permitted a small degree of what could be termed agency over the self. Where observers once believed that "natural," pathological, and biological forces sent earlier waves of men and women to death by their own hands, latter-day commentators embraced the idea that Cahuide and Zumbi made conscious decisions to kill themselves. In the process, their suicides became engrained in national narratives and transformed from oppositional to patriotic.

¹⁰⁷ Arturo Montoya, "Cahuide," in Montoya, *Medallones* (Lima, 1898), 14.

¹⁰⁸ Loayza, *Cahuide no existió*, 7, 10.

¹⁰⁹ Rodrigues, "A troya negra," 652–653.



FIGURE 2: José Effio, *Cahuide en defensa de Sacsahuamán* (1901). Courtesy of the Museo de Arte de Lima.

The discourses attached to Cahuide and Zumbi were flexible enough to allow for frequent backsliding into older ideas, and also narrow enough to keep heroic figures permanently locked in the past. Rather than extinguish old ideas, non-white martyr stories served as exceptions to larger rules, a dynamic particularly evident in the way that suicide remained tethered to old ideas about race and forced labor after abolition, exceptional stories like Cahuide's and Zumbi's notwithstanding.

In 1878, British naturalist Henry Walter Bates published a book about his American travels. Bates's massive text mentions self-destruction twice—a passing reference to affluent, hard-drinking Bolivians who rarely killed themselves, and a longer discussion of “murderous and suicidal manias” in Brazil:

A singular method of revenge, sometimes indulged in by the slaves on a plantation, consists in a sort of suicide *en masse*. They will form a general resolution to poison themselves all round, and will carry it out with the greatest stoicism . . . The conclusion this judicious writer came to, after much experience and earnest consideration . . . , was that the only event that could involve the ruin of Brazil was the emancipation of the slaves before the State had amply provided beforehand for the change.¹¹⁰

Fortunately, Bates explained, anti-vagrancy laws and other cautionary measures were being put in place. Throughout the Americas, post-abolition vagrancy codes were often paired with projects to replace slaves with a new source of forced labor, Asian coolies, whose presence peaked during the second half of the nineteenth century, and whose suicides demonstrate how self-destruction remained racialized and tied to capital and labor even after slavery's demise. On behalf of 165 fellow Chinese laborers, Li Chao-ch'un submitted a petition to the British Cuba Commission, which investigated conditions in the coolie trade. The petition read, in part, “We cannot estimate the deaths that, in all, took place, from sickness, blows, hunger, thirst, or from suicide by leaping into the sea.”¹¹¹ Clements Markham, the Briton who valued “the unrestrained sorrows and stormy passions” of Inca suicide, was less philosophical when discussing Chinese workers, who were “very badly treated, and, in consequence, frequently commit suicide.”¹¹² The U.S. consul to Peru reported that guano farmers employed guards to prevent workers from “committing suicide by drowning.” “Life to the Chinaman,” he wrote, “possesses no attractive features, and death . . . is welcomed by him.”¹¹³

As with black slaves, and as the employment of guards to “protect” guano workers from killing themselves suggests, coolie suicide was understood as a threat to financial enterprises. A Cuban town council convened in 1864 to address growing concerns about criminal behavior among slaves, free people of color, and Chinese workers ultimately decided to focus its attention entirely on murder and suicide, both of which, Kathleen López writes, “impeded the regular routine of a plantation economy.”¹¹⁴ An officer in the Royal Navy observed “a strong suicidal tendency” among Asian workers constructing a railway in Central America. When the project was finally completed, the officer explained, it stimulated vibrant trade and great wealth.¹¹⁵ As the newest form of human labor whose suicide threatened profits, Asians served as a kind of macabre placeholder for spaces occupied previously by natives and blacks.

Even amid these changes, bedrock assumptions remained firm or resurfaced in new forms. In an 1882 study that proposed legal, moral, and religious measures to prevent sui-

¹¹⁰ Henry Walter Bates, *Central America, the West Indies and South America*, 3rd ed. (London, 1885), 422, 423–424.

¹¹¹ *Chinese Emigration: The Cuba Commission (Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba)* (Taipei, 1970; originally published 1876), 12.

¹¹² Markham, *Cuzco*, 191, 38.

¹¹³ Quoted in Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru*, 97–98.

¹¹⁴ Kathleen López, “Afro-Asian Alliances: Marriage, Godparentage, and Social Status in Late-Nineteenth-Century Cuba,” *Afro-Hispanic Review* 27, no. 1 (2008): 59–72, here 62.

¹¹⁵ Bedford Pim, *The Gate of the Pacific* (London, 1863), 204–205.

cide, doctor and writer James O'Dea observed, "There are marked differences between races and nations as regards tendency to suicide." He then mistakenly applied Bates's description of "murderous and suicidal manias" in Brazil to Central America.¹¹⁶ Such subtleties hardly seemed to matter. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, observers such as O'Dea drew conclusions that were often taken directly from colonial accounts and produced a self-referential feedback loop that could just as easily divide black and native or lump them together with Asians and other "backward" groups.

Many turn-of-the-century commentators reversed earlier pronouncements by challenging long-held conclusions about suicide and primitivism without unsettling other stereotypes and hierarchies. By the late nineteenth century, those who studied suicide had come increasingly to associate the act with white populations, thus inverting previous pronouncements. Civilization made whites more, not less, susceptible to self-destruction. Years earlier, European slaves on the Barbary Coast were said to be miserable but morally superior to black slaves in Brazil because they endured their lot and resisted the urge to kill themselves. Likewise, Unanue, for example, distinguished "civilized" Lima, free of suicide, from backward rural areas, where Indians seemed to kill themselves at will. Decades later, O'Dea noted a "fostering influence of civilization on suicide," a familiar refrain among those convinced that they were witnessing epidemics of white self-destruction.¹¹⁷ Though the terminology and rules of the game had shifted, the core assumption remained. Suicide—whether in its absence or by its presence—continued to serve as a means by which to mark white superiority.

That dynamic infused nationalist discourse. Four centuries after Girolamo Benzone wrote that natives in Cuba "longed for death," Lino Novás Calvo, a novelist who often seemed fixated on suicide, blamed the island's late independence, weak character, and national "pathos" on the suicidal proclivity of its original inhabitants, who "were not a strong, organized race." Suicide, he explained, was "frequent" among natives, whose defeatism made the Spanish conquerors and their descendants lazy. Novás Calvo even found "a certain measure of relief" in the fact that all the Indians died. "The vitality of a people," he mused, "is demonstrated in heroism, and even in martyrdom, but not in suicide."¹¹⁸ In rendering the blurry line between martyrdom and feckless suicide in sharp terms, he also separated "real" Cubans from natives.

Like Novás Calvo, though with different ends in mind, the former slave Esteban Montejo used suicide to explain who should count as Cuban. In his life history, first published in 1966, he said:

One [story] that I am convinced is a fabrication because I never saw such a thing . . . is that some Negroes committed suicide. Before, when the Indians were in Cuba, suicide did happen. They did not want to become Christians, and they hanged themselves from trees. But the Negroes did not do that, they escaped by flying . . . The Chinese did not fly, nor did they want to go back to their own country, but they did commit suicide.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ James J. O'Dea, *Suicide: Studies on Its Philosophy, Causes, and Prevention* (New York, 1882), 196, 197.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹¹⁸ Lino Novás Calvo, "El pathos cubano," in José María Chacón y Calvo, ed., *Homenaje a Enrique José Varona en el cincuentenario de su primer curso de filosofía (1880–1930): Miscelánea de estudios literarios, históricos y filosóficos* (Havana, 1935), 211–226, here 213, 214.

¹¹⁹ Esteban Montejo, *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave*, ed. Miguel Barnet, trans. Jocasta Innes (New York, 1968), 43–44.

It would miss the point to reduce Montejó's remarkable statement to a simple rejection or appropriation of earlier narratives. On the one hand, he seized colonial stereotypes and pinned them squarely on natives and Chinese. On the other hand, he also implicitly pointed out the inability or unwillingness of others to grasp the actions, experiences, and perspectives of slaves. Those slaves, Montejó insisted, did not commit suicide and instead escaped by flying home. This was not the pathological suicide of European imaginings, but rather a profound act of liberation.¹²⁰ In this way, he used suicide to delineate a unique cultural and racial identity and heritage, and to distinguish black from native and Chinese.

Antonio Chuffat Latour, an Afro-Chinese author born in 1860, around the same time as Montejó, was after something similar. Chuffat Latour placed coolies at the heart of a mixed-race Cuban nation and linked their sacrifices to those of African slaves. He highlighted Chinese sacrifice and contributions through stories of hard labor, punishment, death, and suicide.¹²¹ On one plantation, he wrote, fourteen "miserable *chinos*" hanged themselves in response to the terrible treatment they suffered. Their deaths were indicative of the suffering and sacrifice of the Chinese workers who, like black slaves, had helped build Cuba.¹²² Chuffat Latour thus found in suicide an opportunity to put forth his own definition of Cubanness, one that depended on the contributions of Chinese and other "foreigners" who "helped enrich Cuba and earn its independence; with that love that unites us as brothers, in search of progress and all things good for Cuba, our Fatherland."¹²³ For Chuffat Latour, self-destruction was not a sign of difference but rather an expression of Chinese Cubans' place at the heart of national history.

Chuffat Latour's and Montejó's ideas about suicide—each subversive for different reasons—offer tantalizing glimpses into the thoughts and ideas of those pathologized by white observers. For both men, setting the record straight about who committed suicide, under what circumstances, and toward what end was a meaningful exercise. For Montejó, "flying home" represented a means for selectively appropriating and discarding colonial tropes, and for differentiating Afro-Cuban from Chinese and indigenous history. To Chuffat Latour, self-destruction represented something else—not difference, but instead shared sacrifice and cross-race brotherly bonds. Both men's words remind us that resistance was only one of suicide's many racialized meanings, and of the many meanings and histories of race and suicide yet to be explored.

Chuffat Latour's and Montejó's ideas also ran headlong into prevailing hemispheric ideas, including the increasingly popular belief that civilization did not deter suicide and instead "fostered" it. This idea was not entirely new. Elites across the world defined self-destruction, at one time or another, as a "modern" ill.¹²⁴ That conviction nonetheless produced unique results in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-

¹²⁰ This closely resembles some of the ideas expressed by ex-slaves and their descendants interviewed in the U.S. during the 1930s. Snyder, *The Power to Die*, 157–166.

¹²¹ Antonio Chuffat Latour, *Apunte histórico de los chinos en Cuba* (Havana, 1927); Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia, 2008).

¹²² Chuffat Latour, *Apunte histórico de los chinos en Cuba*, 36.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹²⁴ See Howard I. Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity," in Weaver and Wright, *Histories of Suicide*, 19–52; Minois, *History of Suicide*, 59; Wright and Weaver, "Introduction," 8.

century Latin America, especially when it came into contact with evolving thoughts on race and nation. In Peru, legal and medical scholars described suicide as a scourge of modernity and a sign of moral and racial degeneration best confronted through eugenics-based social control projects.¹²⁵ The Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene categorized suicides together with delinquents, alcoholics, prostitutes, blacks, immigrants, and other degenerative societal “elements.”¹²⁶ Elite Peruvians and Brazilians might now be killing themselves in high numbers, scholars reasoned, but the origins of the problem and the true danger lay in each nation’s dark underclasses.

With less consternation than eugenicists, but often while reproducing similar ideas, eminent scholars of Afro-Latin America commented on the relationship between race, suicide, and civilization. Fernando Ortiz, one of twentieth-century Cuba’s most influential thinkers, received a letter in 1905 from his mentor Cesare Lombroso, who congratulated him on a recent publication and requested that he send his recent work on black suicide.¹²⁷ Drawing evidence from colonial and nineteenth-century writers, Ortiz painted a familiar picture of a pathological disposition toward self-destruction among various African peoples. In one text, he described two groups of Calabari slaves: one whose members had frequent contact with whites and were “more civilized,” and another, more isolated group, which was “inferior,” “violent,” “vengeful,” and “frequently inclined to commit suicide.”¹²⁸ Ortiz also reasoned that African slaves who killed themselves to avoid work might have learned the practice from Indians. To make the claim, Ortiz traversed space, citing as proof for his supposition a passage of a text about Cuban history that described how native Andeans’ “inclination toward laziness and sloth” led them to kill themselves in great numbers.¹²⁹ Like O’Dea, who transposed Brazilian suicidal tendencies onto Central America, Ortiz plucked evidence about Cuban suicide from the Andes, in this case taking two leaps: not only suggesting that African slaves might have learned suicidal tendencies from natives, but also imagining that the supposed proclivities of native Andeans could somehow represent the nature of indigenous people everywhere.

Ortiz belonged to a generation of Latin American thinkers who eased reservations about racial mixture by embracing a cautious optimism that under certain circumstances, American nations could draw strength and uniqueness from non-white heritage. Like Ortiz, the Brazilian intellectual Gilberto Freyre drew heavily (and often uncritically) from colonial sources in his own descriptions of suicide, which he discussed in his monumental text *The Masters and the Slaves*, a book that provided much of the intellectual ballast for what would later become known as (the myth of) racial democracy, the idea that Brazil had been shaped by a uniquely benevolent form of slavery

¹²⁵ Paulo Drinot, “Medico-Legal and Popular Interpretations of Suicide in Early Twentieth-Century Lima,” in Weaver and Wright, *Histories of Suicide*, 178–200, here 179–180.

¹²⁶ Lopes, “O suicídio como perigo social e urbano,” 106; José Roberto Franco Reis, “Higiene mental e eugenia: O projeto de ‘Regeneração Nacional’ da Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental (1920–30)” (master’s thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1994), 25.

¹²⁷ Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros brujos* (Havana, 2007), 1; Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 46.

¹²⁸ Fernando Ortiz, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos, estudio sociológico y de derecho publico* (Havana, 1916), 60.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 392; Rafael Cowley, ed., *Los tres primeros historiadores de la isla de Cuba*, 3 vols. (Havana, 1876), 1: 33.

that eventually produced a racially harmonious society.¹³⁰ Drawing evidence from European accounts and citing Alexander Goldenweiser, a Russian-born, U.S.-based anthropologist, Freyre described dirt-eating, *banzo*, and suicide as examples of what he understood to be an unassailable truth about race and civilization: "What kills off primitive peoples is the loss, as it were, of their will to live . . . once their environment has been altered and the equilibrium of their lives has been broken by civilized man."¹³¹ Incorporating and also revising earlier ideas, Freyre blamed African suicide on European colonialism, even while describing blacks as "primitive."

If Freyre understood civilization as a disruptive force that drove Africans to pine for a simpler, gentler life, others suggested that this disruption often failed to occur, thus leaving many blacks in a cocoon of backwardness that shielded them from suicide. For example, the African American psychologist Charles Prudhomme, whose work was read and cited in Brazil, explained the apparently low suicide rates among African Americans as a product of their "primitive level." Satisfied with "mere animal necessities," they were "not subject to the sting of the Western unstable economic system with its consequent influence in running up the suicidal rate as in the white group."¹³² Long a threat to white wealth and privilege, black suicide—in its absence—now also discursively reinforced both.

Whatever their view of the relationship between civilization and suicide, scholars across the hemisphere used accounts from colonial Latin America to make their point. One psychoanalyst rejected the notion that civilization fostered suicide, basing his thesis on the "established historical fact[s]" registered by Las Casas and Benzoni, who "authentically reported" suicidal proclivities among Latin America's native people.¹³³ Like clay in the hands of so many sculptors, suicide had become both a widespread practice among so-called primitive people and a scourge confined to the redoubts of white wealth and civilization.

THE ELASTICITY OF RACIALIZED discussions of suicide is a testament to the perpetual and simultaneous unreliability and durability of suicide myths and, at least in part, a product of the act itself. The nature of self-destruction raises questions that contemporaries, let alone historians, cannot answer. This open-endedness made for potent raw material in the hands of racial theorists, who trafficked in a world so uniquely fungible and firm that it was possible to permanently assign labels such as "civilized" and "savage," even as the traits associated with those labels freely changed.

Even slave traders and owners who avoided suicide-prone Africans disagreed about which ones deserved that appellation. Centuries later, while quibbling about whether non-whites were more or less prone to kill themselves, scholars shared a similar understanding of who was civilized and who was not. Like so many of their predecessors, they

¹³⁰ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-grande & Senzala): A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (New York, 1946).

¹³¹ Ibid., 181; Alexander Goldenweiser, "Race and Culture in the Modern World," *Journal of Social Forces* 3, no. 1 (1924): 127–136.

¹³² Charles Prudhomme, "The Problem of Suicide in the American Negro," *Psychoanalytic Review* 25, nos. 2 and 3 (1938): 187–204, 372–391, here 191, 192.

¹³³ Gregory Zilboorg, "Suicide among Civilized and Primitive Races," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 92, no. 6 (1936): 1347–1369, here 1352, 1353.

understood suicide as a measuring stick—better yet, a flexible measuring tape—for marking racial distinctions within and across national borders. Whether by linking or decoupling whiteness and suicide, elevating Zumbi and silencing Ajuricaba, or wrapping Cahuide in a fictional story of national inclusion, ideas about suicide helped mark racial and geographical coordinates that are still in place across Latin America today.

Suicide also helped animate some of slavery's most potent afterlives. Slavery made people talk about suicide as not only a moral, religious, or medico-legal issue, but also an intrinsically financial one—a threat to planters' and traders' bottom lines and an obstacle to production. But the implications here are even broader. As slavery and other forms of forced labor became dominant global value systems that determined who counted as human, the ability to perish by one's own hand became a means of making that determination—and, quite ironically, of divorcing labor regimes from the many lives they consumed.¹³⁴ Though the brutality of the work was always in the background, observers made race the cause of death, turning suicide into both proof and product of the racial matrices of forced labor: frail natives gave way to vigorous Africans and then coolies, who may have killed themselves because of harsh conditions, but by taking their own lives really just demonstrated their pathologies and inferiorities. The fact that ideas previously applied to Indians and Africans transferred easily to Asians further attests to the durability of the values undergirding slavery and to the enduringly tight relationship of race, labor, and suicide. In exceptional heroic cases such as those of Cahuide and Zumbi, suicide was understood not as an attack on colonial economic institutions, but rather as a foundational act of sacrifice that, for Zumbi and Palmares, could even be cast as removing an obstacle to “progress” and “civilization.”

Ideas from the colonial and post-independence eras anticipated the observations of twentieth-century men of letters and science, who reversed earlier definitions of civilization and suicide even while reproducing old assumptions about white superiority. Like the colonial observers whose ideas shaped their own, these men treated suicide as an expression of racial distinction. Ultimately, and despite remarkable reversals, inconsistencies, and great change, suicide's American archive thus reinforced the “particular interests” and perceived differences that once drove colonialism and slavery and that still shape our understanding of the past.

¹³⁴ I am grateful to Antoinette Burton for helping me flesh out this point.

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Governing the Living and the Dead: Mecca and the Emergence of the Saudi Biopolitical State

JOHN M. WILLIS

SAUDI ARABIA BEGAN THE YEAR 2015 with a series of morbid lessons on the centrality of the body to political power. On January 9, 2015, Raif Badawi, a liberal blogger, received the first fifty of one thousand lashes after his conviction for insulting Islam. Almost one week later, a video surfaced on the Internet showing the public beheading of Layla bint Abdul Mutaleb Bassim for the alleged murder of her husband's daughter. Finally, on January 23, 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the kingdom's monarch, passed away and was buried in an unmarked grave in a cemetery in Riyadh, the country's capital. The same day, his brother Salman was named king. Taken together, the spectacular violence carried out on the living and the solemn interment of the dead suggest a familiar paradigm of monarchical sovereignty. The flogging and execution of the convicted and condemned were potent reminders of the repressive power of the state as it was inscribed on the very bodies of its subjects. 'Abdullah's austere burial, and the rapid announcement of the accession of King Salman, was testimony instead to Ernst Kantorowicz's now-famous argument that the king inhabits both a mortal body and the eternal body of his genealogical line, in this case guaranteeing the continuity of Saudi rule in perpetuity. Indeed, on the basis of these very recent examples of embodied royal power, one could easily lament of the kingdom, echoing Michel Foucault, that we have yet to cut off the head of the Saudi king.¹

If the power of sovereign authority embodied by the Saudi family weighs heavily on the history of Saudi Arabia, it does so usually in combination with the forces of tribalism, religious reformism in the guise of so-called "Wahhabi" Islam, or the transformative power of the oil economy. In particular it is 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Sa'ud (1876–1953), considered the founder of the Saudi Kingdom, who is given pride of place as the chief

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¹ The reference is to Michel Foucault's statement that "in political thought and analysis, we still have not cut off the head of the king." Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1990), 88–89. On the role of the body and the spectacle of violence in the formation of royal sovereignty, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1995); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957; repr., Princeton, N.J., 1997).

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architect of the Saudi polity in his management of these disparate and often rival forces.² The result has been a historiography that has assumed a Saudi exceptionalism, a polity that functioned as a historical relic of older forms of monarchical and religious authority that were out of place in the modern world of nation-states. More recent work gives us reason to question this history by demonstrating the extent to which Saudi Arabia's formation was not *sui generis* but was always embedded in historical processes that were global. Askar H. al-Enazy, for example, has suggestively argued that the rise of the Saudi state was an effect of British imperial governance, global in its ambition and reach, rather than monarchical power, whether in alliance with tribal forces or the ideology of "Wahhabi" Islam. However, it is arguably the work of Robert Vitalis and Toby Jones that has most clearly transformed the study of Saudi Arabia. Both scholars have challenged historians to think about the emergence of Saudi political power within global histories of capital, labor, and the technopolitics of development.³ Vitalis reminds us that the Saudi polity emerged in part through its encounter with the racialized regimes of labor employed globally by the petroleum industry and locally by the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO), while Jones has just as convincingly demonstrated the extent to which nature itself became a domain of political intervention and control, with the discourse of environmental mastery through technology as one of its principal tools. In fact, what these scholars have located is the emergence of a governmental rationality in Saudi Arabia that had begun to target the categories of population, territory, and resources as objects of state management and intervention, which were themselves tied into global networks of capital, labor, and expertise.

But if it is true, as Giorgio Agamben argues, that the entrance of biological or bare life into the domain of the political constitutes the "foundational event of modernity," its analysis has yet to affect the study of the Saudi Kingdom.⁴ If we use the bodies of those tortured, condemned, and killed in 2015 as a means of redirecting our critical gaze to the emergence in the 1920s of a form of Saudi governance that was *biopolitical* in nature, we can see the growing practice of a type of government that was "situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population."⁵ Initiated by the Saudi conquest of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in 1924 and 1925 and the Saudi state's assumption of responsibility for the management of the annual Hajj pilgrimage, this transformation in the meaning and practice of

² E.g., David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London, 2006); Joseph Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia, 1916–1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (Oxford, 1993); John S. Habib, *Ibn Sa'ud's Warriors of Islam: The Ikhwan of Najd and Their Role in the Creation of the Sa'udi Kingdom, 1910–1930* (Leiden, 1978). In addition to these more critically attuned studies, there are numerous historical biographical works that focus on Ibn al-Sa'ud's singular role in the formation of the modern Saudi Kingdom. See, for example, Michael Darlow and Barbara Bray, *Ibn Saud: The Desert Warrior Who Created the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (New York, 2012); Haifa Alangari, *The Struggle for Power in Arabia: Ibn Saud, Hussein and Great Britain, 1914–1924* (Reading, England, 1998); Leslie McLoughlin, *Ibn Saud: The Founder of a Kingdom* (New York, 1993).

³ Askar H. al-Enazy, *The Creation of Saudi Arabia: Ibn Saud and British Imperial Policy, 1914–1927* (New York, 2010); Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (Stanford, Calif., 2006); Toby Craig Jones, *Desert Kingdom: How Oil and Water Forged Modern Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010).

⁴ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 4. Agamben's concept of "bare life" draws on the distinction in Greek between *bios* (natural, biological life) and *zoē* (qualified life, social and political life).

⁵ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 137.

sovereignty created a new order that was all the more significant because it targeted not only the population of what would become Saudi Arabia, but the millions of Muslims who came to Mecca as pilgrims as well. Indeed, Saudi biopolitics was from the outset enmeshed in what was becoming a global order of population management that emerged in the interwar period.⁶ As many historians have noted, the Hajj had already been at the center of imperial efforts to control the spread of contagious disease through the institution of effective programs of international quarantine.⁷ Ibn al-Sa‘ud’s government continued and expanded these efforts, implementing a regime of public health that took on the management of the lives of thousands of pilgrims, in health, sickness, and death, as part of an international sanitary order. But Saudi biopolitics expanded the notion of life beyond the physical or material, targeting individual believers during their sojourn in Islam’s holiest city, in an effort to discipline and cultivate a form of spiritual perfection that was distinctly embodied. Indeed, although under Ibn al-Sa‘ud sovereignty was increasingly exercised through the care of life, and only secondarily by taking it, this life was understood simultaneously in its biological capacity as population and in its moral capacity as the Umma, or global community of believers.

In short, Saudi biopolitics was directed at both the population and the individual Muslim body, confirming Foucault’s contention that “the disciplines of the body and the regulations of population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed.”⁸ This new regime was formalized in an apparatus of power in which public health regulations, the police, and Islamic law (*shari‘a*) operated commonly as technologies of power with life as their target. The practitioners of this emerging form of government were themselves a heterogeneous collection of doctors, Islamic jurists (*‘ulama’*), pilgrimage guides, and police, often operating according to different rationalities, which were not always in harmony and were just as often in conflict. As Nikolas Rose has argued of the historical emergence of biopolitics, “it was a fragmented field of contested truths, heterogeneous and often conflicting authorities, diverse practices of individual and collective subjectification, competing ways of thinking and acting, divergent opinions about what were the most important, and most ap-

⁶ Alison Bashford, “Global Biopolitics and the History of World Health,” *History of the Human Sciences* 19, no. 1 (2006): 67–88. The global nature of the biopolitical as a form of sovereign power has been suggested by a number of scholars, mostly for the period after World War II and related to the spread of a neoliberal political order and, in more recent years, of global security orders. See Matthew Connelly, “Author Response: All Biopolitics Is Global,” *History and Technology* 26, no. 1 (2010): 85–88; Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008); M. G. E. Kelly, “International Biopolitics: Foucault, Globalisation and Imperialism,” *Theoria* 57, no. 123 (2010): 1–26; Hidefumi Nishiyama, “Towards a Global Genealogy of Biopolitics: Race, Colonialism, and Biometrics beyond Europe,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33, no. 2 (2015): 331–346.

⁷ John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj, 1865–1956* (Cambridge, Mass., 2015), 78–80; Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860–1920* (Delhi, 2011); Michael Christopher Low, “Ottoman Infrastructures of the Saudi Hydro-State: The Technopolitics of Pilgrimage and Potable Water in the Hijaz,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 4 (2015): 942–974; Low, “Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269–290; Gülden Saryıldız, *al-Hajr al-Sihhi fi al-Hijaz*, trans. ‘Abd al-Raziq Barakat (Riyad, 2001); William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840–1908* (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), chap. 3; William R. Roff, “Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj,” *Arabian Studies* 6 (1982): 143–160.

⁸ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 139.

propriate, objectives for authoritative action.”⁹ The biopolitical state as it emerged in what became Saudi Arabia, then, was less an institutional agent than an effect of the accumulated weight of the diverse and often competing discourses and practices that targeted and intervened in the lives of the residents of the holy cities.¹⁰

The significance of this understanding of biopolitics as a contested field is that it allows us to account for the specific ways in which the government of life unfolded in Saudi Arabia without assuming the formation of a secular reason of state as its universal endpoint, which Foucault’s account seems to imply.¹¹ Indeed, the critical dyad of population/Umma hints at the complicated, often ambivalent ways in which the Saudi politics of life intersected with and permeated the projects of moral reform, themselves global in reach, initiated by the scholars of Islamic law and supported by pilgrimage guides, committees of public virtue, and the Ikhwan, the tribal military-religious brotherhood that spearheaded Saudi expansion. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the exercise of what Agamben called the sovereign ban, the power to remove people from political society and subject them to death. While in both Agamben’s and Foucault’s accounts the emergence of biopolitics also makes possible a new politics of permanent violence in defense of life in the form of racism, the Saudi ban was enacted through the ability to exclude other Muslims from the Umma by the process of *takfir*, or declaring one a non-believer.¹²

The emergence of this biopolitical regime and the technologies, both discursive and material, that worked to normalize patterns of health, embodied piety, and even death can be mapped through an examination of three exemplary events that took place in 1926. The first of these was the meeting of the International Sanitary Conference in Paris, in which the Saudis participated for the first time. The second was the publication of the text *Majmu‘at al-Tawhid*, a collection of writings by Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792) and members of his extended family on the doctrine of God’s unity, which was meant to educate the population of the newly conquered Hijaz

⁹ Nikolas Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, N.J., 2007), 54.

¹⁰ Timothy Mitchell, “Society, Economy, and the State Effect,” in George Steinmetz, ed., *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 76–97; Mitchell, “The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics,” *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 1 (1991): 77–96.

¹¹ To place the birth of government within a history of the development of secular reason is to ignore Foucault’s own argument that it was the Christian pastorate’s interest in the government of men that provided “the origin, the point of formation, of crystallization” for the emergence of governmentality into politics in the modern period. That is, Foucault makes it quite clear that the government of life is part of a Christian political theology cloaked in an immanent science of state. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York, 2007), 165. See also Giorgio Agamben, *What Is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford, Calif., 2009), 8–12.

¹² My understanding of the biopolitical capture of both the *shari‘a* and the ‘ulama’ is indebted to Najeeb Jan’s analysis in “The Metacolonial State: Pakistan, the Deoband ‘Ulama and the Biopolitics of Islam” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2010). The transformation of warfare into a battle for the biological community leads ultimately in Agamben’s analysis to the formation of the “camp” as the permanent state of exception in which all life is reduced to bare life or *homo sacer*. For Roberto Esposito, this permanent state of violence as a means of defending against further violence is a constitutive element of “immunitas.” See Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, ed. Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey (New York, 2003), 254–257; Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 174; Esposito, *Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life*, trans. Zakiya Hanafi (Cambridge, 2011), 38.

in the doctrine of God's oneness (*tawhid*) as embodied belief. The final event was the destruction of the tombs of the Prophet's family and companions in the Mu'alla and Baqi' cemeteries of Mecca and Medina, respectively, and the debate over the status of the dead that arose as a consequence. Taken together, these events can be understood as marking the emergence of a governmental rationality, the power of which derived from its insinuation into a diverse group of sometimes competing and often complementary discourses, institutions, and practices that targeted human life in its bio-moral capacities.

ON MAY 12, 1926, DR. MAHMUD HAMDI addressed an audience of doctors, public health professionals, and diplomats at the International Sanitary Conference, held that year in Paris. He thanked the attendees for inviting him, in his capacity as the head of the newly formed Saudi Public Health Authority (Idarat al-Sihha al-ʿamma), to address the body, but asked that they collectively address the clauses of the 1912 International Sanitary Convention that he felt contravened the Saudi government's "humanitarian duty, its moral position, and its political independence."¹³ At issue was the ability of the nascent Saudi government to administer the sanitary regime put in place over the past several decades to prevent the spread of contagious disease through the movement of pilgrims to and from Mecca and Medina. Dr. Hamdi assured the attendees that they had put in place a modern sanitary regime that would indeed halt the spread of disease, asserting that the Hijaz, under Saudi control, was contagion-free.

Hamdi's address to the conference marked an important, if overlooked, moment in the formation of the modern Saudi state and the type of sovereignty it exercised. Firstly, Saudi representation in the international body provided *de facto* recognition of the conquest and occupation of the Hijaz, formerly held by the dynasty of Sharif Husayn b. ʿAli, who was in exile in Transjordan by 1926.¹⁴ Secondly, and more importantly, Hamdi's address to the conference indicated a new form of government, which took as its principal function the management of human life, mortality, and death, and which had as its chief technocrat the figure of the physician. It marked the beginning of the Saudi biopolitical state, one that shared a common grammar of government with the international community of nation-states. But what was particular about the Saudi management of public health is that it unfolded in the temporally and spatially distinct space of Mecca and the annual Hajj, and it targeted the lives of not only those subject to Saudi rule, but also those of the universal community of Muslims who embarked on the pilgrimage.

Hamdi's appearance in Paris in 1926, however, was the culmination of a longer history of Ottoman governance and European imperialism that had increasingly viewed the Hajj primarily as a question of public health. As we know from the work of several historians, the management of the Hajj in both its hygienic and political capacities was

¹³ Ministère des affaires étrangères, *Conférence sanitaire internationale de Paris, 10 Mai–21 Juin, 1926: Procès-verbaux* (Paris, 1927), 77. On the political nature of this conference, see Anne Sealey, "Globalizing the 1926 International Sanitary Convention," *Journal of Global History* 6, no. 3 (2011): 431–455.

¹⁴ For detailed discussion of the political events leading up to the conquest of the Hijaz, see al-Enazy, *The Creation of Saudi Arabia*, chap. 6; Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashimite Kingdom of Arabia* (New York, 2001), chap. 9; Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia*, 100–117.

a central concern of the imperial powers, whether British, Ottoman, or Dutch. The cholera epidemic of 1865, as well as subsequent outbreaks in the Hijaz throughout the late nineteenth century, made clear the links between disease and imperial networks of shipping and labor mobility. For diplomats and public health experts, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the accelerated movement of goods and people that it enabled made palpable the fears of a global epidemic.¹⁵ Mecca and the annual Hajj sat at the center of these fears.

The international sanitary conferences that were convened with some regularity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries increasingly sought the regulation of transport to and from the Hijaz as a means of preventing the spread of disease, especially with the growing acceptance of theories of contagion. With the signing of the international sanitary conventions of 1894, 1912, and 1926, a sweeping public health regime was instituted, which targeted the mortality, in particular, of Muslim pilgrims as they traveled from their countries of origin to their destination and back. Indeed, the entire journey to Mecca was inscribed with the medicalized discourse of the body: from the medical inspection and inoculation at ports of departure, to the calculations of living space, toilets, and drinking water required to ensure the health of individual pilgrims, to the final measures of quarantine and disinfection at the stations of al-Tur in Egypt and the island of Kamaran (Qamaran) in the Red Sea.¹⁶

Mahmud Hamdi's appearance at the conference in 1926, however, followed a year of intense activity in Mecca itself. Hamdi was one of a number of Syrian and Lebanese merchants, technocrats, and religious scholars who advised and assisted Ibn al-Sa'ud in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁷ Up until that time, he had acted as Ibn al-Sa'ud's private physician. In 1925 he was put in charge of the Saudi Public Health Authority, which was to be based in Mecca, with subsidiary branches established in Medina, Jidda, Riyadh, Ihsa', and 'Asir in the following years.¹⁸ It was charged with "reforming sanitary conditions, taking necessary preventive measures to combat infectious disease, treating those infected by them, establishing charitable healthcare foundations, and especially guaranteeing public health during the Hajj season."¹⁹ The authority was given the mandate to oversee the administration of the medical establishment, responding directly to Prince Faysal b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in his capacity as the vice regent and governor of the Hijaz.

The Hajj became the principal target of the Health Authority, which increasingly

¹⁵ See Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (New York, 2013), chap. 6; Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence*; Low, "Empire and the Hajj"; Roff, "Sanitation and Security." On the shipping networks that integrated the pilgrimage into the infrastructures of imperial labor mobility, see Michael B. Miller, "Pilgrims' Progress: The Business of the Hajj," *Past and Present*, no. 191 (May 2006): 189–228. For an account of the broad cultural engagement with the modern "industrial Hajj," see Nile Green, "The Hajj as Its Own Undoing: Infrastructure and Integration on the Muslim Journey to Mecca," *Past and Present*, no. 226 (February 2015): 193–226.

¹⁶ See "International Sanitary Convention of Paris of January 17, 1912, Revised June 22, 1926," *Public Health Reports (1896–1970)* 43, no. 28 (July 13, 1928): 1819–1834.

¹⁷ See Fawwaz Traboulsi, "Saudi Expansion: The Lebanese Connection, 1924–1952," in Madawi Al-Rasheed, ed., *Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Political, Religious and Media Frontiers* (New York, 2008), 65–78, here 67; Henri Lauzière, *The Making of Salafism: Islamic Reform in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2016), 72–75.

¹⁸ Khayr al-Din al-Zarkali, *Shibh al-Jazira fi 'Ahd al-Malik 'Abd al-'Aziz*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1992), 1: 402.

¹⁹ "Nizam Maslahat al-Sihha al-'Ammah wa-l-Is'af," *Umm al-Qura*, February 4, 1927, 4.

viewed the ritual as a problem of population management. The masses of pilgrims who congregated in the port city of Jidda and the holy cities raised the specter of crowds (*izdiham*) and the types of proximal intimacy that led to the spread of infectious disease. Shortly after the occupation of Mecca, Hamdi penned a series of articles for the newly founded government paper, *Umm al-Qura*, outlining the causes, symptoms, and treatment of various communicable diseases that he argued were rampant in the Hijaz region. Malaria was among these, but so were several venereal diseases that were no doubt typical in heavily frequented port and coastal cities but were considered anathema in the “pure land” (*bilad mutahhara*) of the holy cities.²⁰ In the months that followed, Hamdi formulated an ambitious program of sanitary reform that targeted the pilgrimage and the pilgrims themselves. He first recommended a general program of sanitation for the city of Mecca, which focused on prophylactic measures (*fann al-wiqaya*). This would include arranging regular trash collection, draining fetid ditches and pools of standing water, cleaning household water tanks, and ensuring that water sources (such as ‘Ayn Zubayda) were kept clean, covered, and free from bathers.²¹ He also called for the creation of local public health councils to make policy recommendations to the government, as well as a government body to oversee their implementation. Similarly, he called for constructing modern bacteriological laboratories, free clinics for the poor, and emergency medical stations for pilgrims at the various sites of the Hajj rituals. All of these functions were to be administered by the state as an element of routine governance.²²

Yet, according to a report on the 1926 Hajj issued by the British consulate in Jidda, much of the public infrastructure was still not in place. Public sanitation was still lacking, and the newly established Meccan hospital employed only a few former Ottoman military doctors of Syrian origin, many of whom had not completed their training. From the point of view of the consulate, “that the pilgrimage should have passed off without a serious outbreak of disease is miraculous.”²³ Even in the years that followed, little improvement was seen. Public sanitation in the holy cities was still lacking, and hospitals were poorly equipped and understaffed, largely because of a lack of funding. Outbreaks of disease, especially dysentery and smallpox, were still common. The inadequacies of the health system were most vividly on display in 1928, when a Syrian doctor was employed as a surgeon in one of Mecca’s hospitals: all of the twenty-seven surgeries performed that year resulted in fatalities, and the surgeon subsequently resigned his position and left the country.²⁴

Despite its obvious limits, however, the Health Authority under Hamdi’s direction was able to establish a set of public health institutions, practices, and regulations that met with at least minor success, particularly during the Hajj. By 1928 and 1929, it was generally concluded by outside observers that the public health regime was at least

²⁰ Hamdi wrote several articles on syphilis (*da’ al-afrinj*), genital herpes (*al-qarha al-lina*), and gonorrhea (*saylan*), and only one on malaria. See his series of articles titled “Li-Hifz al-Sihha,” *Umm al-Qura*, January 3, 1925, 4; January 10, 1925, 4; January 17, 1925, 4; January 30 1925, 4; March 13, 1925, 4; April 9, 1925, 4; and May 16, 1925, 4.

²¹ “al-Tadabir wa-l-Tashkilat al-Sihhiyya fi Makka al-Mukarrama,” *Umm al-Qura*, February 20, 1925, 4.

²² “al-Tadabir al-Sihhiyya,” *Umm al-Qura*, February 27, 1925.

²³ “Pilgrimage Report, 1926,” in *Records of the Hajj: A Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 10 vols. (London, 1993), vol. 6: *The Saudi Period (1926–1935)*, 39–65, here 47–48.

²⁴ “Pilgrimage Report, 1930,” *ibid.*, 255–289, here 263.

somewhat effective, though not approaching the level of comprehensive reform that Hamdi had hoped to achieve.²⁵ *Umm al-Qura* would publish lengthy columns several months before the Hajj, providing guidance to pilgrims for the maintenance of individual and public health.²⁶ In Mecca one could now find the Ayyad and Qubban hospitals, as well as clinics at Shabika and Mu‘alla. In Medina the al-Sihha hospital was conveniently located next to the Prophet’s mosque, and in Jidda one could find both a hospital and a clinic. The most successful reforms, however, took place during the Hajj season, when the Health Authority set up special canopied first aid clinics along the various stations of the pilgrimage—at Mina, Muzdalifa, and ‘Arafa—staffed with doctors and nurses and outfitted with small dispensaries and ice water. Already in 1928, Aslam Jairajpuri, who made the Hajj that year from India, could write with some pride that “from Mina to ‘Arafat there are numerous hospital camps for pilgrims. There are also five doctors—‘Abd al-Hadi, Amin Bey, and Bashir, who are Syrians, and ‘Abd al-Hamid and Muhammad, who are from Lahore—all of whom are busy making rounds and providing treatment.”²⁷ By the time Manzur ‘Ali bin Ta’ib published *Haqiqat-i Hajj*, his 1934 guide for Indian Muslims embarking on the journey to Mecca, the Saudi management of the pilgrimage had changed significantly:

The government has taken considerable measures for the arrangement of public health. Certified and trustworthy doctors have been appointed, who give special consideration to the comfort of the sick. All medicine and treatment is free. And in the hospitals [*shifa-khana*] there are places made ready for the sick, so that every patient can receive treatment in comfort. A number of wood canopies have been prepared along the roads, each of which is attached to a small clinic, in which cold water, essential medicines, and so on are readily available.²⁸

Motorcars were used to convey the sick to first aid stations and the hospital or to remove dead bodies. It was in the field of emergency first aid that the regime was most successful, dramatically cutting mortality rates due to sunstroke during the Hajj rituals. Additionally, the Public Health Authority better monitored the safe disposal of animal remains after the Feast of the Sacrifice (‘Id al-Adha’) at the end of the season. A sys-

²⁵ British pilgrimage reports indicate improvement in general sanitation and government efforts to provide consistent medical care, but we also have the glowing account of the Indian Ahl-i Hadith scholar and activist Isma‘il Ghaznavi, who made the Hajj in 1928. Like many supporters of Ibn al-Sa‘ud from South Asia, he based his laudatory view of the new regime on a comparison to what he considered to be the abysmal reign of Sharif Husayn b. ‘Ali. Ghaznavi, *Islahat-i Hijaz* (Amritsar, 1928), 17.

²⁶ “Nasa’ih wa-Irshadat Sihhiyya,” *Umm al-Qura*, April 26, 1929, 1.

²⁷ Aslam Jairajpuri, “Halat-i Hajj,” in Jairajpuri, *Nawadirat*, 2nd ed. (Lahore, 1989), 274–295, here 291. One could also point to Ghulam Rasul Mihr’s account of the Hajj in 1930, which applauds Ibn al-Sa‘ud’s efforts to ensure the comfort and health of the pilgrims. Mihr, *Safarnama-yi Hijaz*, ed. Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri (Karachi, 1984), 87. Muhammad Su‘ud al-‘Uri, a member of the ‘ulama’ from Jerusalem, was equally impressed with his experience that same year. See his *al-Rihla al-Sa‘udiyya al-Najdiyya al-Hijaziyya* (Cairo, 1930/1931), 33–34. Even the generally skeptical British consulate could report in 1928 that “[t]he reduction in the number of deaths may be attributed largely to improved conditions. The increased water supply, the erection of shelters and the ambulance service all contributed to reduce the number of deaths from heat exhaustion, which swelled so greatly last year’s figures.” “Report on the Pilgrimage, 1928,” in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 185–209, here 190.

²⁸ Manzur ‘Ali bin Ta’ib, *Haqiqat-i Hajj* (Simla, 1934/1935), 158. One could compare his account to two other pilgrimage guides that appeared in 1928 in India, both of which recommend that the pilgrim carry a number of medications for personal use, making no mention of the new public health regime. See Agha Rafiq Bulandshahri, *Ahkam-i Hajj* (Bijnor, 1928), 70–71; Khwaja Mu‘in al-Din, *Mu‘in al-Hujaj* (Hyderabad, 1928/1929), 14–17.

tem of regulators and inspectors was instituted so that homes and shops could be constantly monitored to ensure the safety of water, foodstuffs, and waste disposal. Finally, a bacteriological lab was established under the directorship of the former head of the Hygienic Service in the Dutch colony of Curaçao, suggesting the extent to which the Saudi health services were already entangled in a vital politics whose horizons were global.²⁹ The Saudi sanitary regime introduced in 1925 not only managed the localized health concerns of the holy cities, but also linked them to the international infrastructure of quarantine and information-sharing on which the burgeoning global system of sanitary management was based.

The public health program, such as it was, was implemented in part through the effective use of the preexisting networks on which the pilgrimage had historically depended. In particular, Ibn al-Sa‘ud relied on the pilgrimage guides (sing. *mutawwif*) and their guilds to implement the new sanitary regime during the Hajj. Organized by place of origin into guilds overseen by appointed shaykhs, the mutawwifs were a powerful political and economic force in the holy cities, with connections to shipping concerns and networks of overseas pilgrim recruitment, and with the ability to levy and collect often exorbitant fees on pilgrims despite the efforts of both the Ottoman and later the Saudi government to regulate their activities.³⁰ Yet, in spite of their relative autonomy, the mutawwifs were also the best-placed to act as the basic point of contact between the authorities and the pilgrims. First and foremost, they collected government pilgrimage fees from those under their charge. Second, they were to ensure that pilgrims performed their religious duties according to one of the four Islamic legal schools. Third, as the Law of Hajj Administration (Nizam Idarat al-Hajj) indicated, the guides were also responsible for ensuring the health of those in their charge.

The mutawwifs’ role in the implementation of the biopolitical regime and its effective practice as a means of government intervention has been largely obscured by their emergence in British consular reports or pilgrimage accounts as figures of corruption or avarice. While this was no doubt true to a certain extent, it ignores the more subtle role they played in the redirection of the state’s gaze to the bodies of the pious: their

²⁹ “Mu’assasat al-Jarathim,” *Umm al-Qura*, October 8, 1927, 3. Once he had taken up his position in the Hijaz, Dr. P. H. van der Hoog established the lab and took on the training of two Syrian doctors. See The National Archives, Kew, UK [hereafter TNA], Foreign Office Records, FO 406/60, Eastern Affairs, Further Correspondence Part XXI, 1927 July–December, Eastern (Arabia), Confidential, Consul Jakins to Sir Austen Chamberlin, November 19, 1927, Enclosure: Jeddah Report, September 28–October 31, 82.

³⁰ On the organization and relative political and economic power of the mutawwifs in the late Ottoman period, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning—The Muslims of the East-Indian Archipelago*, trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden, 2007), 33–37; Ibrahim Rif‘at Basha, *Mir‘at al-Haramayn*, 2 vols. (Cairo, n.d.), 2: 119. For Ottoman efforts to bring their guilds under greater state control, see Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia*, 105–106. For the various complaints against the mutawwifs, see “Report on the Pilgrimage, 1929,” in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 228–230. British complaints generally focused on the collection of excessive fees and taxes from pilgrims and the collusion of individual mutawwifs with their agents in India to prevent the emergence of a “free market” in pilgrimage guides. Both ‘Abd Majid Daryabadi and Amir Ahmad ‘Alawi shared the same mutawwif, a man named ‘Abd al-Qadir Sikandari, during the 1929 Hajj and had similar complaints. See Amir Ahmad ‘Alawi, *Safar-i Sa‘adat* (Lucknow, 1932), 31; ‘Abd al-Majid Daryabadi, *Safar-i Hajj* (Calcutta, 2006), 79–80. The Druze activist and intellectual Shakib Arslan advanced a slightly more sympathetic argument in support of the pilgrimage guides, noting that those who complain about them “forget that they’re human, that they’re trying to make a living; they forget that most are lower-class people who derive their livelihood from the pilgrims to the Inviolable Abode.” Arslan, *al-Irtisamat al-Litaf fi Khatir al-Hajj ila Aqdas Mataf*, ed. Ayman Hijazi (Abu Dhabi, 2004), 87–88.

health, sickness, comfort, and ultimately mortality. By a royal order issued on May 22, 1926, the pilgrim guides were instructed to provide the Public Health Authority and the Public Security Authority with lists of the pilgrims in their care, their dates of arrival, the ships on which they had arrived, and their places of residence. Any illnesses among their pilgrims, especially those deemed contagious, were to be treated by doctors and documented for future reference. They were responsible for transporting the sick and deceased to the closest medical station for treatment or burial, which, as British consular officials noted, became regular practice.³¹ Shortly thereafter, the government also made the mutawwifs responsible for providing and maintaining the residences of pilgrims according to sanitary standards, as well as making accounts of their property in case of death during the Hajj.³² Both of these efforts met with limited success: the mutawwifs continued to pilfer the belongings of the deceased, and their responsibility to maintain hygienic dwellings for pilgrims was limited by the cost of cleaning supplies and the state of disrepair in which many pilgrim hostels were left.³³ Yet, they increasingly linked the individual pilgrim to the Public Health Authority, to state security, and even to the International Sanitary Convention, which was to govern the relationship between the Hajj and the world's pilgrims. But the capture of the pilgrim's mortal body was only one aspect of the articulation of biopolitical power in the Hijaz. In fact, the state was simultaneously targeting the pilgrim's body in its moral capacity as a means of cultivating what it considered to be correct forms of embodied faith.

THE SAME YEAR THAT MAHMUD HAMDI addressed the International Sanitary Conference in Paris, al-Manar Press in Cairo published a collection of treatises under the title *Majmu'at al-Tawhid* (*Collection on God's Unity*) at the command of Ibn al-Sa'ud. The collected writings dealt primarily with the doctrine of God's unity, or *tawhid*, and the majority were composed by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792) and his grandsons, the founders of what is often called the "Wahhabi" doctrine, which the Saudis supported. *Umm al-Qura* explained the purpose of publishing what were in Najd well-known treatises by stating that it was Ibn al-Sa'ud's desire to summon Muslims "to purify worship, [to recall that] the object of invocation is God alone, to leave behind those peers and partners which are equated with God, and to worship none but God."³⁴ While the message of *tawhid* was not new, the context in which the book was published was: namely, the conquest of the Hijaz and the assumption of Saudi sovereignty over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

³¹ See "Balagh Sihhi," *Umm al-Qura*, June 4, 1926, 4; "al-Tadabir al-Sihhiyya Ayyam al-Hajj," *Umm al-Qura*, June 15, 1926, 4; "Pilgrimage Report, 1926," in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 58.

³² See "Nizam Idarat al-Hajj," *Umm al-Qura*, November 20, 1926, 3; "Masakin al-Hujaj," *Umm al-Qura*, March 26, 1927, 4; "Nizam Tasjil al-Mutawaffin min al-Hujaj wa-Dabt Mukhalafatihim," *Umm al-Qura*, October 28, 1927, 1; "Tasjil al-Hujaj," *Umm al-Qura*, March 22, 1929, 2.

³³ The Jidda consulate's report on the 1930 Hajj described the mutawwifs as a "predatory class," but notes their importance to the government as tax collectors. Similarly, the same report notes the limited ability of the mutawwifs to secure sanitary homes for pilgrims due to the expense of the disinfectant phenol and the poor condition of housing itself. See "Report on the Pilgrimage of 1930," in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 264, 272–274.

³⁴ "Majmu'at al-Tawhid," *Umm al-Qura*, May 29, 1925, 1. A number of issues raised in this section and the next have been covered from the perspective of state legitimacy in William Ochsenwald, "Islam and Loyalty in the Saudi Hijaz, 1926–1939," *Die Welt des Islams* 47, no. 1 (2007): 7–32.

By occupying the two holy cities, Ibn al-Sa'ud had also taken on the administration of a cosmopolitan region that had been welcoming to Muslims regardless of sectarian affiliation and whose scholars had actively opposed the followers of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab. But in the eyes of the jurists of Najd, the Saudi heartland, and the soldiers of the Ikhwan, the pilgrimage was fertile ground for the spread of questionable religious beliefs and practices just as it enabled the types of intimacies that led to the spread of disease. Inevitably, both groups pushed Ibn al-Sa'ud to take on the responsibility of correcting deviant practices among his new subjects and the thousands of pilgrims who made the holy cities their temporary home. Even so, as a number of historians have argued, Ibn al-Sa'ud's assumption of rule over the holy cities was characterized by the careful balancing of the demands of the jurists and the Ikhwan with the need to accommodate the Hijazi merchant elite and the pilgrims on whom the nascent Saudi economy depended for tax revenue.³⁵ To focus solely on the often antagonistic relationship between the jurists, the Ikhwan, and the monarch and their competing interests, however, is to ignore the extent to which the government of the body/bodies, despite their different modalities and ends, became a shared discursive ground for both.

The appearance of the *Majmu'at al-Tawhid* marked the beginning of a pedagogical project meant to heal the many moral afflictions plaguing the Hijaz by working to cultivate a form of embodied belief that was authorized by both the Quran and the normative model of the Prophet Muhammad (*sunna*). In this sense, the entrance of human life into the domain of Saudi government did not mark a rupture with what Foucault called, in the context of Christian Europe, the "pastoral" politics of spiritual care practiced by the church.³⁶ Rather, we see an alignment of forces targeting the biological and believing body that complicates easy distinctions between secular and non-secular state power. The new politics of the (moral) body was already apparent in the language of "social ills" (*amrad ijtima'iyya*) that *Umm al-Qura* claimed were eating away at the community of believers in the Hijaz.³⁷ These afflictions, however, were religious practices that were unauthorized by the Quran, the Prophet Muhammad, or the pious forebears (*al-salaf al-salih*). Customs such as holding elaborate funerals, writing talismans, visiting tombs, and commemorating non-authorized festivals were blamed on the pernicious influence of those marginal to or outside the community of believers—the Shi'a, Christians, and Jews. It should not be surprising, then, that a meeting between Meccan and the Saudi-aligned Najdi 'ulama' shortly after the city's conquest in 1924 resulted in a joint statement affirming the centrality of *tawhid* to belief and practice. They also agreed that unbelief (*kufr*), as manifested in unauthorized ritual practices (*bid'a*), was an ever-present danger in the holy cities.³⁸

³⁵ Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia*, 106–107; Alexei Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (London, 2000), 270–271; Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*, 77–80. The basic alliance between Ibn al-Sa'ud and the Hijazi merchant class has led Pascal Ménoret to argue that the Saudi state "was built on the shores of the Red Sea, not in the Najd desert." Ménoret, *The Saudi Enigma: A History* (London, 2005), 94.

³⁶ Foucault described the transition from pastoral to governmental power most succinctly in his "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, 1991), 87–104.

³⁷ "al-A'yad wa-l-Bida' fi al-Islam," *Umm al-Qura*, March 13, 1925, 1. See also "Bayna al-Ams wa-l-Yawm," *Umm al-Qura*, April 16, 1925, 1; "al-Bida': Asbabuha wa-Madarruha," *Umm al-Qura*, September 4, 1925, 1–2; "li-Tuhya al-Sunna wa-Tumut al-Bid'a," *Umm al-Qura*, September 11, 1925, 1.

³⁸ "Munazarat al-'Ulama'," *Umm al-Qura*, December 12, 1924, 4. See also Amin Rihani, *Najd wa-Mulhaqatuha* (Beirut, 1928), 341.

It was not a coincidence, then, that the collected texts of the *Majmu'a* were primarily concerned with the question of *tawhid*, or God's absolute unity. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab had argued that it was this concept that determined the boundary between the Muslim and the non-believer. According to 'Abd al-Wahhab, non-Muslims had always accepted what he referred to as *tawhid al-rububiyya*, the belief that God was the sole creator of the world. They rejected, however, the understanding that God was the sole object of worship, reverence, and supplication, or what was known as *tawhid al-uluhiyya*. Consequently, they associated other powers with God, whether saints, martyrs, talismans, or even trees. The sin of association (*shirk*) and the rejection of God as the sole object of worship (*'ibada*) marked a rejection of truth and could be penalized by forfeiture of one's property and even one's life. As Samira Haj has argued, at its most fundamental, 'Abd al-Wahhab's intellectual and ethical project was to reassert God's unity through the cultivation of a series of embodied virtues, the most important of which was the servitude (*'ubudiyya*) of all believers.³⁹

'Abd al-Wahhab wrote: "there is no disputing that *tawhid* must be of the heart [*qalb*], word [*lisan*], and act [*'amal*]; if one of these is deficient, than that person is not a Muslim."⁴⁰ Belief as a form of interior religious knowledge or devotion was not sufficient in and of itself, but had to be manifested as well in one's actions, both ritual and quotidian. Even then, it was only through the intentionality (*niyya*) and purity (*ikhlas*) of actions that faith could be perfected. 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Rahman Abu Batin (d. 1866) contended that cultivating purity and intention in all words and actions was one of the most difficult tasks for the believer, noting that the pious forebears "had exerted their utmost to correct their intentions."⁴¹ To do otherwise, to assert *tawhid* without correct intention or inner conviction (*sidq*), would invalidate it and, even worse, lead to hypocrisy (*nifaa*), which could lead to unbelief.

As Saba Mahmood has argued in the context of the contemporary piety movement in Egypt, but which applies equally well to the view of embodied belief espoused by the *Majmu'at al-Tawhid*, moral virtue can be acquired "through a coordination of outward behaviors (e.g. bodily acts, social demeanor) with inward dispositions (e.g. emotional states, thoughts, intentions) through repeated performance of acts that entail those particular virtues)."⁴² This particular mode of ethical pedagogy is most evident in the collection in discussions of the proclamation of faith (*shahada*—to bear witness that there is no god but God) and ritual worship (*salat*), both of which necessitated apt performance and inner conviction for validity. The utterance of the *shahada* acted as an originary speech act, confirming one's absolute conviction in God's divinity (*ilahiyya*) and in his status as the sole object of worship and servitude. Indeed, the single word "God" in "there is no god but God" marked the boundary between "unbelief

³⁹ Samira Haj, *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition: Reform, Rationality, and Modernity* (Stanford, Calif., 2009), 41–42.

⁴⁰ Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, "Kashf al-Shubhat," in *Majmu'at al-Tawhid* (Riyad, 1999), 97–122, here 113.

⁴¹ 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Rahman Abu Batin, "Fi Ta'rif al-'Ibada," *ibid.*, 277–289, here 282.

⁴² Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), 136. As Mahmood notes, this is a decidedly Aristotelian view of virtue that was itself continued in the field of classical Islamic ethics (*akhlāq*). See, for example, Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Miskawayh, *The Refinement of Character*, trans. Constantine K. Zurayk (Beirut, 1968), 29–31. This particular line of inquiry into the disciplined cultivation of religious affects owes much to the analysis of Talal Asad in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, 1993).

and belief in God.”⁴³ But it was the act of worship (*‘ibada*) that best cultivated the affective states that guaranteed the realization of *tawhid*. While it was generally conceded that worship should be preceded or accompanied by love (*mahabba*), submission (*khudu‘*), and humility (*dhilla*), they could just as easily be the product of the act of disciplined prayer, confirming ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abd al-Rahman’s statement that “whoever loves something and humbles oneself to it, then he has enslaved his heart to it.”⁴⁴

But individual believers were also responsible for comporting themselves in ways that confirmed *tawhid* in everyday life. It was assumed that daily acts had ethical import and therefore should be the object of intense scrutiny to ensure that they were authorized by the Quran and were the normative example of the Prophet Muhammad. ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan noted as much when he wrote that “when one does something, it must be asked of the original authority [*musnad*] for the action: Has it been followed or not? Whoever does not have a legally authorized proof [*hujja shar‘iyya*] has no excuse for what he does.”⁴⁵ Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab had already admonished Muslims against blindly following the ‘ulama’ in “forbidding what God has made licit and making licit what God has forbidden,” and the collected texts published in 1926 reflected the personal responsibility of believers in enacting a type of self-government that would cultivate the virtues of God’s oneness.⁴⁶

With the conquest of the holy cities, the injunction that faith could be perfected only through embodied practice became a governmental policy of corporeal pedagogy and discipline. It was the Ikhwan, as the soldiers responsible for the occupation of the Hijaz, who first took on this responsibility among the residents of the holy cities. The governorship of Mecca was given to the commander of the Ikhwan, Khalid b. Luway, immediately after its occupation. Under his direction, his soldiers took responsibility for policing public morality, actively punishing those they felt had transgressed the law, and Luway himself oversaw the confiscation and destruction of stocks of tobacco held by Hijazi merchants. Ibn al-Sa‘ud removed Ibn Luway the following year and expelled the Ikhwan from the holy city not long thereafter. Historians have read these events as signs of Ibn al-Sa‘ud’s inherent pragmatism in the face of a growing government that required the tax revenues provided by import duties and the tax on pilgrims.⁴⁷ Yet, the government of the Hijaz did not abandon its attempts to cultivate correctly embodied virtues among the residents of the holy cities. Rather, Ibn al-Sa‘ud shifted the practice of disciplining the pious bodies of his subjects to the mutawwifs.

The pilgrimage guide provided the effective governmental link between the physical and moral bodies that were central to Saudi biopolitics. Not only were the guides responsible for the registration, surveillance, and general comfort of the pilgrims, they

⁴³ ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan ‘Abd al-Wahhab, quoting the Hanbali jurist Abu Muzaffar al-Hubayra (d. 1170). “Fi Tawhid wa-Turu’ al-Shirk ‘ala al-Muslimin wa-Jihad al-‘Ulama’ lahu,” in *Majmu‘at al-Tawhid*, 212–223, here 216. See also his commentary on *Kitab al-Tawhid*, “Qurrat ‘Uyun al-Muwahhidin fi Tahqiq Da‘wat al-Anbiya’ wa-l-Mursalin,” *ibid.*, 373–636, here 384.

⁴⁴ ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abd al-Rahman, “Fi Ta’rif al-‘Ibada,” *ibid.*, 164.

⁴⁵ ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan, “Qurrat ‘Uyun al-Muwahhidin fi Tahqiq Da‘wat al-Anbiya’ wa-l-Mursalin,” 407.

⁴⁶ Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab, *Kitab al-Tawhid*, in *Majmu‘at al-Tawhid*, 19–95, here 68. See also his “Masa’il Jahiliyya,” *ibid.*, 125–138, here 127.

⁴⁷ Guido Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi-Arabien: Die wahhabitischen Gelehrten, 1902–1953* (Würzburg, 2002), 526–528; Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, 239; Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*, 77; Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia*, 103–104.

were also expected to “know the rites of the Hajj according to the legal schools of the pilgrims they serve.”⁴⁸ In practice this meant that in addition to their other duties, they were to ensure that pilgrims were performing their rites in a way that was authorized by the Quran, the *sunna*, or legal precedent. This included teaching them the correct utterances and bodily comportment when in doubt. Writing of his 1929 pilgrimage, the Druze activist Shakib Arslan described the mutawwif’s pedagogical role with a mixture of amusement and consternation:

The mutawwif takes him by the hand to the sanctuary and circumambulates the ancient abode seven times, then makes the *sa’i* between Safa and Marwa seven times, jogging according to *sunna*. He teaches him the foundations of the Hajj and all of the words and phrases that must be uttered in the noble *Mataf*, and he recites in front of him the invocations by which one supplicates [himself] at the Maqam Ibrahim, and between Zamzam and Hatim.⁴⁹

By his account, there was no ritual aspect of the Hajj for which the pilgrim was left alone. Arslan’s initially anodyne remarks shift to annoyance as he explains that the guides make no distinction between “the learned and ignorant” in their instructions, suggesting that they would do the same to the famed twelfth-century scholar Imam Ghazali or even Arslan’s contemporary and friend, the reformist scholar Rashid Rida. Since Arslan considered himself a staunch reformist along with Rida, the fact that his own mutawwif tried to teach him appropriate prayers in Arabic must have been especially galling. But he was not alone: Ghulam Rasul Mihr, an activist and committed supporter of the Ahl-i Hadith movement in the Punjab, was equally bothered by his mutawwif’s repeating the appropriate prayers behind him, and asserted that the guide did so merely so that he could demand more money.⁵⁰

While the pilgrimage guides operated as the pedagogical-surveillance arm of the state in matters of both public health and religious practice during the Hajj season, there was another body that acted on behalf of the legislative discourse of prohibition. The Committee for Commanding Good and Forbidding Wrong (Hay’at al-Amr bi-l-Ma’ruf wa-l-Nahi ‘an al-Munkar) was established by royal decree in 1926 and placed under the guidance of Shaykh ‘Abdullah al-Shaybi in Mecca. The chief jurist of the Hijaz, ‘Abdullah Sulayman Bulayhid, recently appointed by Ibn al-Sa‘ud, argued in the pages of *Umm al-Qura* that the committees were necessary because Muslims were no longer able to recognize the distinction between right and wrong, a situation that had led to the degeneration of morals in the holy cities.⁵¹ It was therefore incumbent upon the community of scholars to determine whether specific acts were licit or illicit

⁴⁸ “Nizam Idarat al-Hajj,” 3. According to the early plan for the establishment of a school for pilgrimage guides, the mutawwif was also to be competent in the doctrine of *tawhid*, especially the laws governing ritual worship (*ibada*) and the Hajj. See “Ta’lim al-Mutawwifin,” *Umm al-Qura*, July 22, 1928, 2.

⁴⁹ Arslan, *al-Irtisamat al-Litaf fi Khatir al-Hajj ila Aqdas Mataf*, 89.

⁵⁰ Mihr, *Safarnama-yi Hijaz*, 65.

⁵¹ ‘Abdullah b. Sulayman Bulayhid, “Haqiqat al-Amr bi-l-Ma’ruf wa-l-Nahi ‘an al-Munkar,” *Umm al-Qura*, January 28, 1927, 1–2. The article was followed by three others by Muhammad Bahjat al-Bitar that excerpted the fourteenth-century jurist Ibn al-Taymiyya’s *Kitab al-Hisba* to provide the committee members, and presumably the reading public, with a quick reference to the legal requirements of and categories for commanding good. See “Nizam Jama‘at al-Amr bi-l-Ma’ruf wa-l-Nahi ‘an al-Munkar,” *Umm al-Qura*, February 11, 1927, 1; “Nizam Jama‘at al-Amr bi-l-Ma’ruf wa-l-Nahi ‘an al-Munkar,” *Umm al-Qura*, February 25, 1927, 1; “Nizam Jama‘at al-Amr bi-l-Ma’ruf wa-l-Nahi ‘an al-Munkar,” *Umm al-Qura*, March 12, 1927, 1–2.

and to assume their enforcement. It was the committee's responsibility both to ensure that the *shari'a* was being applied in the fields of ritual worship (*'ibada*) and social interaction (*mu'amalat*), and to actively repress any acts in contravention of the law.

The particular significance of the formation of the committees was in the transformation of "commanding good" from an individual responsibility (*fard 'ayn*) or communal responsibility (*fard kifaya*) to a function of the state. Thus conceived, the committees were meant both to marginalize the Ikhwan as guardians of public piety and to introduce the laws governing public life to both pilgrims and the residents of the holy cities.⁵² Many of the acts targeted by the committees, both during the Hajj and throughout the rest of the year, were forms of public comportment that were explicitly embodied.⁵³ The code forbade public obscenities, swearing, games, and music. Intoxicants (*musakkirat*) were outlawed, as was the smoking and chewing of tobacco. Men were no longer allowed to wear silk garments or gold jewelry, and they were to maintain their beards in conformance with the example of the Prophet. Other prohibitions specifically targeted women. They were forbidden from wearing jewelry and perfume, but also from mixing with men in public. In fact, they were not to leave the home except under conditions of absolute necessity. More importantly, the code enforced the correct performance of public worship. Shops were ordered closed during prayer, the sufi practice of remembrance of God (*zikr*) was outlawed, public mourning at funerals was forbidden, and women were not allowed to engage in the devotional visitation of the graves of the pious (*ziyara*). The mutawwifs' role in preventing the pilgrims under their charge from engaging in these unauthorized practices, considered unlawful innovations (*bid'a*) by the government and its jurists, was also affirmed.

That the committee assumed its activities with some rapidity after its formation is indicated by a 1927 report from the British Consulate in Jidda:

In Mecca the Acting Grand Kadi and the Minister of Awkaf have been issued new orders forbidding public mourning, the shaving of beards, and the wearing by men of silken clothes and gold and silver ornaments. Barbers and tailors are held under strict injunction. In addition, attendance at the mosque at prayer times is made compulsory, and rules are laid down . . . for the proper moral conduct of women.⁵⁴

What the consular report leaves out, of course, is that the disparate grouping of acts, dispositions, and performances that were subject to the committee's surveillance and regulation were expressly those that confirmed *tawhid* as embodied belief in their presence, and in their absence confirmed one's descent into sin and possibly unbelief (*kufr*).⁵⁵ If the role of the mutawwif was pedagogical in nature, providing both instruc-

⁵² See the letter of appointment of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibrahim and Yasin Rawwaf to the government in Medina, dated October 7, 1927, in which they both were instructed to refer any complaints by the Ikhwan concerning public morality to the Hay'at al-Amr. Quoted in Hafiz Wahba, *Khamsun 'Amman fi Jazirat al-'Arabiyya* (Cairo, 2001), 271.

⁵³ The code enforced by the Hay'at al-Amr bi-l-Ma'ruf wa-l-Nahi 'an al-Munkar is reproduced in Ghaznavi, *Islahat-i Hijaz*, 12–13; and in 'Abd al-Wahhab Mazhar, *Murshid al-Hajj* (Cairo, 1928/1929), 47–50.

⁵⁴ TNA, Foreign Office Records, FO 406/60, Eastern Affairs, Further Correspondence Part XXI, 1927 July–December, Eastern (Arabia), Confidential, Consul Jakins to Sir Austen Chamberlin, November 19, 1927, Enclosure: Jeddah Report, September 28–October 31, 81.

⁵⁵ See 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Wahhab's determination that trimming one's beard was detestable (*makruh*), based on the Prophet's exhortation to "refrain from [trimming] the beard," in *Majmu'at al-Rasa'il wa-l-Masa'il al-Najdiyya*, 6 vols. (Cairo, 1928), 1: 144–145. On the prohibition on the

tion and an exemplary model for correct practice (whether the individual guide lived up to that standard or not), the role of the committee and its volunteers (*mutawwi'in*) was primarily juridical, and its modality was often violence against the individual believer.

Reports circulated widely in the late 1920s of violence perpetrated by both the Ikhwan and the committee as part of the effort, in the words of the British consulate in Jidda, to make pilgrims “conform outwardly at least with the Wahabi faith.”⁵⁶ Those who defied the prohibitions on public smoking or wearing silk were publicly harassed and even subject to public lashings.⁵⁷ But it was the policing of devotional practices, especially those of the South Asian, Javan, and Persian pilgrims, that was reported with the greatest regularity. In particular, the committee targeted those practices that were seen as contradicting the doctrine of *tawhid* and associating other powers with God in their ability to confer benefit or harm. Pilgrims were kept from directing their supplications to the Prophet Muhammad by addressing him directly as “O Prophet of God” (*Ya Rasul Allah*), since he was powerless to respond from the grave. Similarly, popular devotional acts associated with the graves of the Prophet and his companions, such as touching the railing around the graves or addressing prayers to the deceased, were likewise banned, and transgressors were whipped by guards posted around the Mu‘alla and Baqi‘ cemeteries in Mecca and Medina. Finally, public commemoration of the Prophet’s birthday (*mawlid*) or of the martyrdom of his grandson Husayn in the month of Muharram was likewise prohibited.

The committee’s juridical and disciplinary power fell primarily on Shi‘i Muslims or those affiliated with the sufi orders, whose normative devotional practices often centered on the Prophet, his family, or various saints and holy men. According to the government and its jurists, these practices were largely considered *shirk* or even unbelief. It is not surprising, then, that one of the committee’s primary sites of intervention was the mosque, especially on Fridays, the day of congregational prayer. Both British consular officials and pilgrims noted the efforts of the committee and its enforcers to gather believers together for communal worship. Amir Ahmad ‘Alawi described the committees with some consternation, noting that “their charge is to grab anyone they see at the time of prayer, whether a shopkeeper or customer, Meccan or not, and take them immediately to the mosque. And if they don’t go, they are detained and taken to jail.”⁵⁸

wearing of silk, see ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s treatise on the responsibilities of those in authority for the maintenance of the moral life of the community, *ibid.*, 2: 11. Smoking tobacco was prohibited as an intoxicant (*musakkir*), but also for its deleterious effects on biological health according to modern medicine. See ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abd al-Rahman, “Tahrim Shurb al-Tuntun wa-fi Qismat al-Thimar Khirsan,” *ibid.*, 1: 652–653, here 652; “al-Dukhkhan aw al-Tibgh,” *Umm al-Qura*, March 27, 1925, 1.

⁵⁶ “Pilgrimage Report, 1926,” in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 39.

⁵⁷ See Muhammad Shafiq Afandi Mustafa, *Rihla fi Qalb Najd wa-l-Hijaz*, ed. Muhammad Mahmud Khalil (Beirut, 2010), 150; Hafiz Wahba, *Jazirat al-‘Arab fi al-Qarn al-‘Ashrin* (Cairo, 1935), 342; Wahba, *Khamsun ‘Amman*, 67. The British consulate in Jidda reported the story of an Egyptian driver who was beaten by a member of the ‘ulama’ for smoking. When he fought back, he was arrested and sentenced to a lashing, from which he ultimately died. TNA, FO 406/57, Further Correspondence, Eastern Affairs, XVIII, January–June 1926, Jeddah Report for the Period February 1–28, 1926, 107.

⁵⁸ ‘Alawi, *Safar-i Sa‘adat*, 53. The Lebanese writer Amin Rihani noted that during his time in Riyadh in 1922, he heard of mosques recording the names of their entire congregation, so that the imam could conduct a roll call at each prayer. Whoever was absent received a visit from a member of the Ikhwan to determine whether he or she had a valid reason for missing prayer. Amin Rihani, *Muluk al-‘Arab* (Beirut, 1987), 564.

Moreover, the division of worshippers according to sectarian affiliation during the Friday communal prayer, which one scholar argued had spread “germs [*jarathim*] of corruption” throughout the body of the Islamic community, was prohibited. All were expected to pray under the guidance of a single imam trained in the Hanbali school of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab.⁵⁹

To say that the pious body as much as the physical body emerged as an object of governance at this moment, however, is not to argue that it did so uncontested. As Mark Sedgwick has shown, several mystical orders were able to continue teaching and inducting members into the sufi path, even if their presence in the public sphere was marginalized. Werner Ende has noted the same for the Shi‘i community of Medina. More to the point, the British consulate in Jidda reported that pilgrims, when possible, could engage in otherwise prohibited religious acts by offering the police “a small bribe of a few piasters” or by simply enduring the lashing that followed. Amir ‘Alawi even observed groups of Indian Bohras touching and kissing the screen surrounding the Prophet’s tomb when the guards were not looking.⁶⁰ Yet these moments of resistance and contestation merely confirmed that the centrality of *tawhid* as embodied practice became the basic grounds for defining one’s place in the community of believers. Even in resistance, the pious life as defined by the ‘ulama’ and a reluctant Ibn al-Sa‘ud became ever more difficult to avoid. Nor was death beyond the reach of this new biopolitical order.

IN EARLY APRIL 1926, IBN AL-SA‘UD’S Ikhwan systematically destroyed the domed mausoleums of the Baqi‘ cemetery in the city of Medina. The tombs held the remains of prominent members of the Prophet Muhammad’s family, and were sites of devotion, reverence, and remembrance for many of the world’s Muslims. The Prophet’s wife, ‘Aisha, his daughter Fatima, and his uncle ‘Abbas were all interred there, as were the imams Hasan b. ‘Ali, ‘Ali Zayn al-‘Abidin, Muhammad al-Baqir, and Ja‘far al-Sadiq. At the center of this landscape was the grave of the Prophet himself (along with those of the caliphs Abu Bakr and ‘Umar), which was located in the Masjid al-Nabawi, the Prophet’s Mosque. While the Mu‘alla cemetery in Mecca, in which the Prophet’s first wife, Khadija, was buried, was also destroyed, it was Baqi‘ that generated the greatest despair and anger among the global community of believers due to the many descendants of the Prophet who were buried there. No eyewitness accounts of the destruction exist, but the aftermath was described by a British traveler, Eldon Rutter, who arrived in the city only weeks after it took place: “All was a wilderness of ruined building material and tombstones—not ruined by a casual hand, but raked away from their places and ground small.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ Muhammad Bahjat al-Bitar, “Tawhid al-Umma bi-Tawhid al-A‘imma,” *Umm al-Qura*, December 17, 1926, 1.

⁶⁰ Mark J. R. Sedgwick, “Saudi Sufis: Compromise in the Hijaz, 1925–40,” *Die Welt des Islams* 37, no. 3 (1997): 349–368, here 361; Werner Ende, “The Nakhāwila, a Shi‘ite Community in Medina, Past and Present,” *ibid.*, 263–348, here 329–330; “Report on the Pilgrimage of 1929,” in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 217–250, here 230; ‘Alawi, *Safar-i Sa‘adat*, 80.

⁶¹ Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 2 vols. (London, 1928), 2: 256–257. Rutter’s account is largely confirmed by a letter from an Iraqi resident in Medina, dated April 21, 1926, that was published in the newspaper *al-‘Iraq*. See ‘Ali al-Wardi, *Lamahat Ijtina‘iyya min Tarikh al-‘Iraq al-Hadith*, 8 vols., vol. 6, suppl. (Baghdad, 1969), 306–308.

Although Foucault contended that in modern biopolitical regimes “death is beyond the reach of power,” in 1926 the status of the dead became a critical site for the articulation of Saudi sovereignty.⁶² While it has become common to consider the symbolic political work that burial and memorialization can do in the construction of nationhood and belonging, the question of how the dead body functions in a sovereign order dedicated to governing life has rarely been scrutinized.⁶³ The mausoleums had been targeted by the Saudis before, when they first captured the holy cities at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ What distinguished this moment from the earlier event, however, was that it unfolded under the auspices of a new form of state power that was intimately concerned with life and death. In this new order, the exceptional ability of the Prophet and his companions to cross the boundary between the domains of both the living and the dead proved a challenge to sovereign power. It was the ‘ulama’ who took on the responsibility of ensuring the distinction between bare life and bare death.

Before the graves were leveled, the chief jurist of the Hijaz, ‘Abdullah b. Sulayman Bulayhid, solicited a legal opinion (*fatwa*) from the collected jurists of Medina, representing all four Sunni legal schools. Now under Saudi rule, they were hardly in a position to refuse his request. He asked if it was permissible to build structures on top of graves and whether it was permissible to engage in certain devotional acts at these sites like the “ignorant” (*juhhal*) did. He pointed in particular to touching the grave (*tamas-suh*) as a means of gaining the blessings of the deceased, performing supplications (*du‘a*) to the dead, making sacrifices to them, and even lighting lamps over their tombs. Concerning the Prophet’s tomb, he inquired if it was permissible to direct one’s prayers toward it, to circumambulate the tomb, or to touch and kiss it as a sign of love and devotion. In a brief but telling response, the scholars, under great duress, stated that it was forbidden to build any structure over graves, based on the Prophetic statement “Leave no statue without destroying it, and no tomb without razing it to the ground.”⁶⁵ The result was the state-directed destruction of the mausoleums in the cemeteries of the holy cities, which for centuries had been a locus of visitation, veneration, and spiritual longing. In a shocking moment of the sovereign ban in action, Rutter re-

⁶² Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 248. On the limits of Foucault’s analysis of the place of death in modern sovereignty, see Finn Stepputat, “Governing the Dead? Theoretical Approaches,” in Stepputat, ed., *Governing the Dead: Sovereignty and the Politics of Dead Bodies* (Manchester, 2014), 11–32.

⁶³ E.g., Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton, N.J., 2015); Maria Todorova, *Bones of Contention: The Living Archive of Vasil Levski and the Making of Bulgaria’s National Hero* (Budapest, 2011); Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York, 2000); David William Cohen and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying SM: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa* (London, 1992).

⁶⁴ On the 1804 occupation of Mecca and the destruction of the mausoleums in Mu‘alla, see ‘Uthman b. Bishr, *‘Unwan al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd*, 2 vols. in 1 (Riyad, n.d.), 1: 124. For a critical response to the occupation and the demolition of the mausoleums, see the account of the Shafi‘i mufti of Mecca, Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan (d. 1886), *al-Durar al-Saniyya fi al-Radd ‘ala al-Wahhabiyya* (Damascus, 2003).

⁶⁵ “al-Qawl al-Sarih,” *Umm al-Qura*, April 30, 1926, 1; “Hawla Hadam al-Qubur,” *Umm al-Qura*, December 10, 1926, 2. The circumstances under which the *fatwa* was issued are described in the Indian Khilafat Committee report on their three delegations sent to the Hijaz. While in the Hijaz in the summer of 1926, members of the delegation traveled to Medina and were able to gather the details of the event. What they found was in stark contrast to the report in *Umm al-Qura*. Not only were the scholars of Medina routinely called non-believers (*kuffar*) by Ahmad b. Bulayhid, Sulayman’s brother, but they also came to two differing opinions. The first stated that building structures on tombs was not forbidden. The second argued that while it was forbidden, the law did not necessitate destroying any standing mausoleums. See “Wafd-i Hijaz ki Riport,” in Ra’is Ahmad Ja‘fari, ed., *Nigarishat-i Muhammad ‘Ali* (Hyderabad, 1944), 21–144, here 134–138.

ported that the Shi'i community of Medina, the Nakhawila, was forced to participate in the demolition of the graveyard.⁶⁶

Word of the destruction spread rapidly across the networks of returning pilgrims and through diplomatic channels. In India, in particular, the devastation of Baqi' and the fear that the Prophet's tomb itself was in danger became a rallying cry for Muslim activists. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad organized demonstrations in largely Shi'i Lucknow against the Saudis, and canvassed the Indian government to break off ties with Ibn al-Sa'ud. Both the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jam'iyyat-i 'Ulama' protested the destruction and demanded that Ibn al-Sa'ud undertake the reconstruction of the damaged holy sites in Mecca and Medina. The Ahl al-Sunna wa-l-Jama'a, also known as the Barelvis, went so far as to issue a *fatwa* that forbade the Hajj so long as the Saudis occupied the holy cities. In fact, the issue of the cemeteries and other holy sites was one of the most important topics of discussion at the first International Islamic Conference, which was convened on the summer of 1926 in Mecca.⁶⁷

The growing conflict quickly moved to the terrain of legal discourse, as groups both supportive of and opposed to the leveling of the mausoleums made their respective cases through *shari'a* reasoning. Some objections had already appeared shortly after the conquest of Mecca in 1924, when rumors of damage to holy sites began to circulate, but even more were published after the cemeteries were razed two years later. The Syrian publisher Muhammad Rashid Rida, one of Ibn al-Sa'ud's most vocal advocates, used his widely circulated journal *al-Manar* to publicize the legal precedents for the destruction of the tombs in the field of classical jurisprudence. In India, the scholars of the Ahl-i Hadith, in particular Thana'ullah Amritsari and Isma'il Ghaznavi, engaged in similar efforts to show that the destruction of any monument that might encourage unbelief was supported by the normative example of the Prophet, his companions, and later Sunni legal theorists.⁶⁸ These texts were met in kind by jurists from the Shi'i and Barelvi traditions emanating from India and Iraq, both of which gave great reverence to the Prophet, his family, and his companions.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 2: 257.

⁶⁷ On the Maharaja of Mahmudabad's opposition to the Saudis, see TNA, FO 967/3, "Extract from the Indian Daily Telegraph, June 15, 1926." For the Barelvi *fatwa*, see Muhammad Mustafa Raza, *Tanwir al-Hujja li-Man Yujawwizu Iltiwa' al-Hajja* (Bareilly?, 1926). The Khilafat Committee brought up the issue during their visit as well, raising objections personally to Ibn al-Sa'ud in a meeting on May 28, 1926. See "Wafd-i Hijaz ki Riport," 118–122. For the discussion of the holy sites at the 1926 Mecca Conference, see Achille Sékaly, *Le Congrès du Khalifat . . . et Le Congrès du Monde Musulman* (Paris, 1926), 211–212. Historians of South Asia have generally written these events into the framework of Muslim activism in the Indian nationalist movement, even while emphasizing the often ambivalent relationship between Muslim political aspirations, often transnational in nature, and the nationalist project. See Francis Robinson, *The 'Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (London, 2001), 171–175; M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918–1924* (Leiden, 1999), 397–399; Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York, 1982), 206–207.

⁶⁸ Muhammad Rashid Rida, *al-Wahhabiyyun wa-l-Hijaz* (Cairo, 1926); Thana'ullah Amritsari, *Mas'ala-yi Hijaz par Ik Nazar* (Amritsar, 1925). See also Aslam Jairajpuri, *Tarikh-i Najd* (Delhi, 1926); Daud Ghaznavi, "Qabarparasti Dunya main Kyunkar Phili," in Muhammad Hanif Yazdani, ed., *Maqalat-i Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (Lahore, 1979), 199–214; Qarshi (pseud.), *Mazarat-i Hijaz* (Amritsar, 1925); Abul Kalam Azad, "Maqabir o Asar par 'Imarat," in Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Tabarrukat-i Azad* (Hyderabad, 1959), 286–372; and Isma'il Ghaznavi's Urdu translation from Arabic of Sulayman b. Sahman's 1924 *al-Hadiyya al-Saniyya as Tuhfa-yi Wahhabiyya* (Amritsar, 1927).

⁶⁹ From the Barelvi perspective, see Hizb al-Ahna'f, *Tarikh-i Najdiyya ya'ni Haqiqat-i Wahhabiyya* (Lahore, 1924); al-Ahna'f, *Tahzir al-Hanafiyya 'an 'Aqa'id al-Najdiyya* (Lahore, n.d.); Muhammad Habib

At stake were the legal status of visitation (*ziyara*) and the practices of veneration (*ta'zim*), supplication (*du'a*), mediation (*tawassul*), and intercession (*shafa'a*), which were often directed at those interred in the graves of Mu'alla and Baqi'. For the Saudi government and its jurists, the destruction was part of a corrective action that was meant to reform the practice of visitation so that it conformed to the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. In an interview with *al-Manar* only months after the mausoleums were destroyed, Bulayhid argued that legally authorized visitation had as its goal "contemplation of the hereafter, beneficence toward the deceased by praying for him, and beneficence for the visitor by conforming to the *sunna*."⁷⁰ Bulayhid was implicitly warning future pilgrims against performing any ritual act or reciting any supplication that was directed at the dead rather than God, acts that would be classified as associating others with God (*shirk*) and therefore a form of unbelief (*kufr*). Even Ibn al-Sa'ud noted in an interview with the Indian activist Mohamed Ali that although he had opposed the destruction of the tombs, it "was not against the *shari'a*" and "was in agreement with the command of God and his Prophet and in complete agreement with the Quran and *sunna*."⁷¹ Thereafter, visitation increasingly came under state surveillance and discipline. Walls were constructed around both Mu'alla and Baqi', with the entries guarded by soldiers, who were responsible for preventing unauthorized ritual practices by the thousands of pilgrims who might venture into the cemeteries.⁷² The Prophet's tomb was also put under guard, to prevent visitors from touching or kissing the railings surrounding it or facing it in prayer rather than the *qibla* of Mecca.⁷³ The mutawwifs were directed to prevent the pilgrims in their care from visiting the cemeteries or other holy sites.⁷⁴ Those who violated the new prohibitions on popular devotional practices were routinely dissuaded by the use of the whip or cane.

Viewing the Saudi assault on the practice of visitation primarily through the lens of religious discourse, however, would obscure the modern biopolitical work that it accomplished. At the center of the debate over intercession was, in fact, a remarkable assertion of the absolute boundary between life and death that was consonant with what we could call bare life and bare death, or biological mortality. By prohibiting Muslims from directing supplications to the dead, from requesting their mediation or intercession, the Saudi government and its jurists were also attacking a particular view of death that was predicated on the belief that the body continued to live a qualified life in the grave.

Critical to the practice of mediation (*tawassul*) and intercession (*shafa'a*) was the assumption that physical death did not mean the end of the body's sensory life. These practices were possible because the dead could listen, respond, and enact both benefit and harm. They did so from the state of Barzakh, which was the domain—spatial and

al-Rahman al-Qadiri, *Sharihat al-Sudur fi Ahkam al-Qubur* (Muradabad, 1925); Na'im al-Din Muradabadi, *Mazarat-i Awliya' wa-Salihin par Qubbon ki Shar'i Haithiyyat* (Karachi, 2010). From the Shi'i perspective, see Sayyid 'Ali al-Naqi, *Kashf al-Niqab 'an 'Aqa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab* (Najaf, 1926). From the Farangi Mahalli perspective, see Qayyam al-Din 'Abd al-Bari, *al-'Amal al-Maghfur fi Ziyarat al-Qubur* (Lucknow, 1926).

⁷⁰ "al-Wahhabiyya wa-l-'Aqida al-Diniyya li-l-Najdiyyin," *al-Manar* 27 (July 10, 1926): 277.

⁷¹ "Wafd-i Hijaz ki Riport," in Ja'fari, *Nigarishat-i Muhhamad 'Ali*, 130.

⁷² Daryabadi, *Safar-i Hajj*, 145; Jairajpuri, "Halat-i Hajj," 290.

⁷³ 'Alawi, *Safar-i Sa'adat*, 72–73.

⁷⁴ "Pilgrimage Report, 1926," in *Records of the Hajj*, 6: 53–54.

temporal—between the death of the body and its resurrection at the end of time. While it was a widely shared belief that the dead experienced physical punishment or pleasure during this period, depending on the deeds they had performed while alive, there was great disagreement concerning their ability to commune with the living or to affect the lives of the living.⁷⁵

Sayyid ‘Ali al-Naqqi, a scholar from Lucknow resident in the Iraqi city of Najaf, presented the common Shi‘i defense of mediation shortly after the Saudi destruction of the cemeteries, noting the Prophet’s continued sensory life in the grave: “the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, never truly dies. Indeed, he lives on after his apparent [*zahiri*] death, listening and responding.”⁷⁶ But this was also true of the righteous (*salihin*), martyrs (*shuhada*), and saints (*awliya*’), who lived a form of corporeal and sensory life in the grave. For the Indian Bareilvis, for whom the Prophet was the sole intermediary between God and the faithful, Barzakh was a similarly fecund space for the spiritual intimacies between the living and the dead. The Bareilvis had an arguably more expansive view of life in death than the Shi‘a. Arguing from what he insisted was the normative Sunni legal position rooted in the Hanafi tradition, Ahmad Raza Khan (d. 1921), the founder of the school, had contended some years earlier that all of the deceased continued to listen to the supplications and entreaties of the living, even responding to those who offered salutations at their graves.⁷⁷ This sensory life of the dead was not spiritual, but corporeal. The dead could be irritated by the presence of horses or people sitting on their graves, and the sounds of weeping and crying could bring them to call out to the living. Similarly, cool, uncut grass could bring the dead comfort in the grave, just as the greetings of family and believers in general could ease their dispositions in Barzakh. Ahmad Raza Khan had noted that “the honor of Muslims, living and dead, is the same.” But this was also true of their bodies, as Muhammad Habib al-Rahman wrote after the destruction of the Baqi‘ cemetery, remarking that “breaking the bones of the dead inflicts the same pain as it does for the living.”⁷⁸

Taken together, then, the cemeteries of the two holy cities constituted a topography of traces (*athar*)—the landmarks and (literal) remains of the early community of Muslims, which in their materiality acted as constant reminders of the virtues and traditions (*sunna*) of the pious forebears.⁷⁹ More than that, the immediate corporeal intimacies that were encouraged by the performance of visitation collapsed the temporal

⁷⁵ For a discussion of Barzakh from the standpoint of law, theology, and mysticism in the modern period, see Jane Idleman Smith and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Oxford, 2002), chap. 4.

⁷⁶ al-Naqqi, *Kashf al-Niqab ‘an ‘Aqa’id Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab*, 38. See also Muhammad ‘Ali al-Hayiri, *al-Mashahid al-Musharrafa wa-l-Wahhabiyyun* (Najaf, 1926/1927), 24–27.

⁷⁷ See his lengthy *fatwa*, composed in 1888, that argues for the ability of the dead to hear and speak on the basis of *hadith* and legal precedent. Ahmad Raza Khan, “Hayat al-Mawat fi Bayyan Sama‘ al-Amwat,” in *al-Fatawa al-Razwiyya*, 30 vols. (Porbandar, 1991), 9: 676–736. On the general Bareilvi view of death and the ongoing life of the dead in the state of Barzakh, see Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Bareilwi and His Movement, 1870–1920* (Delhi, 1996), 118–120.

⁷⁸ Habib al-Rahman, *Sharihat al-Sudur fi Ahkam al-Qubur*, 12. Ahmad Raza Khan treats the corporeal life of the dead in a *fatwa* dealing with the earlier Saudi destruction of the tombs of the pious in the nineteenth century. See his “Ihlak al-Wahhabiyyin ‘ala Tawhin Qubur al-Muslimin,” in *al-Fatawa al-Razwiyya*, 9: 429–457.

⁷⁹ Recent works have fruitfully explored the ways in which the relationship between city space and the bodies of the dead have acted as active models for government of both self and society, although they have tended not to question the very notion of death itself as part of biopolitical reason. See Ellen J. Amster, *Medicine and the Saints: Science, Islam, and the Colonial Encounter in Morocco, 1877–1956*

distance between believers and their past, such that the dead were not merely objects of solemn remembrance, but potential participants in an ongoing dialogue with the living. Indeed, the very immanence of the encounter with the dead suggested the continuing relevance of the prophets, the martyrs, and the pious in guiding the everyday ethical lives of Muslims toward the anticipatory goal of the hereafter. But more significantly for our purposes, the living bodies in the graves of the holy cities suggested a form of life that could not be reduced to its biological basis, to bare life, and therefore could not be subject to Saudi governance.⁸⁰ In Stuart Murray's terms, this was a form of *thanatopolitics* "that refuses the negation of embodied experience and challenges the seemingly absolute morality of biopolitical life."⁸¹

The understanding of death supported by the Saudi state and its jurists, to the contrary, aligned with the biopolitical view that corporeal life did not extend beyond biological death. Jurists in the tradition of 'Abd al-Wahhab had consistently stated, like the Shi'a and the Barelvis, that the bodies of the prophets remained pristine in the ground, but they differed on the form of life in Barzakh. Hamad b. Nasir Al Mu'ammar (d. 1811) had stated unequivocally that the Prophet was dead in the grave, noting that "many people, especially these days, claim that he (God's peace and prayers be on him) is alive as he was on this earth with his companions, which is a great mistake, for God, may he be glorified and exalted, informed us that he is dead."⁸² This meant that the dead had no ability to hear or speak from the grave, let alone to aid believers who sought their guidance and mediation through the rituals associated with visitation. Indeed, the dead, in the language of the jurists, were able to confer neither benefit nor harm (*naf' wa-darar*), and to pray to them or seek their mediation was unbelief.⁸³ Like all human beings, even the Prophet died.

The destruction of Baqi' and Mu'alla in 1926, then, did not signal the denial of death, as Philippe Ariès so convincingly argued for the modern period, but rather the biopolitical capture of death by the Saudi state.⁸⁴ The definitive assertion that death as

(Austin, Tex., 2013), chap. 1; Scott Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies: Mysticism, Corporeality, and Sacred Power in Islam* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007), chap. 1.

⁸⁰ Giorgio Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis, 2000), 3–12. For an insightful discussion of how a nineteenth-century peripatetic sufi articulated a form of life through various techniques of spiritual self-government (with what the author calls "life-as-other" as its goal) that stood outside the secular reason of state, see Wilson Chacko Jacob, "Of Angels and Men: Sayyid Fadl b. 'Alawi and Two Moments of Sovereignty," *Arab Studies Journal* 20, no. 1 (2012): 40–73.

⁸¹ Stuart J. Murray, "Thanatopolitics: Reading in Agamben a Rejoinder to Biopolitical Life," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2008): 203–207, here 206.

⁸² Hamad b. Nasir b. Mu'ammar, "Fi Hayat al-Rasul fi Qabrihi," in *Majmu'at al-Rasa'il wa-l-Masa'il al-Najdiyya*, 2, pt. 3: 127–130, here 128.

⁸³ See 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhab, "Bayyan Ma fi al-Burda Mima Yukhalifu al-Din," *ibid.*, 2, pt. 2: 33–47, here 36; 'Abd al-Latif b. 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Wahhab, "Fi Tarjamat al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab," *ibid.*, 3: 378–429, here 414. Supporters of the Saudi state outside the Arabian Peninsula also rejected the notion that life in Barzakh was analogous to that which preceded death as a basis for dismissing the legality of intercession and mediation. See, for example, Muhammad Rashid Rida's 1905 *fatwa* on the subject in his *Fatawa al-Imam Muhammad Rashid Rida* (Beirut, 1970), 461. A similar argument was offered by the head of the Panjabi Ahl-i Hadith, Thana'ullah Amritsari, in a *fatwa* dated November 6, 1931, in Maulana Muhammad Daud Sahib, ed., *Fatawa Thana'iyya*, 2 vols. (Lahore, 1972), 1: 186.

⁸⁴ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981), chap. 12; Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore, 1975), chap. 4.

a biological phenomenon was final, even in the case of the prophets, martyrs, and saints, was effected through the compelled coincidence of the legal discourse of the jurists and the overarching framework of a state that was increasingly directed toward the management of human life. In demarcating the finality of death and the impossibility of communing with the deceased in the state of Barzakh, the Saudis at the same time redirected the efforts of believers toward the cultivation of embodied piety in this life. Absent the mediation of the deceased, even the Prophet, the power of the jurists, the Committee for Commanding Good, and the pilgrimage guides became even more important as the primary figures in directing the moral lives of Muslims, those directly under Saudi authority and those in the holy cities during the pilgrimage season. With the destruction of the cemeteries, the state had taken hold of both life and death.

IN 1932 IBN AL-SA'UD ANNOUNCED the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, marking the formalization of the dynastic rule of the Saudi family and its entrance into a world of sovereign states. This move was preceded, however, by a civil war that pitted the tribes and soldiers of the Ikhwan against the supporters of the Saudi family (1927–1930). While the war has been portrayed as the final defeat of tribal political authority, the victory of political pragmatism over a dogmatic Islam, and the consolidation of dynastic authority, the site of power's application had not changed at all; only its agent had.⁸⁵ In spite of the explicit location of sovereignty in the body and genealogical line of the Saudi king, power operated instead at the level of life itself. The object of government was increasingly the management of population in life, sickness, and death, and its primary site of application was the city of Mecca, in which tens of thousands of Muslims from around the world gathered for the annual Hajj pilgrimage. It was the administration of the Hajj as both a global and a local concern that pushed the Saudi state to form the Public Health Authority and to coordinate its own sanitary measures with those of the International Sanitary Conferences beginning in 1926. To focus solely on the institution of the public health regime and the medicalization of the Hajj, however, would unduly emphasize the universality of the biopolitical as a mode of sovereignty and its European provenance, to the detriment of the specific ways in which it intersected with other, older understandings of sovereignty as they related to both life and death.

The biopolitical did not displace the juridical authority of the *shari'a* or its specialists, the 'ulama', as accounts of the emergence of secular political reason might contend. Rather, the biopolitical and the law formed a common economy of power that targeted the biological and ethical body through a diverse set of institutions, practices, and practitioners, all of which worked toward a common goal of managing life in the fullness of its physical and moral capacities. This economy of power was all the more compelling because the contested nature of relations between Ibn al-Sa'ud, the jurists, the pilgrim guides, and the soldiers of the Ikhwan more often than not concealed the extent to which they were operating within an overlapping, even shared, field of vital politics. And in contrast to Foucault's account, it was not race that became the discursive

⁸⁵ Ménoret, *The Saudi Enigma*, 90; Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*, 80–93; Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia*, 140.

sive ground for inclusion in or exclusion from the nation, but one's conformance to an understanding of God's oneness (*tawhid*) as a form of embodied belief.⁸⁶ The Shi'a and the various mystical orders were therefore recast as threats to a broad social and moral order. Similarly, the power of the sovereign monarch did not disappear; rather, the bio-juridical became the grounds for sovereign action, rather than merely monarchical will. The monarch took life not on the basis of an existential threat to the monarchy, but on the basis of perceived threats to the community of believers.

It seems evident, then, that this new economy of power operated across a limited number of domains in the specific historical moment of the Saudi conquest of the Hijaz and the holy cities. Although the 1920s marked the founding moment of a state sovereignty founded in biopolitical reason, this period certainly did not mark its full expression. Once politics was grounded in human life, both individually and as population, the state administration of and intervention in human life (both physical and ethical) was normalized under the imperative that, in Foucault's words, "society must be defended." In this way, the government of the holy cities suggests a point of departure for a critical history of the present, which would unsettle narratives of Saudi exceptionalism rooted in tribe, Islam, or petroleum. Indeed, the inclusion of life in the ambit of the state was a local instantiation of a global phenomenon.

The year 2015 ended in another tragedy, when more than two thousand pilgrims, mostly Iranian, died in a stampede near the plain of Mina. Although the Saudi government adamantly stated that far fewer than that number lost their lives, they also declared their intention to create a safer pilgrimage for all. In response, the government developed an "e-bracelet" for all pilgrims making the Hajj, which would not only store the wearer's medical information but also contain a GPS device, and even connect to apps that would give believers instructions on the proper performance of Hajj rituals.⁸⁷ The daily monitoring of life in its physical and moral capacities would, in fact, now be monitored by the digital equivalent of the mutawwif.

If the Saudi government's response to the 2015 stampede reveals the continued centrality of life to the practice of political power nearly a century after the conquest of Mecca and Medina, it is worth considering whether any history of modern Saudi Arabia can be written without taking into consideration the discourses, institutions, and practices associated with the government of human vitality and mortality. It is difficult to divorce the regulation of labor in the petroleum sector in the 1940s and 1950s, for example, from the management of human life and its racialization. The problem of labor directs us as well to the question of immigration, migration, and the limits of citizenship as it developed in the kingdom in the second half of the twentieth century. As migrant labor from South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the other Arab states came to dominate the Saudi workforce, race as a modality of biopolitical governance became

⁸⁶ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 254–263. The interrogation of the problematic of race and its emergence as part of the European colonial project was of course central to Ann Laura Stoler's critical reassessment of Foucault's work. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Nishiyama, "Towards a Global Genealogy of Biopolitics," 331–346.

⁸⁷ "Hajj 2016: Saudi Arabia Introduces Bracelets for Safety," AlJazeera.com, June 30, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/saudi-arabia-introduces-bracelets-hajj-safety-160630131905794.html>; "Saudi Arabia May Soon Issue E-bracelets for All Hajj Pilgrims," Al Arabiya English, May 24, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/variety/2015/05/24/E-bracelets-on-the-way-for-hajj-pilgrims-.html>.

just as important as the legal status of citizenship in delineating the state's "other." The state imperative to guard the body politic became even clearer in the period after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the invasion and occupation of Iraq by the United States in 2003, and the uprisings of 2011. It is not difficult to see the parallels between the early development of the biopolitical state in the 1920s in response to the fears of foreign contagion in the holy cities and the state responses to the outbreak of Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) in 2012, the crackdown on foreign labor in 2013, or the 2014 passage of the new anti-terrorism law, which in its early formulation targeted not only those who actively attacked the state but even those whose ideologies undermined religion. More recently, one could argue that this same political logic is at work in the sectarian discourse that has informed Saudi military intervention in Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, and its own majority Shi'i Eastern Province. In each of these, the repressive power of the state has targeted presumed Shi'i populations that function as localized embodiments of an Iranian threat, conceived as a racial and sectarian entity, to a primarily Sunni nation. Taken together, these more recent moments of perceived threat to the Saudi state and body politic and the ways in which they target the sick, racialized, and morally suspect body indicate the importance of the biopolitical to any assessment of Saudi sovereign power and its possible futures. A focus on the body of the king, in either life or death, can only obscure the operations of this very modern state.

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Between “Rural Youth” and Empire: Social and Emotional Dynamics of Youth Mobilization in the Countryside of Colonial Taiwan under Japan’s Total War

SAYAKA CHATANI

WHAT TURNS PEOPLE INTO passionate supporters of a state ideology? The history of the twentieth century, the “age of extremes,” impels us to account for numerous mass mobilizations that took place under the banner of a political ideology.¹ For some time now, scholars have looked to the role of the state as the most powerful agent in the temporal space of modernity in shaping beliefs and behaviors. The amorphous power of the modern state has been explained through a variety of concepts, including hegemony, control, discipline, persuasion, and governmentality. These concepts have provided tools for analyzing the seemingly puzzling phenomena of widespread popular support during even the most brutal regimes. Work on fascist and communist regimes has shown that the state exercised a pervasive cultural power—Fascist Italy established what Victoria de Grazia has called a “culture of consent” through Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, the national leisure organization; the Nazis promised happiness and success to the members of the *Volksgemeinschaft* (community of the people); Stalinism offered a utopian socialist civilization to industrial workers.² As historians have pointed out, the tactics of establishing hegemony were never perfect. The space of negotiation between the state and its subjects has thus become a rich area of investigation through which to determine the nature of mass politics in the twentieth century.³

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¹ The phrase comes from Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (London, 1994).

² See Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge, 1981); Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto, “Volksgemeinschaft: Writing the Social History of the Nazi Regime,” in Steber and Gotto, eds., *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives* (Oxford, 2015), 1–25; Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

³ Recent works include Giulia Albanese and Roberta Pergher, eds., *In the Society of Fascists: Acclamation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini’s Italy* (New York, 2012); Steber and Gotto, *Visions of*

Bottom-up empirical studies suggest a different approach to this theory-driven framework. Many investigations of “everyday history” have shown that both the state and people are embedded in messy social dynamics. Even in totalitarian states, rapidly changing, intertwining layers of social relationships define the character of mass politics. Since Alf Lüdtke’s inspiring call in the 1980s for reconstructing the history of ordinary people in Nazi Germany, the field of everyday history has expanded to underline the vibrant sphere of daily life.⁴ The field has not only sharpened its analytical edge, viewing politics through social identity, bonds, grudges, and aspirations, but also expanded its geographical scope, reaching Mao’s China and Kim Il Sung’s North Korea.⁵ Although these studies have shown the heterogeneity of the social sphere and led us sometimes to question the totalitarian nature of these regimes, however, there is one aspect of state control, namely ideological indoctrination or brainwashing, that remains unilluminated by historians of the everyday. A number of epistemological issues are relevant here: Can we access people’s inner thoughts, and if so, how? Does an embrace of state ideology mean that state power has permeated an individual’s psyche? People’s mindsets can be exceedingly fragmented, as Jan Plamper underlines in reminding researchers of popular opinions in Stalinism about “the mind-boggling diversity of human thought, utterance, and action.”⁶ While these challenges remain, everyday history can still provide a promising entry point for a study of ideological indoctrination—its attention to social relationships rescues us from both the sea of supra-historical individual particularities and the deterministic dichotomy of the state and its subjects. In other words, fleshing out local tensions and contexts that shaped the course of action for both the state and individuals allows us to, however partially, uncover the social mechanism of ideological indoctrination.

The mobilization of youth in Taiwan by Japanese imperialists during the Second World War offers a unique vantage point in this regard. The longest-standing of Japan’s formal colonies (1895–1945), Taiwan exhibited one of the most extreme cases of assimilatory ideological mobilization during this period. One representative phenomenon was the “volunteer fever” (*shigannetsu*) that swept through Taiwan when the Japanese army started recruiting colonial volunteer soldiers in 1942. The volunteer soldier program created a “blood-application culture” (*kessho bunka*), so named be-

Community in Nazi Germany; Geoff Eley, *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany, 1930–1945* (London, 2013). In the field of Japanese history, Yoshimi Yoshiaki’s iconic *Kusa no ne no fashizumu: Nihon minshū no sensō taiken* (Tokyo, 1987) has now been translated into English as *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, trans. Ethan Mark (New York, 2016).

⁴ See, for example, Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, trans. William Templer (Princeton, N.J., 1995); and on Stalinist Russia, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times—Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York, 2000).

⁵ See Steber and Gotto, *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*; Patrick Bernhard, “Renarrating Italian Fascism: New Directions in the Historiography of a European Dictatorship,” *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 1 (2014): 151–163; Paul Corner, ed., *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism* (Oxford, 2009); Alf Lüdtke, ed., *Everyday Life in Mass Dictatorship: Collusion and Evasion* (New York, 2016); Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson, eds., *Maoism at the Grassroots: Everyday Life in China’s Era of High Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2015); Suzy Kim, *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2013).

⁶ Jan Plamper, “Beyond Binaries: Popular Opinion in Stalinism,” in Corner, *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes*, 64–80, here 75.

cause many young men signed applications in their own blood to express their "pure loyalty" to the empire.⁷ In the first year, 425,961 people applied for 1,000 open spots. That number rose to 601,147 in the second year, and to 759,276 for 2,000 available spots in the third year. Considering that in 1940 the total male population in the main age group targeted for this program (17–30) was 633,325, these were extremely large numbers, even compared to the similar "volunteer fever" in colonial Korea, where as many as 303,294 youth applied for 6,300 open spots in 1942.⁸ The majority of applicants, particularly in the initial phase, came from farming families, who constituted 42 percent of Taiwan's total population, despite the fact that volunteer soldiers were paid far less than laborers hired by the military.⁹

The colonial setting of this mobilization, especially the empire's transition from a coercive foreign occupier to a persuasive ruler, offers us an analytical advantage in tracing state-society interactions. Colonial states by their nature exercised an uneven and porous kind of power. In other cases where the state generated a degree of public enthusiasm about colonial youth mobilization and soldier recruitment, we find major adjustments in rhetoric and highly targeted recruitment—the British collaborated with tribal chiefs or designated certain "martial races" for soldiering and policing, and Vichy France called for a revitalization of the grand medieval "Angkorean spirit" in youth mobilization in wartime Cambodia.¹⁰ In Taiwan, the Japanese, too, initially found it difficult to gain public support, plagued by the lack of legitimacy and an unfamiliarity with local customs and languages. There was, literally and perceptibly, a great distance between the imperial center and the people at the colonial periphery. Despite facing the typical challenge of "dominance without hegemony" during the first few decades, however, the Japanese pursued a set of governing principles for Taiwan that adapted direct rule and assimilation to the Japanese system, as if they enjoyed the status of a "strong" state. They transplanted many homeland-tested social engineering techniques and, during the period between 1937 and 1945, worked fervently to Japanize the populations.¹¹ How an empire that started out as a weak colo-

⁷ Chou Wan-yao (Zhou Wanyao), "Ribei zai-Tai junshi dongyuan yu Taiwanren de haiwai canzhan jingyan," *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 2, no. 1 (1995): 85–126, here 97–102.

⁸ Kondō Masami, *Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1996), 371–373; Naimu-shō, *Taiheiyō senka no Chōsen oyobi Taiwan* (1944), cited in Miyata Setsuko, *Chōsen minshū to "kōminka" seisaku* (Tokyo, 1985), 62. On military recruitment in colonial Korea, see Brandon Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy: Koreans in Japan's War, 1937–1945* (Seattle, Wash., 2013); Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley, Calif., 2011).

⁹ Kondō, *Sōryokusen to Taiwan*, 371–373. In the first three months, 58.6 percent of the applications were from the agricultural sector alone. That number does not include those in other industries from rural villages.

¹⁰ By way of a comparison between the volunteer soldier program in Taiwan and soldier recruitment in the British colonies, see, for example, Ashley Jackson, "Motivation and Mobilization for War: Recruitment for the British Army in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1941–42," *African Affairs* 96, no. 384 (1997): 399–417; Andrew Selth, "Race and Resistance in Burma, 1942–45," *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (1986): 483–507; M. Y. Effendi, *Punjab Cavalry: Evolution, Rule, Organisation, and Tactical Doctrine—11 Cavalry (Frontier Force), 1849–1971* (Karachi, 2007); Anne Raffin, "Youth Mobilization and Ideology: Cambodia from the Late Colonial Era to the Pol Pot Regime," *Critical Asian Studies* 44, no. 3 (2012): 391–418, here 398–400, quote from 399.

¹¹ The colonial government adopted some uniquely Taiwanese governing methods as well, such as the *baojia* system. But even the supposedly "local" *baojia* system was reinvented by Japan's colonial strategist, Gotō Shinpei. On the *baojia* system, see Hui-yu Caroline Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (New York, 2009), 98–105. At the same time, because of Japan's strong emphasis on assimilation, many historians of Japanese colonialism presume the strength of state power (and individuals exercising agency within it), applying Foucauldian analytical

nial state with no grasp of public sentiment was so quickly able to create a mass base of national-imperial enthusiasts is a puzzle that forces us to open up the black box of colonial social dynamics.

Youth mobilization serves as a window into this perplexing process. A narrow focus on “volunteer fever” might lead one to hastily attribute it to the power of the state alone: young people, monitored and pressured by schoolteachers and local officials, submitted applications in groups, hundreds and thousands at a time. At the same time, many educated Taiwanese youth maintained a critical view toward the island-wide movement to apply. The resulting combination of persuasion, discipline, and resistance could be readily explained within the framework of the confrontation between the powerful state and the agency of individuals. But a more careful analysis of longer-term youth programs and people’s everyday experiences in them reveals that even at those moments when the domineering power of the state over its subjects was most conspicuously on display, the relationships between them were never dichotomous. Mobilized individuals never defined their own subjectivity solely, or even mainly, vis-à-vis the imperial state. Despite the ubiquity of state propaganda recited by mobilized youth themselves, their decision-making took place in response to a variety of social relationships and tensions. In the case of Taiwan’s “volunteer fever,” Japanese youth training programs contributed significantly to creating the phenomenon because they took on *social* importance. Village youth associations (part of the national Seinendan network), provincial youth training institutes (*seinen shūrenjō*), and the program of the Taiwan Patriotic Labor Youth Corps (Taiwan Kingyō Hōkoku Seinentai) conventionally represented the machinery of indoctrination that imposed discipline and ideology on colonial youth. But the most important function of these institutions was to reconfigure social relationships and the positions of rural youth in the social structure by exacerbating some of the existing social tensions. In other words, rather than erasing localities and individualities, these institutions helped to fuel the development of local identities, tensions, and emotions.

Individual accounts are useful because they reveal subtle changes in social positions.¹² Two individuals from the countryside of Xinzhu province, Huang Yuanxing

terms. See Todd A. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 2014), 3; Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire Building*; Fujitani, *Race for Empire*; Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008). Although he does not apply Foucauldian methods per se, Leo T. S. Ching emphasizes the cultural power exercised by the Japanese Empire during this period, deliberately shifting the previous colonial project of assimilationism to the issue of identity struggle of the colonized. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 113–125. On Japan’s drive for assimilation, see, for example, Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Seattle, Wash., 2009); Oguma Eiji, *“Nihonjin” no kyōkai: Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Chōsen Shokuminchi shihai kara fukki undō made* (Tokyo, 1998); Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō* (Tokyo, 1996). The phrase “dominance without hegemony” is from Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

¹² A number of oral interviews and memoirs of Taiwanese ex-soldiers who fought in the Japanese army have been published since the 1990s. The primary aim of their projects has been to reestablish “Taiwanese” memories of the war, which had been mired in the “Chinese”-centric narratives promoted by the postwar Guomindang regime. Historians at Academia Sinica in Taiwan have taken the initiative in this regard. Key publications of memories and interviews include Chou Wan-yao (Zhou Wanyao), ed., *Taiji Ribenbing zuotanhui jilu bing xiangguan ziliao* (Taipei, 1997); and Hui-yu Caroline Ts’ai (Cai Huiyu), ed., *Zouguo liangge shidai de ren: Taiji Riben bing* (Taipei, 1997). On the issue of public memory of Tai-

and Xu Chongfa, can serve as typical examples of those who joined imperial youth training in the late 1930s and early 1940s. They both came from average rural families in poor villages and became, as they openly admit, firm supporters of the Japanese imperial ideology. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Xu, at the time an assistant instructor at the youth training institute in Xinzhu province, brought home a library of personal letters from trainees, instructors' notes, attendance records, newsletters, and photo albums the night before Guomindang forces came to seize the facility. These previously untapped sources vividly reveal the socioeconomic conditions and gendered experiences that pushed youth into the embrace of imperial mobilization, as well as their worldviews, which had yet to be influenced by the final outcome of the war or postwar Guomindang rule.

With the help of these personal materials, we are able to see how interactions between social dynamics and state institutions generated certain emotions in individuals, which then served as a basis for the radical indoctrination of young men.¹³ Studies of youth mobilization, unlike studies of children and childhood, have rarely brought up the centrality of emotions.¹⁴ This is perhaps because state bureaucrats, social experts, and young people themselves defined the category of (particularly male) youth in terms of discipline and self-control—the opposite of emotional beings. In the case of Japan's colonial history, Japanization campaigns as a whole are seen as a machine-like means of coldly oppressing indigenous ways of life. For historians, the forceful conversion of ethnic identity (even "ethnic cleansing") has become common analytical parlance.¹⁵ But as the stories of Xu and Huang show, it was the development of a new emotional community during youth training that ensured participants' ideological commitment, self-discipline, and allegiance to the empire. The prewar Japanese national-imperial ideology extolled agrarianism, lauded youth as pillars of the nation, and held up the soldier's fit, strong body as the masculine ideal, thereby emotionally emancipating colonial village youth, who had developed a deep grudge against the urban, the educated, and sometimes the older generations in local social contexts. Through youth training, which provided intense bonding experiences, the participants gained a sense of moral superiority and confidence to challenge the social hierarchy. Viewing the mobilization in this way frees us from a fixation on mutually exclusive ethnic identities. The social and emotional mechanism of creating "ideal Japanese na-

wanese soldiers in the Japanese army, see Shi-chi Mike Lan, "(Re-)Writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the Taiwanese–Native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan," *Positions: Asia Critique* 21, no. 4 (2013): 801–851.

¹³ With regard to the focus on emotions, this article is inspired by Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* 1, no. 1 (2010): 1–32, <http://www.passionsincontext.de/index.php?id=557>. See also Stephanie Olsen, ed., *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (New York, 2015). But in this article, an "emotional community" refers more literally to a group of emotionally connected people, not to the theoretical boundary assumed in concepts such as "emotional formation." In other words, the kinds of emotions shared by those who took part in youth training matter less for my analysis than the fact that they strongly bonded with one another.

¹⁴ When historians discuss emotions of teenagers, they tend to describe them as "children" rather than "youth." See the ambiguous categories of children and youth in Olsen, *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History*.

¹⁵ See Miyata Setsuko, *Chōsen minshū to "kōminka" seisaku* (Tokyo, 1985); Ch'oe Yuri, *Ilchae malggi singminchi chibae chōngch'aek yōn'gu* (Seoul, 1997).

tionals” out of colonial village youth was not fundamentally different from that in the Japanese countryside after all.¹⁶

It is not a coincidence that twentieth-century regimes of all kinds placed great emphasis on youth mobilization. Youth as a sector of the population had become a concrete category that gave legibility to the abstract “masses.” For state officials and social leaders, guiding this “impressionable” group of people was key to mass control. But that does not mean that the state singlehandedly activated “youth” as the focus of mass politics. The rise of the category of youth in the political sphere resulted from larger changes in modern industrializing societies, particularly the increasing sensitivity to distinctly divided generations—a decade of difference in birth years now meant a substantial difference in experiences and consciousness.¹⁷ Many studies on uniformed youth mobilization in the early twentieth century, be it the imperial and colonial Boy Scouts, Mussolini’s Opera Nazionale Balilla, the Nazis’ Hitlerjugend, the Soviet Komsomol, or the Japanese Seinendan, point to the fact that the new generational perceptions were the cause, not the result, of the popularity of such groups, although these groups further widened generational divisions.¹⁸ Youth mobilization in Taiwan also became a focal point of intense interactions among the state, society, and individuals. Far beyond the colonizer-colonized relationship, it showcased the nature of mass politics in the early-to-mid-twentieth-century world.

THE MOST UNIQUE CHARACTERISTIC of youth mobilization in the Japanese Empire was its emphasis on rural space, whether in the Japanese metropole or in the colonies. This was because of the historical heritage of the rural-based Seinendan, which carried out the empire-wide “disciplining” and “nationalization” policy directed at young populations.¹⁹ Regarding the Seinendan in the metropole as the perfect tool for trans-

¹⁶ On youth mobilization in the Japanese countryside, see Sayaka Chatani, “Youth and Rural Modernity in Japan, 1900s–20s,” in Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret, eds., *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2015), 23–44; Richard J. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974).

¹⁷ Richard Ivan Jobs and David M. Pomfret, “The Transnationality of Youth,” in Jobs and Pomfret, *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*, 1–19, here 3–4.

¹⁸ A large number of studies have been done on these groups. Some of the relatively recent ones include Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000); Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens, Ohio, 2004); Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); Jobs and Pomfret, *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*; Mark Roseman, ed., *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1770–1968* (New York, 1995); Sayaka Chatani, “Nation-Empire: Rural Youth Mobilization in Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, 1895–1945” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014).

¹⁹ Some historians have framed the Seinendan as a part of a top-down militarization of feudalistic rural populations; see Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*; Ōe Shinobu, *Kokumin kyōiku to guntai* (Tokyo, 1974). Others investigate more local contexts in which the Seinendan operated and even view them as a sign of the widespread democratic mindset; see Hirayama Kazuhiko, *Seinen shūdانشi kenkyū josetsu II* (Tokyo, 1978); Kanō Masanao, *Taishō demokurashī no teiryū* (Tokyo, 1973), chap. 2; Ōgushi Ryūichi, “Seinendan jishuka undō no ayumi,” *Gekkan shakai kyōiku*, March 1989, 88–95; Ōkado Masakatsu, “Meibōka chitsujo no henbō,” in Sakano Hiroshi et al., eds., *Gendai shakai eno tenkei* (Tokyo, 1993), 65–108. The Seinendan has recently drawn scholarly attention as a tool of colonial social engineering in Taiwan. See Miyazaki Seiko, *Shokuminchiki Taiwan ni okeru seinendan to chiiki no hen'yō* (Tokyo, 2008); Chen Wensong, *Zhimin tongzhi yu “qingnian”: Taiwan zongdufu de “qingnian” jiaohua zhengce* (Taipei, 2015).

forming people, colonial officials in Taiwan and Korea turned to the countryside to implement uniformed youth mobilization, unlike other empires and totalitarian regimes, which mainly targeted urban youth. This attempt, however, did not resonate in the local social relationships in Taiwan before the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

Colonial officials in Taiwan initially made the critical mistake of underestimating the deeply social, apolitical role played by village youth associations in the Japanese countryside. Such groups had been common in traditional rural communities for centuries; they typically organized communal festivals, farming collectives, and peer gatherings to support the rural life cycle. The new Meiji monarchy (1868–1912), however, assigned them a new mission: spreading a national consciousness among village youth. In Meiji, they started promoting the modernization of lifestyles and agriculture in response to the popular discourse of "youth" as the engine of modernity. Through the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and World War I, officials standardized these associations and established a national network for them, giving them the uniform name *Seinendan* so that they would match the European model of youth organizations. The state mobilization ignited a series of reactions by village youth, who viewed the *Seinendan* through the lens of their immediate social relationships. Some aspired to improve their peripheral positions against urban supremacy; others used the resources provided by the *Seinendan* to challenge familial and village rules. Their enthusiasm led to rapid institutional expansion. By the late 1910s, the *Seinendan* had peaked at 18,000 groups and 2.9 million members, numbers that remained roughly unchanged until World War II. This means that almost every village had a *Seinendan* group, whose members included almost all the young men between roughly twelve and twenty-five years of age.²⁰ Through the *Seinendan*, village youth steadily developed a sense of autonomy, pride in themselves as "modern rural youth," and better job prospects; state officials, in turn, were able to achieve their goals of improving success rates on the conscription examination, modernizing agricultural methods, and spreading the ideologies of agrarianism and an emperor-centered nationalism.²¹ In short, the *Seinendan* became an important social sphere for farm youth through which the state could also influence their social relationships.

By the early 1920s, the institutional robustness of the *Seinendan* had drawn the attention of the leaders of Japan's colonies. Following the colonization of Taiwan in 1895, Japanese colonialists had moved quickly to establish colonial elementary schools and Japanese language centers across the island. But the Japanese faced an unfamiliar diversity in Taiwan's social systems. While the semi-urban coastal towns were characterized by the social stratification of classes following the value system of Qing China, in the mountainous inner regions there were volatile ethnic tensions among different immigrant groups from China and indigenous aboriginal tribes. On the one hand, this diversity and the absence of central control facilitated Japanese interventions in local affairs; on the other, the Taiwanese (particularly rural) population remained indifferent toward Japanese rule. Most of the colonial directives were readily accepted, only to be ignored later. Introducing the *Seinendan* in Taiwan was sup-

²⁰ Kumagai Tatsujirō, *Dai Nihon Seinendanshi* (Tokyo, 1942), Appendix, 61–67.

²¹ Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*; Chatani, "Youth and Rural Modernity in Japan."

posed to aid the process of transforming the Taiwanese people into a population committed to Japan's imperial nationalism.²²

The colonialists' plan to establish Seinendan-like youth groups in Taiwan started at the provincial level. In 1915, for example, the governor of Xinzhu province in northern Taiwan, Mimura Sanpei, established the Xinzhu Youth Group, trying to organize six thousand youth "in order to improve youthful morals and to have them practice the Japanese language."²³ A more systematic effort by the colonial government started in 1926 with the establishment of the Bureau of Education (Bunkyō-kyoku), a new office dedicated to the education of Taiwanese youth. Vice Governor-General Gotō Fumio, the face of the bureau, had been known as a top leader of Seinendan associations in Japan and emphasized the importance of organized youth training for the governance of Taiwan.²⁴ In 1930, the colonial government officially issued an act to standardize youth groups throughout the island and named them Seinendan.

Around the early 1920s, "youth" became an established social category in Taiwanese society at large. The new generations that had attended Japanese schools and grown up as Japanese rule was being consolidated formed an increasingly vocal sector. Some became new leaders in their villages, while others turned to the anticolonial movement, but both groups echoed the mission of "youth." Interestingly, even anticolonial leaders viewed the Seinendan as an effective tool for spreading a Taiwanese national consciousness. In 1920, Xu Qingxiang published an article, "Encouraging the Local Seinendan," in *Taiwan Youth (Taiwan Qingnian)*, a magazine through which Taiwanese students in Tokyo and their Japanese supporters advocated self-determination for Taiwan and anticolonial nationalism. Xu urged the establishment of school-centered Seinendan that would mirror their Japanese counterparts, begging the "dear wise youth" who read the magazine to "please look at how actively youth in every city, town, and village [in Japan] work and how earnestly society gives them guidance and support."²⁵

Caught between colonial and anticolonial leaders in the competition to establish Seinendan-style youth groups, people accepted their initiatives only in ways that made sense in their own social relationships. Instead of rural villages, it was in major provincial towns that a number of youth groups appeared—and disappeared—in the 1920s. Newspaper reports focused on the groups' political affiliations, which shifted frequently. Beneath the façade of the political battle, these groups grew steadily because they developed a social function as elite youth clubs regardless of their political colors. The groups allowed members to solidify their ties with colonial officials or anticolonial elites, socialized the sons of dominant families into ruling circles, and helped them obtain official or business positions.²⁶

²² See Chatani, "Nation-Empire," chap. 5.

²³ "Ikanishite shiteikinenbi o shukusuruka," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 28, 1915, 7.

²⁴ On Bunkyō-kyoku, see Chen Wen Sung (Winston) [Chen Wensong], "Seinen no sōdatsu: 1920-nendai shokuminchi Taiwan ni okeru seinen kyōka undō: Bunkyō-kyoku setsuritsu o chūshin ni shite" (M.A. thesis, University of Tokyo, 2000).

²⁵ Xu Qingxiang, "Chihō seinendan o kanshō su," *Taiwan qingnian (Tāi oân chheng liân)* 1, no. 5 (1920): 45–48. See Chatani, "Nation-Empire," chap. 2.

²⁶ Chatani, "Nation-Empire," chap. 5.

Around the same time, colonial authorities sought to embed the Seinendan more deeply in the social contexts of rural villages to fight the anticolonial opposition. They defined the organization's mission as alleviating the problem of increased stratification among the rural classes and the lack of social mobility available to peasant youth. In Xinzhu's rural areas, three decades of colonial rule had shifted the social structure. In the nineteenth century, the atmosphere in these villages had reflected the volatile yet fluid frontier society, characterized by violence between Chinese settlers and indigenous aborigines. By the 1920s, the frontier feel was long gone, having been replaced by a stable class hierarchy centered on large landlords.²⁷ In the late 1920s, the number of tenant disputes rose, and the worsening living conditions of tenant farmers became a political issue.²⁸ While anticolonial leaders failed to capitalize on this situation, colonial agents found an opportunity to refurbish the role of the Seinendan.

In effect, the rural class hierarchy served the colonizers' goal of shifting the locus of battle away from the sovereignty issue to village society. In the late 1920s, when the Bureau of Education launched a series of programs for youth training in Taiwan, they harshly criticized the elitist nature of the existing youth groups. In Xinzhu province, schoolteachers sought to end the dominance of the landlord class in youth groups in favor of "model rural youth." They proposed that promising farmers be recruited from among elementary school graduates and that the group be used to train young minds rather than as a social club for upper-class families.²⁹ Echoing the imperial ideology of agrarian superiority, the schoolteachers looked for a crack in rural social relationships through which they could turn their advocacy into a social force in young farmers' lives.

In the 1930s, the colonial effort to frame the Seinendan around the social concerns of the Taiwanese countryside continued. Institutionally, the groups varied widely in their scale, popularity, and activities. One way in which the Seinendan appealed to marginalized young farmers was by creating a new image of "rural youth" as modern, hard-working, and masculine, a symbol of Taiwan's future. In 1931, the Xinzhu police deployed a musical band made up of Seinendan members at the head of their automobile parade, distributing 20,000 brochures to promote traffic rules.³⁰ Twice a week, Seinendan members from various regions demonstrated their mastery of Japanese on the radio show *Kokugo fukyū no yūbe* (*Evening of the Promotion of the National Language* [1930–1933]).³¹ The association's new magazine, *Kunpū* (*Summer Breeze* [1932–]), created a shared discursive space for members and colonial Seinendan advocates. Many of

²⁷ On the social transformation of Xinzhu villages, see *ibid.*

²⁸ Left-leaning authors, such as Yang Kui and Lai He (Loa Ho), started taking up the theme of the exploitation of Taiwanese peasants in the 1930s. Colonial social activists often discussed the rural problem in the journal *Shakai jigyō no tomo* around 1929. See also Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimu-kyoku, ed., *Taiwan shakai undōshi: Taiwan Sōtokufu keisatsu enkakushi dainihen ryōtai igo no chian jōkyō chūkan* (Taipei, 1939), 999, for the number of tenant disputes between 1924 and 1929.

²⁹ Miyajima Yutaka, "Hontō nōson seinendan shidō no jissai," in Shinchiku-shū, ed., *Seinendan shidō ronbunshū* (Xinzhu City, 1932), 119–150, here 126–128.

³⁰ "Shinchiku-shū no kōtsū seiri," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, October 2, 1931, 3.

³¹ For example, see "Chūnanbu chihō o fukumu rajio hōsō kokugo fukyū no yūbe," *Taiwan kyōiku* 363 (October 1932): 92–93; "Chūnanbu chihō o fukumu rajio hōsō kokugo fukyū no yūbe," *Taiwan kyōiku* 368 (February 1933): 97–98. On Xinzhu youth's performance in the show, see Yazawa Hideo, "Sangatsu jūsanichi kokugo fukyū rajio hōsō ni shutsuen sareta Shinchiku-shi no minasama ni: Nihonjin nara Nihongo de hanase," *Taiwan kyōiku* 357 (April 1932): 133–135.

its articles stirred youth's desire to "rise in the world" and argued that success was possible for rural residents without a higher education. Newspapers and *Kunpū* widely reported the rescue and relief activities of the Seinendan in natural disasters.³² Aided by widespread elementary education and Japanese literacy, these events and media reports gave the Seinendan social recognition and touted Taiwan's proud "rural youth" of the new era.³³

The wartime mobilization of village youth both continued and destroyed the Seinendan's previous effort to permeate Taiwan's rural societies. On the one hand, it continued to build the image of modern "rural youth" against the dominance of the landlord class. On the other hand, colonial officials ignored Taiwan's social contexts and imposed a one-size-fits-all scheme on imperial Seinendan mobilization. Most notably, while the Taiwanese Seinendan had not incorporated a military ethos because military service was still unthinkable in the colony in the early 1930s, that changed abruptly with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The imperial state was now projecting the image of a "model hamlet soldier," symbolized by the Japanese Seinendan, onto Taiwanese Seinendan members. When the war started, the colonial government compelled all male youth and all unmarried female youth to join the Seinendan, causing the membership numbers to explode. Between 1938 and 1939, the number of members jumped from 94,770 to 440,649.³⁴ In June 1938, the Taiwan Seinendan Federation was established as part of the larger network of the Greater Japan Seinendan Federation, accompanying the streamlining of the local institutional networks. At the inauguration of the federation, the youth declared four resolutions: "We will complete the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement. We will volunteer for patriotic labor [*kinrō hōkoku*]. We will establish Japanese-speaking villages and towns. We will perfect national defense."³⁵

With standardization, officials found themselves caught in the looping dilemma of top-down youth mobilization: they had envisioned the Seinendan as local groups that would be spontaneously organized by Taiwanese villagers, but the required standards hindered that possibility. They had hoped that non-official local figures would take charge, but most of the people who held managerial positions in the Japanese mobilization scheme were "rich intellectuals who enjoy[ed] debating ideologies" and "lack[ed] passion" in practice.³⁶ In this situation, "rural youth" again became both a

³² "Daishinsai nyūsu," *Kunpū* 36 (May 1935): 37; "Shushōnari seinendan," *ibid.*, 4–34; "Shinpo seinendan no jihatsuteki hōshi," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 27, 1935, 3; "Daitōtei seinendan kara kyūgohan ga shutsudō," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 28, 1935, 2.

³³ By the 1930s, Taiwan had achieved relatively high levels of schooling and Japanese literacy even in remote villages. According to the colonial census, the rate of school enrollment among school-aged children rose from 33 percent to 57.6 percent between 1930 and 1940. Hirotani Takio and Hirokawa Toshiko, "Nihon tōchika no Taiwan: Chōsen ni okeru shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku no hikakushiteki kenkyū," *Hokkaidō daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō* 22 (November 1973): 19–92, here 62. The principal of a public elementary school in Beipu village recorded that in the central part of the village, the schooling rate in 1934 was 77 percent for male children and 35 percent for female children. Shimabukuro Kangi, *Hoppo kyōdoshī* (Beipu, 1935), 27–55.

³⁴ More precisely, the rapid increase was recorded between 1937 and 1939. In 1937, male Seinendan members numbered 25,909, female members 10,411. In 1938, those numbers jumped to 62,906 and 31,869 respectively, and then to 269,906 and 170,743 in 1939. Miyazaki, *Shokuminchiki Taiwan ni okeru seinendan to chiiki no hen'yō*, 88, 257–263.

³⁵ "Sensei," *Kunpū*, August 1938, 7.

³⁶ "Hōkō undō genchi hōkoku: Genni imashimubeshi hōkō undō no chūshōka," *Shinkensetsu*, July 1943, 28–29, here 28.

means and an end for the authorities in their desire to reach colonial society. Japanese officials expressed an even greater determination to expand the training of village youth who had firsthand knowledge of their villages: "The future of our campaign relies to a great extent on the commitment of these youth. Youth desire excitement and inspiration. We should direct responsible work to them."³⁷

MORE THAN TWO DECADES OF trial and error on the part of colonial officials in Taiwan in engaging with local society through the Seinendan shows a common limitation of colonial rule. But in creating a symbolic image of modern "rural youth," they initiated an important social change. Beyond symbolism, for many young people in the Xinzhu countryside the sea change in their social position happened in 1938, not through the expansion of the Seinendan, but through the establishment of another type of training program, the *seinen shūrenjō* (youth training institute), by the provincial government. The new program improved youth's life prospects and gave new meaning to the sphere of youth training as a whole.

Built near the beach of Nanliao in August 1938, the new training institute was designed to provide more intense discipline than the Seinendan. Sixty young people were selected from village Seinendan groups for thirty days of training.³⁸ The instructors scheduled one-month sessions almost back to back in order to reach as many young people as possible. Officials were eager to compare their youth mobilization efforts to those undertaken by the Nazis: "Even the Adolf Hitler School is eight years of education, but Xinzhu province's youth training institute is going to complete it within thirty days," they bragged, underlining the intensity and effectiveness of the training before it even began.³⁹

The institute adopted the dojo style of training—a popular method in the metropole that emphasized the bodily mastery of the Japanese national spirit through group living. The village youth who either volunteered to join or were selected by school principals first underwent a physical examination.⁴⁰ The teachers organized the trainees into groups of six, and the youth then conducted all activities as part of their individual groups, including eating, cleaning, and sleeping.⁴¹ Their daily schedule was rigidly designed and demanded military-like punctuality. They were awakened at 6 A.M. to the sound of a Japanese drum. Male trainees then ran to do *misogi*, a Shinto-style morning prayer ritual, in the ocean, wearing only a *fundoshi* (loincloth). After morning exercises and a simple breakfast of a bowl of miso porridge, they listened to lectures on Japanese imperial history, rural village problems, and moral stories. Before or after lunch, they did outdoor activities, practiced martial arts, worked at the con-

³⁷ Ibid., 29.

³⁸ An unpublished report from May 1943, Kishiwa Tadashi, "Joshi shidōsha rensaikai" (provided by Xu Chongfa), briefly describes the difficulty that Xinzhu officials had in getting a permit from the colonial government. The participating youth constructed a new *shūrenjō* building in Matsugane in the backyard of the Shinchiku Shrine in late 1943. In the very first term, twenty young men trained for thirty days. Women's training for the first few years lasted twenty days.

³⁹ "Iyoioy kaishi o kettei shita Shinchiku shūritsu seinen shūrenjō," *Shinchiku shinpō*, August 1, 1938.

⁴⁰ Peng Qingshun and Liao Dayan, "Nikki," *Dōkō* 181 (October 5, 1938): 5–7, here 5.

⁴¹ "Shūritsu seinen shūrenjō kuniku no jissai," *Dōkō* 181 (October 5, 1938): 1.



FIGURE 1: The Graduation Ceremony for the Eighth Term Trainees of the Xinzhu Province Youth Training Institute, October 15, 1939

(Photos reproduced courtesy of Xu Chongfa)

struction site near the Xinzhu Shrine, plowed new land for vegetables, and marched through the city and mountains. After an hour or two of leisure time in the evening, they practiced *seiza*, a formal way of “proper sitting” that entails kneeling on the floor with the buttocks resting on the heels and the ankles stretched so that the tops of the feet are pressed flat. In that position they listened to a concluding lecture before retiring to sleep at 9:30 P.M.⁴² A female participant recalled that “*seiza* on the hard floor was the most difficult for farm youth, because their ankles were too stiff to stretch flat.”⁴³

The hallmark of the institute was the intense socializing experience. Painful training was a key component, intended to nurture friendship and a feeling of mutual trust. This goal was clearly manifest in Xinzhu’s biweekly newsletter on youth training, *Dōkō* (*The Same Light*). The pain the trainees endured was the main topic in their confessional reflections, through which *Dōkō* underscored the transformative quality of *shūrenjō* training. In a roundtable interview, the twelfth-term graduates admitted their initial reactions to physical pain and discomfort:

The *seiza* sitting was the most painful. The first two times I cried, but when I listened to the governor’s fifty-minute lecture in *seiza*, it was surely painful, but I was happy that I could finally bear the pain for so long.

⁴² “Dai 13-ki shūren gyōji yoteihyō,” 23 (detailed time schedule, 1941, provided by Xu Chongfa).

⁴³ Interview with Jiang Zhaoying, Qionglin, Xinzhu province, June 29, 2011.



FIGURE 2: *Misogi*, a Shintō-style prayer in the ocean

Doing *misogi* in the rain the first few times was very cold, and I shivered.

I left a few pieces of root vegetable at the first meal, but Yamada sensei told me to eat them all, so I ate them with my eyes closed. I thought I could not take it anymore.⁴⁴

These reflections stressed that overcoming the pain together was a big part of the mastery of Japanese-ness. In combination with photos of their activities, in which youth are shown exhibiting perfect uniformity and discipline, the vulnerability expressed in their remarks put a personal face on the otherwise fear-provoking scenes of training and highlighted the friendship that allowed them to share their weaknesses with one another.

Discipline was promoted not only through the strict regimen, but also through deep affective bonding. For the first time in their lives, the young people received intense attention from the Japanese instructors. There were three full-time Japanese teachers as well as one or two Taiwanese assistants. They lived in the same building, ate the same amount of the same food, and adhered to the same schedule as the trainees. As expressed in their personal letters, published essays, and roundtable interviews in *Dōkō*, the graduates appear to have developed intimacy with the instructors. Some described the teachers' devotion as equivalent to parental love: "The teachers even taught us how to scoop rice and hold chopsticks. Their kindness surpassed that of our parents." The teachers' own discipline impressed the trainees: "I cannot forget that Kitamura sensei did not move even a bit during an hour-long *seiza*, saying, 'It hurts everyone in the same way, but you have to overcome that.'" Some descriptions of their physical interactions accentuated the level of intimacy: "I will not forget that when I had a pimple that was so badly swollen that I did not want to even touch it myself, Yamada sensei squeezed the pus out for me."⁴⁵

Young women began training at the institute in July 1939, working with female

⁴⁴ "Dai 12-ki shūrensei ni kansō o kiku," *Dōkō* 244 (May 20, 1941): 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid.



FIGURE 3: At the Shinchiku (Xinzhu) Shrine

teachers. While they, too, went through rigid training that included physical exercise, their afternoon activities focused on learning skills and manners representing the feminine attributes of Japanese culture, including cooking, sewing, music, flower arranging, archery, and dancing.⁴⁶ They were told that an action as simple as washing one's face was an opportunity to develop Japanese spirituality—a *misogi* for women.⁴⁷ Trained separately, they had only occasional contact with the male trainees. But in the articles in *Dōkō* and in letters to their teachers, female trainees exhibited a similarly strong sense of appreciation and intimacy toward their instructors.

The institute taught the trainees how to become “young pillars” back in their villages, and the Seinendan groups were supposed to be the first targets for their influence. *Dōkō* stressed the achievements of the graduates in almost every issue. An article titled “A Shining Star of the Village, a Warrior of the Soil, an Institute Graduate, Huang Kunxuan” featured a model young farmer dedicated to new agricultural technologies and Japanese language education in Yangmei.⁴⁸ Another graduate, Huang Rongzhe, implemented activities from the *shūrenjō* in his Seinendan in Zhongli—waking up at 6 A.M., running to perform *misogi*, and doing morning exercises or voluntarily cleaning the streets.⁴⁹

Even if these graduates intended to play the expected role of invigorating the local Seinendan as *Dōkō* advised, in reality their experience at the institute often had the

⁴⁶ “Taibō no joshi shūrensei iyoiyo chikaku nyūjō,” *Dōkō* 199 (July 5, 1939): 1.

⁴⁷ Kishiwa, “Joshi shidōsha reiseikai.”

⁴⁸ “Buraku no myōjō, tsuchi no senshi, shūrenjō shūryōsei Huang Kunxuan kun o tou,” *Dōkō* 185 (December 5, 1938): 6.

⁴⁹ “Miyo!! Wakōdo no moyuru tōshi o!! Shinshin no shūren ni, kokugo buraku no kensetsu ni kekki seru Sekitō seinen bundan,” *Dōkō* 186 (December 20, 1938): 4.



FIGURE 4: The *seiza* style of formal sitting

reverse effect. On the one hand, the training there did transform the trainees. It created youth who were no longer indifferent but more committed, and consequently more frustrated. The graduates were increasingly dismayed to realize that their enthusiasm could not inspire the still largely indifferent village youth back home. In a letter to one of the instructors, a female graduate of the institute wrote that she and another institute graduate were "working hard for the Seinendan, but the participation rate is not great. The members are not united; they are individualistic and insincere."⁵⁰ She regarded a graduation certificate from the institute as an automatic sign of a transformed mind. When that was not the case, she felt betrayed: "There are some graduates whose minds are so wicked that I cannot believe they also went to the institute."⁵¹ On the other hand, many had a hard time coming back from the intense bonding experience and fitting back into the circles of village youth, let alone being able to exercise leadership. Another graduate wrote, "When I clean up [the school] with the school principal in the morning, other people say, 'She's showing off because she went to the training center' behind my back. I don't do it in order to be praised. I felt really lonely."⁵²

The graduates also experienced social alienation in their family relationships. They were expected to influence their relatives, but as a consequence of their efforts, families became a site of colonial confrontation and negotiation. Their most impor-

⁵⁰ Chen Fengjie (a twelfth-term female trainee) to Xu Chongfa, December 11, 1943 (provided by Xu Chongfa).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Liu Chunzi to Xu Chongfa, August 15, year unknown (most likely 1943 or 1944) (provided by Xu Chongfa).



FIGURE 5: Female trainees in *yukata*, a Japanese summer garment

tant task was to encourage their parents to learn Japanese. *Dōkō* published a message from a trainee:

Mother, I thank you and Auntie for traveling so far from home to visit me at the institute. When Mother visited me in the office, we talked a little in Taiwanese. I felt really terrible at the time. Since I had decided that I would speak no Taiwanese during the one-month training period, I felt embarrassed in front of those outside the room. Mother, please go to the Japanese Language Center and study hard. I want you to be able to speak Japanese at any time and with anyone as soon as possible.⁵³

Such articles pressured *Dōkō*'s young readers to tell their mothers to do the same. It became a goal for them to earn a certificate for a "Japanese-speaking household" by educating the older people in their families.⁵⁴ For the older generations in many farm families, who had been able to avoid any serious interactions with Japanese colonialists, their children were suddenly an unfamiliar colonial and foreign element in the household. For female trainees, acquiring a level of learning above that of their parents meant overturning the generational and gender hierarchy altogether. The subversive role of young women was highlighted in the September 1939 issues of *Dōkō*, which featured a series on the female trainee Zheng Liangmei, who had fallen seriously ill and died during the second term of women's training. On her deathbed, *Dōkō* reported, she talked in Japanese to her mother, who could not understand the language, and sang the Japanese national anthem, "Kimi ga yo." *Dōkō* depicted the

⁵³ "Okāsan e," *Dōkō* 184 (November 20, 1938): 5.

⁵⁴ "Okāsan ni 3-kanen keikaku de kokugo kyōju hajimemashita," *Dōkō* 189 (February 5, 1939): 7.



FIGURE 6: Listening to a lecture

tragically alienating scene, fictional or not, as a heroic achievement by Zheng Liangmei.⁵⁵

The reports in *Dōkō* tell us that the goal of the institute was to transform individual young people into ideal Japanese subjects through ideological instruction and then let them become the source of change in their villages and families. To be sure, the trainees' time at the institute seems to have had a great impact on them. The most intense experience, as revealed in their personal letters, appears to have been social and emotional rather than ideological, however. Being chosen to go to the institute became the mark of a new social status. At the same time, the training at the institute not only generated a sense of bonding among the participants, it also reconfigured social relationships back home in their villages and families, and consequently produced a sense of alienation, which neither the trainees nor the instructors had expected to happen. It forced the graduates to shape new self-images that distinguished them from other village youth.

HOW DID YOUNG PEOPLE VIEW the rapid change in their social relationships? In a series of interviews I conducted with Huang Yuanxing and Xu Chongfa in 2011, they helped me situate the experiences of youth training in the context of their personal lives and social surroundings. In essence, they framed their experiences in terms of climbing up the ladder of youth training, viewing their shifting social relationships as a sign of successfully overturning social hierarchies.

Huang Yuanxing was born in Beipu village, Xinzhong province, on August 24, 1925,

⁵⁵ "Kimi ga yo shōjo!," *Dōkō* 203 (September 5, 1939): 8.



FIGURE 7: Female trainees doing physical exercise in the ocean

the second son in a farming family of Hakka origin.⁵⁶ After their father died, his elder brother became the main source of family labor. Although his family owned some land, Huang remembered, “we did not have money, and [that is why] none of my seven sisters went to school. Instead, five of them were adopted by other families in exchange for cash.” He entered an upper-level curriculum after finishing a six-year elementary school in March 1939, but soon quit it, mostly because his family did not have money for him to continue into middle school anyway.⁵⁷ While helping his family in farming, Huang joined the village Seinendan and performed well. When he became the branch leader, the head of the group (the Beipu elementary school principal) selected him to go to the training institute. He endured a painful time there: “the training was militaristic and strict—they had a very unique training called *misogi* . . . There was a teacher called Nemoto Kenji, who I did not know was Taiwanese at the time, who was particularly strict. He often shouted loudly at us.”⁵⁸

When Huang met Nemoto Kenji at the institute, Nemoto spoke sophisticated Japanese, exhibited Japanese mannerisms, and had gained the full trust of the other Japanese teachers. Only after the end of Japanese colonial rule did Huang Yuanxing find

⁵⁶ The Hakka are an ethnic group in China and surrounding areas. Many Hakka migrated to Xinzhu province in the mid-nineteenth century. The Japanese authorities often confused them with the Cantonese, but the Hakka remain a distinct ethnic group with their own language, customs, and beliefs.

⁵⁷ After graduating from the six-year primary program, children with means could either take the school’s upper-level curriculum for two to three years, or go on to other secondary education, including the middle schools, agricultural schools, and normal schools.

⁵⁸ Interviews with Huang Yuanxing, Beipu, May 9, 20, and 30 and August 18, 2011.

out that Nemoto also had a Chinese name, Xu Chongfa. The third son of a carpenter in Guanxi village, also in Xinzhu province, Xu was only three years older than Huang. He had to give up middle-level education as well because the family could not pay for it, but he mail-ordered lectures from Japan and studied the entire curriculum of the middle school of Waseda University by himself while working as a carpenter. Even today he looks upon the completion certificate that Waseda University mailed to him, dated April 1, 1939, as a personal treasure. He became the branch leader of the local Seinendan in November 1939 and went to the institute in 1941, when he was nineteen. Because of his outstanding grades on academic exams, Xu immediately became the representative of the sixty trainees and gave a speech at the graduation ceremony.

It was the Taiwan Patriotic Labor Youth Corps (Taiwan Kingyō Hōkoku Seinentai) that turned youth training into a "ladder" to honor and prestige for Huang and Xu. The colonial government started the Labor Corps program in March 1940, gathering 200 to 300 men around twenty years old, and engaging them mainly in construction labor work for three months at a time. They went to one of three sites, Taipei, Hualian, and Taizhong, either to construct shrines or to work on the highway being built between Hualian and Taizhong.⁵⁹ The program emphasized the mastery of Japanese-ness through physical labor—"through labor, group living, and training, let them physically understand the essence of the Japanese spirit and 'selfless patriotic service' [*messhi hōkō*], and complete their character as imperial subjects by training their minds and bodies."⁶⁰ Reflecting the prevailing excitement about Japan's initial victories in the Second Sino-Japanese War, colonial officials attached prestige to the Labor Corps program by casting it in the image of military service, which was not implemented in Taiwan until 1942. *Dōkō* stated, "In Korea, they started the volunteer soldier program [in 1938], and achieved a good result. We should not forget that the result of our Patriotic Labor Youth Corps has a special meaning. It is a good opportunity to measure the progress of youth in Taiwan."⁶¹ Xinzhu officials repeatedly discussed the symbolic meanings of the Labor Corps' equivalent of military service.⁶²

Youth had already come to realize that prestige and social alienation were two sides of the same coin. The Labor Corps program aroused a sense of being "select rural youth" among the participants. When they came back from service, they were called "reservist corps members" (*zaigō taiin*), echoing the title of respect given to military reservists (*zaigō gunjin*) in Japan.⁶³ At the same time, the sound of "reservist" also meant further detachment from their native home and society. Anticipating another frustrating encounter back home, Xu Chongfa, who joined the Labor Corps in Hualian, wrote in his diary five days prior to the end of his service, "When I return to the village, I will have to act differently as a reservist member . . . Training will become useless if I go back to being like the other youth in the village."⁶⁴

⁵⁹ "16-nendo ni okeru kingyō hōkoku seinentai no kunren," *Taiwan chihō gyōsei*, June 1941, 25.

⁶⁰ Ōta Toshio, "Hontō seishōnen no kunren ni tsuite," *Taiwan chihō gyōsei*, June 1941, 2–8, here 6.

⁶¹ Miyao naimu buchō, "Kinyō hōkoku seinentai ni toku," *Dōkō* 217 (April 5, 1940): 1. On Korean military service, see Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy*; Fujitani, *Race for Empire*.

⁶² "Seinen shokun wa mazu dantai kyōiku o ukeyo," *Dōkō* 218 (April 20, 1940): 1.

⁶³ "Dai 4-ji kingyō hōkoku seinentai kaitai hōkokushiki ni okeru chiji kakka kunji yōshi," *Dōkō* 243 (May 5, 1941): 3.

⁶⁴ Xu Chongfa kept a diary during his time in the Patriotic Labor Youth Corps. This entry is dated October 1, 1941.



FIGURE 8: Physical training at the Taiwan Patriotic Labor Youth Corps (Taiwan Kingyō Hōkoku Seinentai) site in Hualian, September 30, 1941

It was not only their climbing the ladder of youth training that generated the perception that they were a select group. After completing the training series, the graduates gained new job opportunities. Job prospects had a strong psychological effect on improving their self-esteem, especially by allowing them to be compared to urban, educated youth, who had had better access to salaried jobs. After returning to Beipu from Labor Corps service near Wushe in Taizhong, Huang Yuanxing found his career prospects suddenly improved. He immediately signed up for the four-month teacher-training program and became an elementary school assistant teacher in September 1943. In an interview nearly seventy years later, he justified his participation in colonial youth training, saying, “I was able to get a job only because I went to the Labor Corps program, but only the graduates of the institute were qualified to get into the Labor Corps . . . In order to go to the institute, they had to do well in the local Seinen-dan . . . I felt lucky that even though I could not pursue a formal education, I was able to become a teacher just like those who went to middle school or normal school.” As the war continued, an increasing number of Japanese teachers and officials were conscripted, leaving positions open to local youth. Teaching was a popular occupation among the young people in the village, partly because teachers had a large presence in their everyday lives, and also because teachers, as well as policemen, could move on to other governmental positions.⁶⁵ Though Huang’s family’s finances gave him

⁶⁵ Miyajima, “Hontō nōson seinendan,” 132; Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire Building*, 56.



FIGURE 9: At the construction site

only limited options, he reflected that he had made the right decision in pursuing a career through youth training because, he said, "I did well in the end." He continued as a schoolteacher until his retirement fifty-seven years later.⁶⁶

Although Huang Yuanxing's career trajectory was more common, Xu Chongfa excelled as a "model rural youth." After coming back from the Labor Corps in Hualien in 1942, Xu was recruited to become an assistant instructor at the institute. The Japanese teachers gave him his Japanese name, Nemoto Kenji, and under that name he played the role of the strict, sometimes intimidating, and spirited teacher until the end of the war. Even with his continuing belief in the excellence of Japanese-style youth training, Xu admitted the importance of the job prospects it afforded: "The institute was popular because the graduates could become school teachers without going to normal school. Women could also become assistant nurses."⁶⁷ The tightly controlled wartime economy meant that a large number of people, both in Japan and in its colonies, lost their jobs. Despite the slogan "Eight Corners under One Roof" (i.e., "a world united under the Japanese emperor"), ethnic discrimination was rife in the job market across the empire. When "getting a job was extremely hard for Taiwanese people, and it felt like rising to heaven if you could find a salaried job," four months

⁶⁶ Interview with Huang Yuanxing, Beipu, May 9 and 30, 2011.

⁶⁷ Interview with Xu Chongfa, Shakang, May 20, 2011. Another Xinzhu resident, who did not even join the Seinendan, let alone the institute, also remembers that "the Xinzhu *shūrenjō* was famous because the graduates could become teachers." Interview with Huang Rongluo, Zhudong, Xinzhu province, May 3, 2011.

of intense training away from home was a golden opportunity to broaden one's horizons.⁶⁸

The fact that these men were seeking practical benefits does not mean that they saw the Japanization campaign only instrumentally. The ideological conviction and pragmatism were mutually reinforcing. On many occasions, Taiwanese youth defined their self-value according to the metric of Japanese nationalism and competed against one another. The ranking system of the Labor Corps, for example, fanned competitive feelings among youth from different provinces. As in the military, they all started as second-rank trainees, with two chances to move into the first rank and then to a separate upper rank. Xinzhu youth felt most competitive against those from Taipei province, the colonial capital. A participant in the first-term Labor Corps program wrote to the institute teachers, "It seems that there are many getting sick among the Taipei team, but we on the Xinzhu team are fortunately all doing well without any accidents . . . There was an announcement of our grades on April 23, and 19 out of 24 Xinzhu members advanced to the upper rank, whereas 11 out of 40 Taipei people did."⁶⁹ Newspapers frequently reported the number of upper-rank trainees from Xinzhu, and the Xinzhu governor urged the prospective participants to achieve even better results.⁷⁰ The thing that Huang Yuanxing remembered most clearly about the Labor Corps was the pressure to become an upper-rank trainee. He understood it in terms of ethnic rivalries: "Because the previous draftees from Xinzhu had earned a good reputation and received outstanding grades, I thought that as a Hakka youth from Xinzhu, I would do everything to become an upper-rank trainee."⁷¹ He also narrated the history of youth programs backwards, saying that the purpose of the Xinzhu youth training institute was specifically to train Hakka youth to beat other Taiwanese in their achievements at the Labor Corps.⁷²

Provinces and ethnicities were not the only boundaries recognized by the competitors. They harbored animosity toward urban youth both in and outside of Xinzhu. "Those from urban areas talk a good game, but their practice does not live up to their words," one Labor Corps reservist complained.⁷³ In contrast, aboriginal youth trainees were highly respected. Labor Corps members often wrote that the Takasagozoku (aborigines) were "pure" and "excellent."⁷⁴ During his Labor Corps service, Xu Chongfa felt ashamed when he did not have a suntan, because the instructors often asked him to build furniture while other trainees were engaged in outdoor labor. Tanned skin became a masculine symbol of hardworking "rural youth," which also elevated the image of dark-skinned aboriginal youth.⁷⁵

In the same way, the sense of rivalry with intellectual youth grew stronger. Urban youth who had higher education degrees made Xu and many Seinendan youth defen-

⁶⁸ Interview with Jiang Zhaoying, Qionglin, Xinzhu province, June 29, 2011.

⁶⁹ "Kingyō hōkokutai yori genki na tayori," *Dōkō* 220 (May 20, 1940): 7.

⁷⁰ "Hōkoku seinentai no Shinchiku shūtai kaeru," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 28, 1940; "Dai 2-kai kingyō hōkoku seinentai ni taisuru Miyagi chiji no kunji," *Dōkō* 227 (September 5, 1940): 3.

⁷¹ Interview with Huang Yuanxing, Beipu, May 9, 2011.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ "Zadankai kingyō hōkoku o kataru," *Dōkō* 221 (June 5, 1940): 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Many of the letters from female graduates to Xu Chongfa, as well as an interview with Jiang Zhaoying, Qionglin, June 29, 2011, mention how impressive the dark, slender, strong bodies of male trainees were.

sive about their lack of formal schooling. It hurt Xu, who was confident in his academic ability, when someone with more education beat him in youth training.⁷⁶ When he later became the representative of all the upgraded trainees during the Labor Corps program, it meant more to him than just doing well as a Xinzhu youth. It was also the achievement of someone who had only very basic schooling. Back in their villages, youth with only an elementary education continued to harbor the same feelings toward the well-educated. Huang Xiuying, a female graduate of the institute, wrote to Xu in February 1945, frustrated by the intense competition to get a position in the village office. "What is it about a graduate of the women's school that makes her superior to me? I believe I am by no means inferior to her. Seeing the person who wasted three years studying [in school], I felt really miserable, but society is on their side. Facing this issue, I felt that society is so pointless."⁷⁷

The formation of their social identities and self-esteem as rural, minimally educated, hardworking Xinzhu youth evolved as part of an emotional community that developed at the institute. In other words, it was a sphere where personal feelings and political (or ideological) beliefs interfused, united inseparably in the face of various social battles. The graduates referred to the institute as "the home of our hearts" (*kokoro no furusato*) when they later shared the frustrations and excitement they had experienced in the Labor Corps and in their villages. The solemn melody of "Umi yukaba"—an imperial martial song about being prepared to die for one's lord—represented the bond that developed among the teachers and trainees, who wrote to each other long after graduation.⁷⁸ In their letters, they often said that they would work as hard as possible in volunteer labor and at local Seinendan inspections because they did not want to embarrass their teachers.⁷⁹

Not all village youth experienced the nurturing of new social identities through youth training. On the one hand, when participation in local Seinendan groups became mandatory in 1937, it lost its appeal to upper-class youth, who had appreciated the elitist nature of the earlier youth groups.⁸⁰ The class gap is apparent in many autobiographical novels later written by Taiwanese intellectuals, which often cynically depict the village Seinendan as a group of ignorant peasants brainwashed by the Japanese colonizers.⁸¹ On the other hand, it remained difficult for the poorest strata of farmers, those who were struggling to survive, to fully participate in Seinendan activities. They could not afford to leave for four months to attend the institute and the Labor Corps program. During wartime, a new social sphere opened up mainly for the

⁷⁶ Xu Chongfa, diary entry of June 9, 1941.

⁷⁷ Huang Xiuying to Xu Chongfa, ca. late February 1945.

⁷⁸ Xu Chongfa and his friends sang "Umi yukaba" a few times without my soliciting during my visits. He also preserves personal letters. Wu Wentong, "Shūrenjō no shosensei ni," *Dōkō* 199 (July 5, 1939): 6. The graduates were given one another's addresses after the graduation.

⁷⁹ My sources here are Xu Chongfa's diary and many of the letters he received.

⁸⁰ Miyazaki, *Shokuminchiki Taiwan ni okeru seinendan to chiiki no hen'yō*, 293. An interviewee who used to live in Nanzhuang, Miaoli, in Xinzhu province, confirmed that those who aspired to higher education were not interested in Seinendan activities even if they resided in the countryside. Since his grandfather encouraged his sons and grandsons to obtain higher education, he also decided to attend the agricultural school and aspired to go to college later. He was "not interested in local Seinendan activities," although he knew they were gathering in the elementary school. Interview with Huang Rongluo, Zhudong, August 15, 2011.

⁸¹ For example, Wu Zhuoliu, *Ajia no koji* (1956; repr., Tokyo, 1973); Zhong Zhaozheng, *Zhuoliu* (Taipei, 2005).

second and third sons of rural families, especially those who owned a small farm or shop.⁸² Their families could spare their labor temporarily, but they could not afford higher education, as was the case for Xu and Huang. Those who were recognized as “model rural youth” through the training series had a good chance to fill the positions that became vacant when Japanese teachers and low-rank officials were conscripted and left Taiwan, even when competing against more educated youth.

WHEN THE VOLUNTEER SOLDIER PROGRAM was launched, these young men viewed it as the new top rung on the ladder of youth training programs. The Japanese cabinet passed the Army Special Volunteer Soldier Program Act for the colonies in 1938. It was not implemented in Taiwan initially, mainly because of concern about Taiwanese ethnic kinship with the enemy state, China.⁸³ This delay in recruitment, compared to its earlier start in Korea, stimulated Taiwan’s pro-assimilationist leaders and led to an overheating of the Japanization campaign.⁸⁴ Once the program started, the volunteer soldier, especially because of the intense competition, symbolized the most prestigious achievement for Taiwanese men who pursued Seinendan-based youth training. In terms of both job prospects and social recognition, the volunteer soldier program promised to remedy the marginalization of farm youth overnight.

In this environment, many young men could not separate their personal urge to apply from the social pressure on them to do so. An official Xinzhu province newsletter reported that youth rushed to the counter as soon as the city hall started accepting applications, “almost like a battle scene.” The number of applicants in Xinzhu province reached 20,586 in the first two weeks.⁸⁵ Being a proud imperial youth, Xu Chongfa not only felt the need to apply, but also desired to pass the examination. While he was working at the institute, he expressed his wish to attain this new honor in his notes, writing, “Staying in the institute makes me a quiet person. I really hope I will become a volunteer soldier next year!”⁸⁶

The Seinendan had an amplifying effect on mobilization, in that the participants’ volunteer fever motivated other people to join the war effort, and that further in-

⁸² I collected thirty-one names of those who attended the institute from Huang’s hometown of Beipu and had Huang Yuanxing discuss their family backgrounds. Most of them, although their families originally lived near the mountains, ran small shops by the late 1930s in Beipu town. Interviews with Huang Yuanxing, Beipu, August 18, 2011, and Wen Qingshui, Beipu, August 23, 2011.

⁸³ When the colonial government in Taiwan finally launched the volunteer soldier program in 1941, army officials planned to start conscription in ten years, after examining the results, but they decided to move the plan forward to 1944 in Korea, and subsequently began it in Taiwan in 1945. Kondō, *Sōryokusen to Taiwan*, 39–55. For more details, see Chou, “Ribei zai-Tai junshi dongyuan yu Taiwanren de haiwai canzhan jingyan,” 85–126.

⁸⁴ Kondō, *Sōryokusen to Taiwan*, 34–45. The movement to implement the volunteer soldier program was popular not only among pro-Japanese Taiwanese elites. The demand for military service had been coming from home-rule activists since the late 1920s. They viewed it as a way to achieve equality between Japan and Taiwan.

⁸⁵ Ichiyō sei, “Shiganhei, kenpeiho, kangofu, shūka seinen no sōshingun,” *Shinchiku-shū jihō* 58 (March 1942): 72–73.

⁸⁶ Xu Chongfa, “Seinendan o megurite” (“Visiting Various Seinendan,” a work-log diary), October 7, 1943. In the interviews, he insisted that he had passed the exam but had not gone because the institute needed him. Oddly, this could not be verified by any documentation despite his meticulous records on other details. Whether true or not, his repeated insistence on this point, decades after Japan’s defeat, shows his striking desire to have become a volunteer soldier.

creased the social pressure on Seinendan members. The female gaze played a powerful role. In an essay in a colonial official journal, a young woman named Yang Qinghe expressed her excitement about seeing and hearing volunteer soldiers. She described it as an almost sensual experience: "Late at night, when I hear military songs sung by those coming back from military drills, I immediately recognize that 'that is a soldier,' and 'that is a volunteer soldier!'" She was surprised to hear a Japanese friend expressing similar excitement, saying, "They are volunteer soldiers!"⁸⁷ Young women pressured their male counterparts in different ways. For example, 140 female Seinendan members in Zhudong county vowed that they would not marry anyone who had not applied for the volunteer soldier program.⁸⁸ Similar stories were reported all over Taiwan.

The prestige that came with being a volunteer soldier transcended the boundaries between social groups, elevated the status of "rural youth," and exerted pressure on intellectuals as well. Literature that supported the Japanization campaigns (*kōmin bungaku*) directly connected the "model rural youth" to the volunteer soldier. In a famous short novel from 1941, *Shinganhei* (*The Volunteer Soldier*), the young author, Zhou Jinpo, treated the act of applying to the volunteer soldier program as the final test for the internalization of the Japanese way of thinking.⁸⁹ Although the novel narrates the dilemma of Taiwanese intellectual youth with deep sympathy, it ends in the triumph of the acts of village youth (submitting blood-signed applications) over the logic of intellectuals (rationalizing Japanese dominance). Whether or not this idea resonated among readers, the superiority of "rural youth" reached the discourse of intellectuals.

Still, farm youth, selected after a fierce competition, soon came to feel the same bitterness that intellectual youth often experienced about the consequences of Japanizing themselves. When they joined the Japanese army after six months of additional training in Taipei, the Taiwanese volunteer soldiers got their first taste of what life was like within a truly Japanese-dominant social structure. Their superiors were mostly conscripted Japanese. The volunteer soldiers found themselves to be far better qualified as soldiers than their Japanese colleagues, and yet the Japanese superiority in status was absolute. The Taiwanese encountered violence and bullying on a daily basis from older Japanese soldiers.⁹⁰ Their sense of humiliation was similar to what elite Taiwanese youth had experienced in middle school and other Japanese-dominated institutions of higher education since the 1920s.⁹¹ The more interactions they had with the Japanese in their cohort, the more bitter Taiwanese youth became, especially knowing that they were the select few in their own society.

Universal conscription was something very different from the volunteer soldier program. The mandatory aspect was the opposite of the exclusivity accorded to the volunteer soldier, which had been a crucial element in stirring the volunteer fever. Still, the celebration of masculinity and the excitement of war influenced many rural conscripts. Huang Yuanxing was one of those who readily accepted his conscription

⁸⁷ Yang(shi) Qinghe, "Nisshōki no motoni: Josei no tachiba kara," *Shinkensetsu* 5 (March 1943): 50–51.

⁸⁸ "Shiganhei o shigan senu seinen towa kekkon sezu," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, January 14, 1942, 3.

⁸⁹ Zhou Jinpo, "Shiganhei," in Nakajima Toshio and Hwang Yingzhe, eds., *Shū Kinpa* (Zhou Jinpo) *Nihongo sakuhinshū* (Tokyo, 1998), 14–37.

⁹⁰ For example, Miyazaki, *Shokuminchiki Taiwan ni okeru seinendan to chiiki no hen'yō*, 291.

⁹¹ For example, J sheng, "7-nenkan no kyōgaku seikatsu o kaiko shite," *Taiwan minpō*, April 1, 1938, 10.

notification, which he received while working as an assistant teacher at the elementary school.⁹² But there were many cases in which Taiwanese youth tried to escape the call of duty. In the final months of the war, rural populations were already subjected to food rationing, required to donate anything made of metal, and forced to save money in the governmental banking system, not to mention the daily air raid alarms. Conscription inevitably made many people fearful and angry.

During these last few years, when the military increased its reliance on youth across the imperial domains and yet faced growing skepticism within colonial society, colonial officials embraced a strategy of using the gap between the younger and older generations more markedly. They attempted to maintain the pretense that youth and officials were pursuing the same social agenda, calling on “pure” youth to persuade their “ignorant old parents” if they opposed their children’s desire to apply for the volunteer soldier program.⁹³ Schoolchildren were presented as the model for the rest of society in Japanization campaigns. Nagata Tomiki, an elementary school teacher, noted that it was popular among students to call each other by their Japanese names even in personal letters. Contrasting this to adults whom he heard saying, “Even if we adopt Japanese names, we do not get any rights or one *sen* of profit,” the teacher lamented, “Why are they not able to join the children and try harder?”⁹⁴ Some elite Hakka parents viewed this strategy of generational divide-and-rule as a threat to their ethnic heritage and attempted to counter their children’s rapid Japanization by teaching them about the Hakka’s historical roots. Yet, this did not close the generation gap. Huang Guohui recalls that he developed hostility toward his father, who preached to him about the proud historical origins of the Hakka in the Central Plain of the Yellow River. “I thought, ‘My father is uneducated and ignorant, is very conceited, likes empty talk, and gives me all kinds of bullshit orders,’ and began to despise him.”⁹⁵ He even took out a Japanese scholar’s book that his brother had brought back from Tokyo and showed his father that his stories were nothing more than myths or legends.⁹⁶ The wartime mobilization made both a scientific mind and unconditional faith in the empire markers of Japanized youth. By exacerbating the generational divide, state officials attempted to maintain the social ground for mutual co-optation with young people in their effort to extend Japanese nationalism.

HISTORIANS OF TOTALITARIAN REGIMES often find it difficult to identify the locus of ideological mobilization. Many see social groups such as workers, peasants, and the urban middle class as units that shared similar reactions to the regimes, assuming that the social benefits that each group enjoyed or did not enjoy largely determined their attitudes toward the state ideology.⁹⁷ Militant youth groups, whether the Hitlerjugend or

⁹² Interview with Huang Yuanxing, Beipu, May 30, 2011.

⁹³ Ōsawa Sadakichi, *Rikugun tokubetsu shiganhei annai* (Taipei, 1942), 3.

⁹⁴ Nagata Tomiki, “Kōgakkō kyōin no nayami,” *Shinchiku-shū jihō* 46 (January 1941): 73–74.

⁹⁵ Tai Kokuki [Dai Guofei], *Tai Kokuki chosakusen 1: Hakka, Kakyō, Taiwan, Chūgoku* (Tokyo, 2011), 112.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁹⁷ For example, see Detlev J. K. Peukert’s classic work *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*, trans. Richard Deveson (New Haven, Conn., 1987). Many of the contributors to more recent volumes, such as Albanese and Pergher, *In the Society of Fascists*, and Corner, *Popu-*

the Komsomol, constituted one independent category in such analysis. Their urban, youthful character and desire for adventure and rebellion against parental authority are often pointed out to explain their enthusiasm for the state projects.⁹⁸

In the Japanese Empire, "rural youth" became a unique social layer in a similar way, but contradicted the typical categorization of militant uniformed youth. These men were the central workforce who shouldered the socioeconomic functions of the countryside, unlike the urban adolescents and students who were mobilized in other totalitarian regimes. One could argue that their desire to subvert the social hierarchy was even fiercer as the result of a deep and pervasive grudge against the social structure in general.

At the same time, their anti-urban and anti-establishment sentiments could have gone in a completely different direction. In fact, the groups of peasants and rural communities described by historians of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy showed little enthusiasm for state mobilization. The messages of the state and the rural psychology did not differ much—the Nazis discursively constructed a "new type" of farmer, while country dwellers harbored feelings of alienation from the urban political culture.⁹⁹ These elements did not lead to successful rural mobilization, however. Instead they generated suspicion and active opposition on the part of rural residents, especially when policies conflicted with their family, religious, and village traditions and values.¹⁰⁰ As an assimilatory colonizing power, Japan's wartime regime was far more hostile to the local values of Taiwanese villages. Yet Taiwanese village youth exhibited an overwhelming enthusiasm, which culminated in the "volunteer fever," entirely throwing away the rural pattern detected in the European cases.

How did the Japanese Empire appeal so strongly to young men in the colonial countryside while avoiding the backlash of opposition seen in rural peripheries under other totalitarian mobilizations? Did the state exercise enormous cultural and discursive power that brought about a universalistic transformation of individuals? Taiwanese youth, as exemplified by Xu Chongfa and Huang Yuanxing, indeed experienced personal transformations. In youth training they internalized the rhetoric of Japan's agrarian and militaristic imperial nationalism, celebrated their changing identities, and endeavored to challenge social hierarchies. In many ways, they nurtured a revolutionary mindset similar to what many historians of Stalinism, fascism, and Nazism have been trying to uncover as a foundation for regime support.¹⁰¹

Far from being the work of the controlling state, however, the process of transformation was almost entirely conditioned by the Taiwanese trainees' immediate social

lar Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes, also adopt these social groups-based analyses. See also Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Popular Opinion in Russia under Pre-war Stalinism," *ibid.*, 17–32, here 20–21.

⁹⁸ For a brief and useful summary on this point, see Sheila Fitzpatrick and Alf Lüdtke, "Energizing the Everyday: On the Breaking and Making of Social Bonds in Nazism and Stalinism," in Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick, eds., *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared* (New York, 2009), 266–301, especially 270–275.

⁹⁹ Willi Oberkrome, "National Socialist Blueprints for Rural Communities and Their Resonance in Agrarian Society," in Steber and Gotto, *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany*, 270–280; Jill Stephenson, *Hitler's Home Front: Württemberg under the Nazis* (New York, 2006).

¹⁰⁰ See also Paul Corner, *The Fascist Party and Popular Opinion in Mussolini's Italy* (Oxford, 2012).

¹⁰¹ For example, see Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*; Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on my Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Christopher Duggan, *Fascist Voices: An Intimate History of Mussolini's Italy* (New York, 2013).

tensions, opportunities, and relationships. If we were to focus solely on their private writings, such as Xu Chongfa's diaries, religious repetitions of the glory of the emperor and the empire's goal of uniting Asia as well as existential explorations of the self could easily be found. When such expressions are situated in Xu's relational and social surroundings, it is clear that he and his cohort aspired to become modern "rural youth" who could exert moral authority over urban youth, educated youth, and the older generations. Despite their sincerity, becoming an "ideal Japanese subject" was a goal insofar as it allowed them to attain that moral superiority. In creating this parameter of personal transformation, the pragmatic benefits, especially job opportunities, gained by this specific social demographic group were crucial. In other words, identity transformation required materialistic assurance. For them, the tangible advancement of their social positions was a source of psychological emancipation.

The assertion that social dynamics, not individual introspection, deserve more attention as the locus of ideological indoctrination also comes from the centrality of the *collective* sharing of emotions at the local level. The observable emotional community that existed among institute graduates was a product of the long-term interplay of many social tensions and the colonizers' intentions. The process began with the construction of "rural youth" as a social category at the turn of the 1930s. It reached the next stage when young villagers were grouped together to represent that category. And finally, their newly nurtured personal bonds created an echo chamber of emotions for these youth. No matter how private the individuals may have felt their transformation to be, it would not have borne the same level of emotional energy had they not shared it with their circle of peers. The outbursts of passion seen in Taiwan's "volunteer fever" were the end result of a long social process. In the youth's view, the ideology did not exist in their inner selves or in the realm of the state. It existed in their ever-shifting social relationships—the experiences of bonding and alienation and the local sense of rivalry, humiliation, and self-worth—the central arena of their lives, through which the imperial state and individuals found ways to engage with each other.

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Mapping the Republic of Letters

Introduction

Work in the digital humanities—and by extension, digital history—is no longer new. Today, most teachers and researchers spend a lot of time in the virtual space of websites and databases, if only as tourists and consumers amidst its endless riches. For many of us, it is hard to imagine entering a classroom or engaging in research without recourse to digital tools, repositories, or other virtual resources. But when it comes to scholarly articles in traditional historical journals, the presence of digital research has been meager. One problem is that, while there are many websites that contain valuable information and historical scholarship and, in essence, “do” enormously creative history, it has been difficult to fashion out of these work that conforms to the “short form” of the scholarly article. This is one reason why, despite efforts over the years, the *AHR* has not featured digital history in its pages.

Working with the team of researchers of the Mapping the Republic of Letters project at Stanford University, we are thus pleased to present this *AHR* Forum, which has as its centerpiece an example of their work. As the introductory essay, “Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project,” notes, this is a large-scale enterprise engaged in the visualization of networks and patterns of communication—mostly correspondences—among a range of figures who made up the Republic of Letters in the early modern period. The main article, “British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture,” offers a case study that demonstrates the potential for digital research to uncover meaningful patterns and transformations that would not be apparent without these techniques. In particular, the authors argue that the experience of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century helped transform British architecture from a gentleman’s pastime or an artisanal craft into a professional discipline. In his comment on this article, “Reading the Grand Tour at a Distance: Archives and Datasets in Digital History,” Jason M. Kelly looks at other comparable digital projects as well as the sources used to create the Grand Tour Project, which allows him to offer alternative readings of the Grand Tour narrative.

Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project

DAN EDELSTEIN, PAULA FINDLEN, GIOVANNA CESERANI,
CAROLINE WINTERER, AND NICOLE COLEMAN

ABOUT EIGHT YEARS AGO, WE rather serendipitously found ourselves in the early stages of a group research project that seemed to have potential as an experiment with how to do digital history. The result was Mapping the Republic of Letters, a collaborative endeavor based at Stanford University. The project consists of a growing number of wide-ranging case studies, including “British Architects on the Grand Tour in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” the subject of the second article in this *AHR Forum*. The case studies engage in multiple ways with the early modern Republic of Letters, and, as each is based on a different source of information, they pose a variety of problems for data-handling and unique challenges for visualizing it. All of them are available on our common website.¹

At one time, archival material remained more or less in the archives. Historians inclined to use such materials routinely performed acts of intellectual pilgrimage, as many of us still do today, to be initiated into this essential rite of historical apprenticeship. They traveled, learned how to use their archives onsite, and extracted hard-earned information like Forty-Niners panning for gold, returning home with pages of notes, perhaps even a bit of microfilm to read on a machine or print out on that nauseatingly smelly paper whose pungent chemical odor was anything but the nirvana of

Research for this project was initially made possible by a Stanford Presidential Fund for Innovation in the Humanities Grant, and subsequently by funding from the Stanford Humanities Center, the Dean of Research, the Vice Provost of Graduate Education, the Vice Provost of Undergraduate Education, and the Vice Provost of Online Learning. Additional funding came from a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) “Digging into Data” Challenge Grant (HJ-50056, 2009–2011), as well as an NEH Digital Humanities Implementation Grant (HK-50087, 2013–2016). Important collaborators include the Electronic Enlightenment Project (Oxford University), the Packard Humanities Institute, DensityDesign Research Lab (Politecnico di Milano), Stanford University Libraries, the Cultures of Knowledge Project (Oxford University), and the Circulation of Knowledge and Learned Practices Project (Huygens Instituut). The “Mapping the Republic of Letters” Project is part of CESTA, Stanford’s Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis. The authors also wish to thank Keith Baker, Giorgio Caviglia, Zephyr Frank, Anthony Grafton, Glauco Mantegari, Robert McNamee, and the wonderful teams of graduate and undergraduate students who have worked with us on this project.

¹ See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/>.

the past.² A much smaller subset of the scholarly community, whose delight in documents long predated the rise of the professional historian of the mid-nineteenth century, ambitiously undertook the laborious project of transcription, creating critical editions of key documents that form the backbone of many histories of famous figures, defining moments, and other noteworthy events.³ This tiny portion of the infinite documentation of the past found its way into print, while the majority remained in the archive.

In the 1960s, social science historians began to consider how computers facilitated quantitative analysis. An entire generation or two of historians discovered the punch card and began to code. During the 1970s, a steady stream of scholarship emerged from these early experiments with historical datasets. This approach appealed especially to historians who wished to migrate away from traditional political and intellectual history, writing the kind of historical sociology and family, labor, and economic history whose grandest manifestos might be Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's 1974 essay "History That Stands Still," which summarized well the goals and ambitions of the early Annales School, and historical sociologist Charles Tilly's evocatively titled *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* a decade later.⁴ The foundations of the new social history of the 1960s through the 1980s rest upon these impressive early experiments with big historical data and its insistence on the value of cliometrics.

This was the old era of big history with big data. We are now in the early stages of a new age of historical data that offers new possibilities as well as challenges. The past fifteen years have seen a gradual but perceptible shift in where the archive is located as an ever greater portion of the historical record migrates piecemeal from boxes and books to PDFs and JPGs, and a vast sea of digitized text. A growing number of manuscripts can be viewed online, and hefty multivolume document collections are now digitized, indexed, and easily searchable. Historians increasingly find themselves utilizing digital databases as the idea of the searchable document and the virtual archive reorganize how libraries, research institutes, teams of scholars, and even individual researchers present and share interesting sources. To take one example, bibliometrics once belonged primarily to librarians and archivists and now seems to interest a broad, interdisciplinary array of scholars as an analytic research tool. For all these reasons, it is not surprising that the history of information has become an important topic.⁵ To paraphrase Raymond Williams, "information" is one of the keywords of the

² For an enjoyable meditation on the origins of these historical practices, see Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002). The early modern archive in particular is beautifully evoked in Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven, Conn., 2013).

³ On this subject, a classic point of departure is Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

⁴ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "History That Stands Still," in Ladurie, *The Mind and Method of the Historian*, trans. Siân Reynolds and Ben Reynolds (Chicago, 1981), 1–27; Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York, 1984). The most recent overview of the Annales School is André Burguière, *The Annales School: An Intellectual History*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca, N.Y., 2009). For early methodological reflections on quantitative history, see William O. Aydelotte, "Quantification in History," *American Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (April 1966): 803–825; William O. Aydelotte, Robert William Fogel, and Allan G. Bogue, eds., *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (Princeton, N.J., 1972).

⁵ See, for instance, Paul N. Edwards, Lisa Gitelman, Gabrielle Hecht, Adrian Johns, Brian Larkin, and Neil Safier, "Historical Perspectives on the Circulation of Information," *AHR Conversation*, *American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (December 2011): 1393–1435.

early twenty-first century, and so too is “data.”⁶ The question, however, is not how to write the history of information but what to do with all of it, as historians in an era when we have a burgeoning array of techniques and technologies available to help us scrape, mine, curate, analyze, and visualize data.

Too much information, it turns out, might be a good thing. Perhaps the first-year graduate student, overwhelmed by shelves full of books in his or her field, may not immediately agree. “Information overload” is a common reaction—now as in the past—to the vast collections of knowledge that have accumulated in our libraries, and are increasingly migrating online.⁷ But sometimes, to paraphrase Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the cure lies in the poison.⁸ “Big data” is the name commonly given to the exponential increase in information, whether it results from the digitization of analog data stores or is collected in real time from remote sensors, the web, or mobile devices.⁹ The difference between these datasets and that multitude of books is the potential for discovery and analysis. “Big data” refers not to size alone, as the term suggests, but to the interconnectedness of resources. For our purposes, big data is what you get when those shelves of books have been digitized, structured, and interlinked in such a way that the information contained within them can be filtered, plotted, measured, parsed, and visualized. The scholar starting out in a new field still has to ingest and process the literature the old-fashioned way—by reading it. But we can put computational tools to work to help with the ingesting and processing and to inspire other questions we might ask with this material as we look across, as well as within, our sources.

Few humanists would argue that reading books and manuscripts is a bad thing. Indeed, the newfound availability of large datasets in the humanities at times conjures up the worrisome specter of digitally savvy sorcerer’s apprentices who, thanks to new databases, “cite anything and construe nothing.”¹⁰ Searchable, sortable data can make even beginning scholars look erudite and clever. An eager researcher can accumulate

⁶ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York, 1976). On the history of information, see especially C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996); Daniel R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700–1850* (Oxford, 2001); and Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2009). Daniel Rosenberg has a project underway on the history of data, with related work published as “Data before the Fact,” in Lisa Gitelman, ed., *“Raw Data” Is an Oxymoron* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), 15–40; “Enter Data,” in Katherine Behar, ed., *Data’s Entry* (Istanbul, 2016), 14–33; and “An Archive of Words,” in Lorraine Daston, ed., *Sciences of the Archive* (Chicago, forthcoming 2017).

⁷ Daniel Rosenberg, “Early Modern Information Overload,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (2003): 1–9; Ann M. Blair, *Too Much To Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 2010). More generally, see Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁸ Jean Starobinski, *Le remède dans le mal: Critique et légitimation de l’artifice à l’âge des Lumières* (Paris, 1989).

⁹ See Danah Boyd and Kate Crawford, “Six Provocations for Big Data,” paper presented at “A Decade in Internet Time: Symposium on the Dynamics of the Internet and Society,” University of Oxford, September 21, 2011, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1926431; Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think* (Boston, 2013). For a humanistic take on this debate, see Gitelman, *“Raw Data” Is an Oxymoron*; Lev Manovich, “Trending: The Promises and the Challenges of Big Social Data,” in Matthew K. Gold, ed., *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis, 2012), 460–475; Christof Schöch, “Big? Smart? Clean? Messy? Data in the Humanities,” *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2, no. 3 (2013), <http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/2-3/big-smart-clean-messy-data-in-the-humanities/>.

¹⁰ Jonathan Barnes, quoted by Anthony Grafton in *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009), 322.

historical mass very quickly. Superficial engagement with this material can also lead to gross misinterpretations when the context for interpreting data is missing and when one has read only what is available online. Stopping there, however, would be premature, indeed shortsighted. These perils notwithstanding, the digitization and datafication of historical documents can open up promising methodological avenues and opportunities for new insights.

We began our project, Mapping the Republic of Letters, with these opportunities in mind and with an awareness of the growing number of projects that are digitizing letters and other key documents of scholarly, cultural, political, and religious life from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Such projects generate tremendous amounts of valuable metadata about social networks, travel, institutional affiliations, publication history, and so forth. In the age of Edward Snowden, most people are now familiar with the concept of metadata, such as information about who communicated (or traveled) with whom, when, and where. Typically, metadata is everything except the “what” that was communicated. Mapping the Republic of Letters deals primarily with the metadata about letters or travels rather than with their actual content. Or rather, we use the metadata to produce maps, charts, and other data visualizations, and then refer back to the content to elucidate or complement what we see. Similarly (yes) to the NSA, we engage in “traffic analysis” to explore the breadth, shape, and hubs of intellectual networks.¹¹

Since we began our project, the increase in available online data has been accompanied by a growing conversation about its impact and meaning for historical research. In the last couple of years alone, a string of new handbooks and manifestos have tackled “big data,” laying out its promises for historians while introducing the various methodologies by which digital historians approach it.¹² In the pages of the *AHR*, Lara Putnam has recently shown how digital search—the now-widespread scholarly use of Google, JSTOR, and WorldCat, among others—is bringing many of the issues associated with big-data historical research to the doorsteps even of historians who have not explicitly adopted digital tools meant to quantify and visualize data.¹³ Our reflections here, particularly about our experience with digital historical databases and how this has affected our work in early modern intellectual history, aim to contribute to this conversation. The publications emerging from our project all employ computational technologies and visualization techniques to make discoveries

¹¹ For the U.S. government’s practice of traffic analysis, see Vera R. Filby, *A Collection of Writings on Traffic Analysis* (Fort Meade, Md., 1993), http://www.governmentattic.org/8docs/NSA-TrafficAnalysisMonograph_1993.pdf.

¹² See Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2014), chap. 4, for their take on big data’s promise for historians. Among the recent proliferation of companions and handbooks for digital humanities, and digital history in particular, note Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian’s Macroscopic* (London, 2016), which most explicitly addresses digital history as big data history. For a methodological reflection on big data history, see also Cameron Blevins, “The Perpetual Sunrise of Methodology,” paper prepared for AHA Session 158, “Authoring Digital Scholarship for History: Challenges and Opportunities,” 129th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York City, January 4, 2015, <http://www.cameronblevins.org/posts/perpetual-sunrise-methodology/>.

¹³ Lara Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,” *American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (April 2016): 377–402, with rich references on the recent conversation on history in the digital age. See also Ted Underwood, “Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago,” *Representations* 127, no. 1 (2014): 64–72.

about the past that would have been difficult, if not impossible, to reach by analog means. These scholarly outcomes have emerged in—indeed, could not exist outside of—a dialogue with a longstanding tradition of early modern intellectual historiography. They also grew out of research practices that our group established along the way, such as digital visualizations, tool development, publication format, and co-authored scholarship, which speak to how history might be done in a digital age.

Mapping the Republic of Letters is a research project with many heads. It contains two seventeenth-century (Athanasius Kircher and John Locke) and three eighteenth-century (Voltaire, Benjamin Franklin, and the Grand Tour) case studies.¹⁴ Their geography primarily traverses Great Britain, Europe, and British North America, though each intellectual network makes strategic excursions that lie beyond these boundaries, raising questions about not only the nature of early modern cosmopolitanism and travel, but also the nature of global connections and communications. Historians of the Republic of Letters have also long debated how it evolved over time. Did the erudite *Respublica litteraria* of humanist scholars differ significantly from the worldly *République des lettres*? What can we learn by examining not only the most prolific correspondents who represent the strongest ties in a given network, but also the “long tail” of letter writers, often the vast majority in most instances, who sent no more than a single letter or a handful of letters? As David Lux and Harold Cook observe in an important essay inspired by the work of sociologist Mark Granovetter, understanding how people expand the reach of their network by “widening the network of weak ties” is an essential component of network analysis.¹⁵

One of our groups has focused on the German Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). Paula Findlen, Suzanne Sutherland, and Iva Lelková have explored why Kircher’s mid-seventeenth-century network was more cosmopolitan, in terms of geographic breadth, than those of his Enlightenment successors.¹⁶ As a member of the Society of Jesus, Kircher could plug into an already established global missionary network while also making himself a useful participant in the scholarly Republic of Letters, and inserting himself successfully in Habsburg networks in Central Europe and Italian networks emanating to and from his adoptive city, Rome. (See Figure 1.)¹⁷ A fine-grained analysis of the community that corresponded with him shows how his publishing projects grew and evolved with the expanding reach of the Jesuit missionary network into many different parts of the world. This research has been able to map the multiple ways in which Kircher self-consciously shaped and reshaped his religious, political, and intellectual networks to bolster his reputation as the man to know in the Eternal City, someone whose books and reputation circum-

¹⁴ Interactive visualizations, datasets, and links to research articles related to these case studies can be found at <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/>.

¹⁵ David S. Lux and Harold J. Cook, “Closed Circles or Open Networks? Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution,” *History of Science* 36, no. 2 (1998): 179–211, here 190; Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380. For a recent study that uses network analysis to explore the correspondence of imprisoned Protestants during the English wars of religion, see Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, “Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach,” *ELH* 82, no. 1 (2015): 1–33.

¹⁶ See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/kircher/>. The result of this research will be published in a series of articles by Paula Findlen, Suzanne Sutherland, and Iva Lelková, culminating in a book provisionally titled *The Baroque Postmaster: Athanasius Kircher between Rome and the World*.

¹⁷ Those who are reading this article in the print issue can view this and the other figures in color either in the online issue or at <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/>.



FIGURE 1: Source locations for correspondence to Athanasius Kircher, sized by numbers of letters sent.

navigated the globe. While his network was less socially diverse than those of, say, Locke, Franklin, and Voltaire, who corresponded with broader swaths of society (and most notably, by the eighteenth century, with far more women), his letters traveled much farther.

Skeptics have challenged the rhetoric of the “republicans of letters,” to invoke Daniel Roche’s phrase, and questioned whether there really was *a* republic, or whether this illusory place masked a balkanized hodgepodge of more or less connected mini-republics.¹⁸ In the context of *Mapping the Republic of Letters*, Claude Willan’s work on John Locke (1632–1704) has used graphs and other visualizations to reveal just how disconnected the different social and national subgroups in his correspondence network were from one another.¹⁹ (See Figure 2.) The republic that emerges from his study is not a unified network that any newcomer could join wholesale, but a patchwork of isolated communities that Locke fused together. His findings provide an empirical demonstration of the scholarly suspicion that there were really “a multitude of communities within, or rather underneath, the surface of the Republic of Letters.”²⁰

Mapping the correspondence networks of major Enlightenment figures underscores the limits of their geographic horizons, raising questions about what it meant to be a self-professed “citizen of the world,” as many enlightened men and women of

¹⁸ Daniel Roche, *Les républicains des lettres: Gens de culture et Lumières au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1998). On the national vs. cosmopolitan makeup of the Republic of Letters, see especially Lorraine Daston, “The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 2 (1991): 367–386.

¹⁹ See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/locke/>, and Willan’s article “‘John Locke Likes This’: An Ego-Network Analysis of Locke’s Letters” (under review).

²⁰ See Candice Delisle, “Accessing Nature, Circulating Knowledge: Conrad Gessner’s Correspondence Networks and His Medical and Naturalist Practices,” *History of Universities* 23, no. 2 (2008): 35–58, here 53.



FIGURE 3: Benjamin Franklin's total correspondence, with locations sized by volume of letters.

ther end of the London-Philadelphia axis. His fame may have spread across Europe, but his letters circulated chiefly in the British imperial world.

Our visualizations also provide new perspectives on murky problems of cultural transmission. As our data does not include letter content, it can tell us only so much about the circulation of ideas. But correspondence maps nonetheless raise questions that invite us to read letters and other documents with a fresh perspective. Starting with the observation that Voltaire (1694–1778) seems to have exchanged few letters with British correspondents, Dan Edelstein and Biliana Kassabova have argued in their work for Mapping the Republic of Letters that the standard narrative about the English origins of Voltaire's philosophy (and by extension of the French Enlightenment) must be revised in light of the fact that Voltaire's interest in, and admiration of, England was both qualified and chronologically restricted.²³ (See Figure 4.) England's period of cultural greatness, in his eyes, lay in the reign of Charles II, and was thus a thing of the past by the time he arrived in London. What is more, Voltaire credited the *siècle de Louis le grand* for many of the English intellectual exploits. The author of the bestselling and controversial *Letters Concerning the English Nation* had more than a few concerns, it turns out, about that nation.

As the above case studies indicate, travel—whether Kircher's religious flight from war-torn Germany, Locke's exile from England, Franklin's transatlantic voyages, or Voltaire's timely crossing of the English Channel to mitigate scandal—played a crucial role in how many citizens of the Republic of Letters extended and built their networks. One of our groups, as detailed in the second article in this *AHR* Forum, has

²³ See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/voltaire/>; and Edelstein and Kassabova's article "Where Are Voltaire's Letters Concerning the English Nation? Maps, Networks, and Intellectual History" (under review).

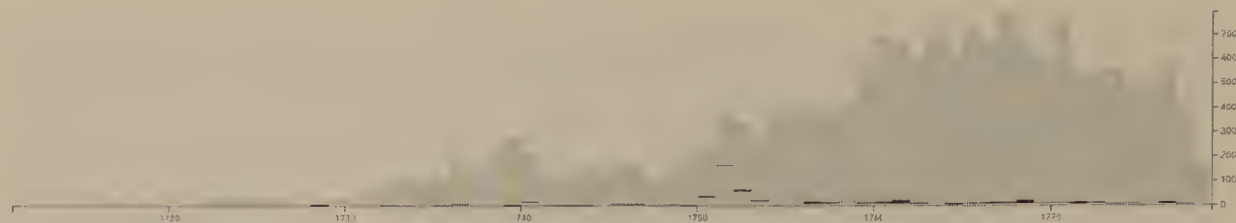


FIGURE 4: Histogram of Voltaire's correspondence, by year, highlighting English correspondence.

been mapping Grand Tour travel, and the role it played in the emergence of architecture as a profession. The research process involved transforming John Ingamells's *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* into an interactive database filled with detailed information about the intersecting itineraries of the men and women who traveled to Italy, and creating a prosopography of this community.²⁴ (See Figure 5.) By studying British architects on the Grand Tour, Giovanna Ceserani, Giorgio Caviglia, Nicole Coleman, Thea De Armond, Sarah Murray, and Molly Taylor-Poleskey illuminate how the dynamic exploration of early modern travelers allows us to identify with greater precision the role of travel in relation to professional aspirations and cultural formation.²⁵ Architects who completed their education in Italy often met prospective clients on the Grand Tour, and presented their studies abroad as a compelling professional credential when they returned home.

When we have presented our work, a common complaint has been that for all our investment in digital tools, data editing, and data creation, the field has not been revolutionized as a result. This criticism can be voiced with optimism (“Show us you’re the greatest thing since sliced bread,” in the words of one enthusiastic reviewer) or with skepticism (“So you have nothing more to show for yourselves?”). But why *should* new methods produce radically different results? We are studying the same objects that scholars have been painstakingly exploring for hundreds of years. They naturally came up with penetrating insights about the Republic of Letters without the help of digital tools. But what these tools allow us to do is to sort through, refine, confirm, or refute the different insights these historians had, as well as to formulate new ones that emerge when we step back from the details of any particular subset of a correspondence to observe its contours. This is not to embrace a positivist, cliometric vision of computational supremacy; such a vision is ill-suited for historical archives that are so shot through with uncertainty and gaps. But where possible, basic calculations are still useful and can provide correctives to sheer speculation. They also force us to look closely at the information we have, resulting in numerous silent corrections to minor errors, assumptions that have solidified into facts, and other problems that arise when we take information for granted.

The data visualizations we rely on in our research and publications do not offer clear snapshots of the past, but rather fuzzy, blurry pictures. They reveal the general shape of things, orders of magnitude, and large-scale trends; they also draw our atten-

²⁴ John Ingamells, comp., *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1997). For more on this project, see <https://grandtour.stanford.edu/>.

²⁵ See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/>; and Giovanna Ceserani, Giorgio Caviglia, Nicole Coleman, Thea De Armond, Sarah Murray, and Molly Taylor-Poleskey, “British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture,” this issue.

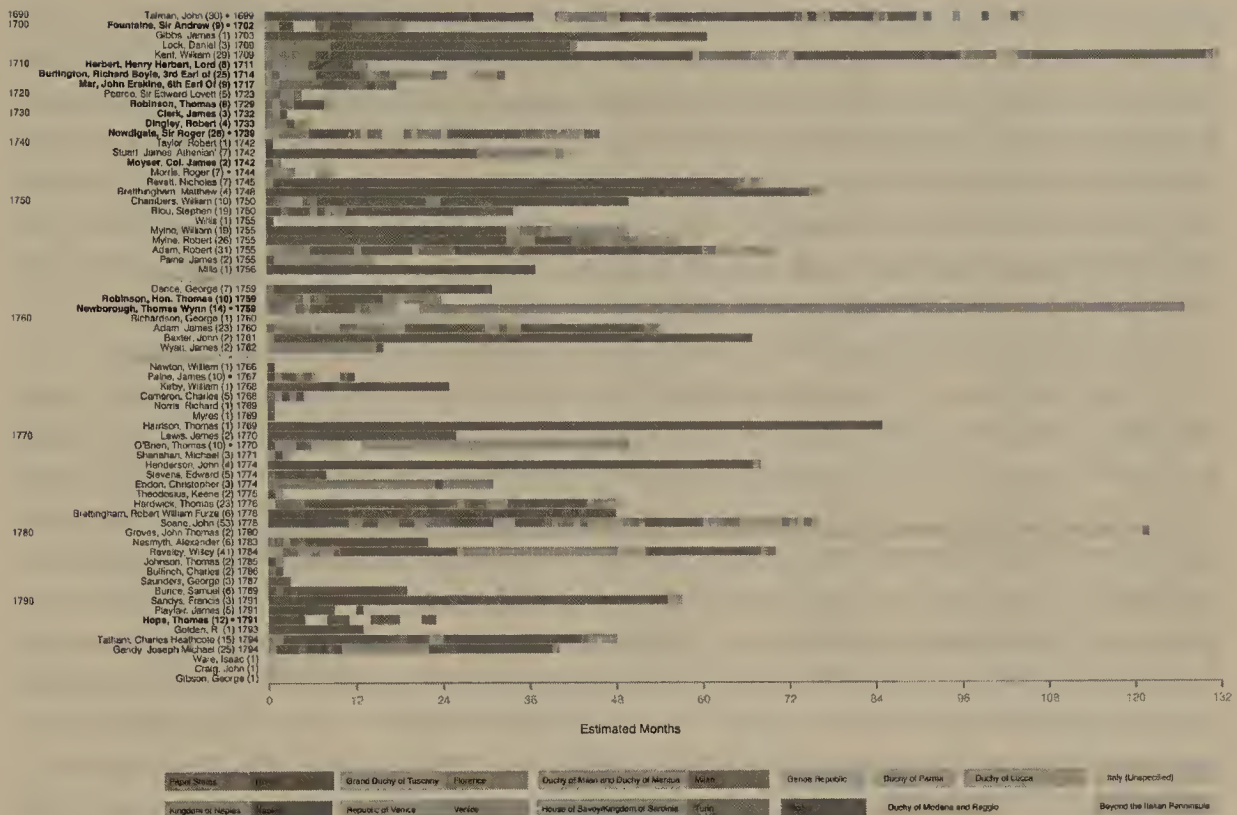


FIGURE 5: Timechart of British Grand Tour travelers in Italy in the eighteenth century.

tion to microhistories that we might otherwise have missed. The results are never definitive, and always require further verification—an absence on a map might be due only to a gap in the data. But the critical point is that they open up new avenues of inquiry and are springboards for further research.

In some instances, the computational processes in question are not complex: one could count Kircher's global missionary correspondence, Voltaire's letters to England, or Franklin's international correspondents by hand. But computational methods are good for more than just performing difficult statistical operations (though one of our projects, on John Locke, does exactly that): they can also serve to reveal elements of surprise in the data. The point is not, therefore, whether you need computational tools to count the number of Franklin's French (or Voltaire's English, or Kircher's Jesuit) correspondents, but rather that computational methods provide novel insights into your sources. We designed and developed data visualizations not to do our work for us, but rather to point to where our work lies.

WHILE OUR MAPPING PROJECT came of age at a time when historians were just starting to focus on the promises and perils of big data, it also draws on a long historiography. Indeed, the Republic of Letters has never been a small or easily contained subject. Starting in the mid-fourteenth century, early humanists such as Petrarch wrote open letters as a means of communicating ideas and shaping opinion, and also as a process of intellectual self-definition. In 1417 the Venetian humanist Francesco Barbaro provided an indelible portrait of the nature of this emerging scholarly community when

he congratulated his Florentine friend Poggio Bracciolini for unearthing a treasure trove of ancient manuscripts in the monastic libraries of Northern Europe, acknowledging the utility of Poggio's rediscovery for "this Republic of letters" (*huic litteraria Reipublicae*).²⁶ It is hardly coincidental that the phrase *Respublica litteraria* first appeared in a letter. In the age of great letter writers such as the early-sixteenth-century Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus, who, to paraphrase Lisa Jardine, delighted in making absent friends present, the idea of conversation through correspondence became the norm rather than the exception.²⁷

When Elizabeth Eisenstein, in her landmark study *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), proclaimed printing to have been a transformative development in early modern Europe, she contrasted the limits of letters to the possibilities of books in disseminating knowledge while observing that we need to know a great deal more about the Republic of Letters.²⁸ More recent scholarship has reexamined this issue and arrived at a different conclusion, one that emphasizes the productive and continuous interactions between writing and publishing. A world of books and journals was also a world of readers, authors, and critics, whose conversations took place not only in academies, salons, and other sites of scholarly sociability, but also through long-distance travel and communication via letters. Such letters provide us with a historical roadmap from which we can reconstruct intellectual networks across time and space.

In the 1970s, a number of scholars began to investigate the nature and meaning of the Republic of Letters. An international community of scholars has developed and defined this subject in the decades since, tracing the rise and decline of a rhetorical ideal and its connection to cultural and intellectual practices and scholarly communities.²⁹ But rhetoric, as Lorraine Daston cogently observed in an important essay, ulti-

²⁶ The standard English translation of this letter, dated July 6, 1417, can be found in Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, ed. and trans., *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggio Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York, 1974), 196–203.

²⁷ For an overview of these developments, see Marc Fumaroli, "The Republic of Letters," trans. R. Scott Walker, *Diogenes* 36, no. 143 (1988): 129–152; Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des lettres* (Paris, 1997); Anthony Grafton, "A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters," *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (2009), <http://arcade.stanford.edu/rofl/sketch-map-lost-continent-republic-letters>. On Erasmus, a good starting point is Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), chap. 6; Constance M. Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, 2008); Hanan Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Lanham, Md., 2010).

²⁸ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979), 1: 136–137. The relationship of Eisenstein's work to the Republic of Letters is discussed by J. L. Pearl, "The Role of Personal Correspondence in the Exchange of Scientific Information in Early Modern France," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, New Series / Nouvelle Série, 8, no. 2 (1984): 106–113, here 107; and April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720* (Rochester, N.Y., 2007), 3.

²⁹ The earliest historical study of this concept may well be Annie Barnes, *Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) et la République des lettres* (Paris, 1938). Readers interested in following the development of this subject since the 1970s should begin with Paul Dibon, "Les échanges épistolaires dans l'Europe savante du XVII^e siècle," *Revue de synthèse* 81–82 (1976): 31–50; Dibon, "Communication in the Respublica litteraria of the 17th Century," *Respublica Litteraria: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 1 (1978): 43–55; Hans Bots, *Republiek der letteren: Ideaal en werkelijkheid: Rede uitgesproken bij aanvaarding van het ambt van buitengewoon hoogleraar aan de Katholieke universiteit te Nijmegen* (Amsterdam, 1977); Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que c'est la République des lettres? Essai de sémantique historique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 147 (1989): 473–502. The fundamental work of synthesis on this subject is Bots and Waquet, *La République des lettres*.

mately inspired questions about the reality, or lived experience, of the ideal of the Republic of Letters.³⁰ Taking the case of Leibniz, Maarten Ultee envisioned a social history that would explore the concrete details of intellectual membership in this imagined community, including its geography, the volume and frequency of letters, and the social positions of its participants.³¹ Such questions inspired the subsequent work of a talented cadre of scholars, most notably Dena Goodman, Anne Goldgar, and Daniel Roche, who increasingly brought the methods of cultural history and gender history to bear on the subject in the late 1980s and early 1990s.³² Simultaneously, a rejuvenated intellectual history developed by scholars such as Joseph Levine, Anthony Grafton, Peter Miller, and Laurence Brockliss focused on key participants in the Republic of Letters as a means of better understanding the practices of intellectual life from the advent of Renaissance humanism to the rise of antiquarianism and ultimately the Age of Enlightenment.³³

Initially there were a limited number of letters, but soon the volume of letters that individuals exchanged expanded astronomically. When Jardine wondered aloud what scholars should do with the “mass of ‘data’ which Erasmus’s voluminous correspondence provides,” she asked a pertinent question: 3,162 letters to and from Erasmus survive. We can juxtapose this number to the prolific letter-writing habits of Italian Renaissance humanists, but also of learned Protestant reformers: Martin Luther’s surviving correspondence numbers 4,337 letters, and John Calvin’s 4,271. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was a veritable epistolary machine who practiced what he preached in institutionalizing letter-writing as an essential expression of religious confraternity and bureaucracy; he left behind an impressive 9,178 letters (6,381 written by him) at the time of his death in 1556.³⁴ While not quantitatively large by contemporary standards of big data, such numbers are filled with hidden multipliers, because each letter typically contains a great deal of valuable information—about people, places, conversations, manuscripts, publications, projects, and institutions—and offers a trail of references that invariably leads the patient researcher to

³⁰ Daston, “The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters in the Enlightenment.”

³¹ Maarten Ultee, “The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence, 1680–1720,” *Seventeenth Century* 2, no. 1 (1987): 95–112.

³² Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Roche, *Les républicains des lettres*. For subsequent efforts to build on Goodman’s early insights on the importance of gender in the Republic of Letters, a good starting point is Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Montreal, 2003); Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2005); Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2009).

³³ Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc’s Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2000); L. W. B. Brockliss, *Calvet’s Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2002). From Grafton’s considerable corpus, one might follow the trail backward from his AHA Presidential Address, “The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook,” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (February 2012): 1–39; and “A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent.”

³⁴ Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters*, 149. For a good overview of some of the metrics of early modern correspondence, see Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 3: *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), 10–12. For an introduction to religious letter-writing and Loyola’s reputation as the most prolific letter writer of the sixteenth century, see Thomas M. Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago, 1997), 131.

other terrifyingly large masses of correspondence. This is far too much to absorb at a glance or to keep in one's head, which is why scholars have often worked with discrete portions of large correspondences to get to know specific content really well rather than attempting to consider the whole.

Such numbers pale in relation to the scale of mercantile correspondence, as the case of a late-fourteenth-century merchant in Prato, Francesco Datini, illustrates all too well: his surviving papers contain approximately 150,000 commercial and familial letters. While Petrarch carefully and deliberately identified the living and the dead, the real and the imaginary, to whom he might address a well-crafted Latin letter in imitation of Cicero, Quintilian, and other great Roman epistolarians, the demands of the marketplace required a constant stream of long-distance correspondence traveling in all directions to many different kinds of people who did business together.³⁵ The same can also be said of diplomatic correspondence. Take the example of Isabella d'Este, the fifteenth-century marchioness of Mantua, for whom some 25,000 letters (approximately 16,000 by her) survive in an archive containing about 100,000 letters related to the totality of her activities as one of the most powerful political and cultural brokers in Renaissance Italy.³⁶ Such examples serve as a stark reminder of just how fundamental and ubiquitous letter-writing was to a variety of human endeavors in the premodern world. While our project has focused on the intellectual and cultural dimensions of that particular subject, we hope that the techniques we have explored and experimented with may prove useful for historians with other interests.

In the early sixteenth century, Erasmus wistfully envisioned a Christian Republic of Letters populated by scholars in communication across geographic, religious, and political boundaries. Increasingly, however, humanistic ideals of writing to someone as an expression of learned friendship intertwined with other priorities, as different cultures of letter-writing intersected and combined. Diplomats and agents made correspondence an instrument of politics, policy, and information; adventurers, missionaries, traders, and emigrants boarded mercantile vessels to parts unknown and sent letters home, waiting months, sometimes years, to receive responses from friends, family, and superiors back in Europe. Everywhere people went, letters accompanied them. Publishing letters became a lucrative editorial activity. Our project begins with this fundamental fact of the early modern world: it was a society whose patterns of increased mobility and communication were expressed in the numerical explosion of letters.

Growing curiosity about experiences, ideas, languages, and artifacts that could be acquired only through long-distance travel multiplied the number of networks and communities of scholars in pursuit of knowledge. The superabundance of information

³⁵ The most recent description of the Datini correspondence by the Istituto Datini can be found at <http://www.istitutodatini.it/schede/archivio/eng/arc-dat2.htm>. On mercantile correspondence, see especially Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Trivellato, "Merchants' Letters across Geographical and Social Boundaries," in Bethencourt and Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe*, 80–103; Trivellato, "A Republic of Merchants?," in Anthony Molho and Diogo Ramada Curto, eds., *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images, ca. 13th–ca. 18th Centuries* (Oxford, 2007), 133–158.

³⁶ Deanna Shemek, "In Continuous Expectation: Isabella d'Este's Epistolary Desire," in Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek, eds., *Phaethon's Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Tempe, Ariz., 2005), 269–300.

so eloquently described in Ann Blair's 2010 book *Too Much to Know* was intimately connected to the increased scale and scope of scholarly correspondence in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁷ Where individuals had previously exchanged dozens or hundreds of letters, now their correspondences numbered in the thousands. Not surprisingly, the emergence of better postal systems in various regions accompanied this development.³⁸

But the exponential growth of information did not end there. Between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, the profusion of new learned institutions, the invention of journals, and the attractions of cosmopolitan centers transformed the idea of scholarly community from a humanist model of Latin men of letters to a more socially diffuse model of learned and vernacular communities of men and women writing, traveling, reading, and publishing. The Republic of Letters in this era was defined not only by the intellectual currents of the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, but also by global missionary and mercantile networks, the Grand Tour, and the emergence of urban centers in the British and European colonies whose scholars both corresponded and traveled across the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans. Individual correspondences that had routinely numbered in the low thousands now ballooned to tens of thousands of letters. The Aix savant Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc's famous scholarly network of the early seventeenth century, which has left us somewhere between 10,000 and 14,000 letters, and Leibniz's approximately 15,000 surviving letters exchanged with numerous correspondents between 1663 and 1716 are well-known examples of what the world of prolific letter writers now was capable of producing.³⁹

While many documents pertaining to the Republic of Letters have not survived, the quantity of extant letters from these centuries, even when restricted primarily to scholarly correspondence, offers historians of the early modern period a body of material containing far more data than any one scholar, or even a team of researchers, can assimilate through traditional research methods. At the same time, letters are invaluable resources when they are brought together in a traditional edited volume or

³⁷ Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

³⁸ On postal systems, see Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003); Eric R. Dursteler, "Power and Information: The Venetian Postal System in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1573–1645," in Diogo Ramada Curto, Eric R. Dursteler, Julius Kirshner, and Francesca Trivellato, eds., *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Anthony Molho*, 2 vols. (Florence, 2009), 2: 601–623; James Daybell, "Postal Conditions," in Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (London, 2012), 109–147; Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). For a GIS analysis of the French postal system, see Anne Bretagnolle and Nicolas Verdier, "Expanding the Network of Postal Routes in France, 1708–1833," in Muriel Le Roux, ed., *Post Offices of Europe, 18th–21st Century: A Comparative History* (Bern, 2014), 183–202.

³⁹ On Peiresc's correspondence, a good starting point is Robert A. Hatch, "Peiresc as Correspondent: The Republic of Letters and the Geography of Ideas," in Brian P. Dolan, ed., *Science Unbound: Geography, Space and Discipline* (Umeå, 1998), 19–58; and recent essays by Peter Miller such as "Mapping Peiresc's Mediterranean: Geography and Astronomy, 1610–1636," in Dirk van Miert, ed., *Communicating Observations in Early Modern Letters (1500–1675): Epistolography and Epistemology in the Age of the Scientific Revolution* (London, 2013), 135–160. On Leibniz, see Ultee, "The Republic of Letters," 98; Paul Lodge, ed., *Leibniz and His Correspondents* (Cambridge, 2004); Nora Gädeke, "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz," in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bot, and Jens Häselser, eds., *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des lettres: Études de réseaux de correspondances du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2005), 257–306.

increasingly as an online resource. Around the world, but particularly in Europe, the UK, and the United States, research projects are actively digitizing and cataloguing the surviving archives of the Republic of Letters.⁴⁰ While there is a considerable selection bias affecting whose records are being given new digital life, since most projects of this kind continue to focus on well-known figures, a host of forgotten characters are nonetheless emerging from this work: take Mlle Curton de Farges, who received a letter from Voltaire but is otherwise unknown to posterity.⁴¹ Correspondence is diffuse and not entirely selective, after all; the act of writing a letter was possible for anyone possessing a certain degree of literacy or having access to someone who could write on his or her behalf. As such, it moves us beyond the usual criterion of selecting historical actors solely on the basis of their posthumous reputation. A great man or woman, after all, is only one node in an ego network. We have found ourselves repeatedly creating microhistories of people we did not expect to find and now wish to know.⁴²

In many respects, the early modern Republic of Letters has proved to be an ideal testing ground for developing new ways of thinking about historical data. Put a different way, it is a rich source of multifaceted, if incomplete, data that traverses time and space and connects people. The Republic of Letters fundamentally relied on the exchange of words and things between people who established, and in some instances maintained, bonds of family, friendship, and patronage through letters to realize intellectual, religious, and political projects. Travel, long-distance communication, writing culture, and the production and circulation of printed matter structured many of its core activities. The Republic of Letters was not only an ideal, an imagined community in Benedict Anderson's sense, but a series of practices conducted by people who formed relationships. Human brokers, agents, gatekeepers, and go-betweens emerge from the terrifying mounds of paper that were produced. If books and journals were the culminating products of the Republic of Letters, conversation was its lifeblood—and those conversations took place as much in lively social gatherings and in more intimate dialogues (whether with people who lived nearby or with people who were brought into proximity by their travels) as they did in a form at times tangibly preserved for us: letters.

Even the earliest efforts to study the Republic of Letters confronted the difficulties of the data that this subject generates. Take Robert Mandrou's decision in 1973 to create a map of Erasmus's and Peiresc's correspondence and the diffusion of universities and Jesuit colleges in Western Europe. As Robert Hatch observed, Mandrou's *Annaliste* concern with the "geography of knowledge" led him to create static

⁴⁰ Indeed, one of our case studies began life as a digital archive more than ten years ago. For Paula Findlen, Suzanne Sutherland Duchacek, and Iva Lelková's use of the Athanasius Kircher Correspondence Project, jointly hosted by the Museo Galileo and Stanford University and originally created by Michael John Gorman and Nick Wilding at the European University Institute with assistance from Findlen, and most recently updated by Sutherland Duchacek and Lelková with technical support by Glen Worthey, see Athanasius Kircher at Stanford, "Correspondence," http://www.stanford.edu/group/kircher/cgi-bin/site/?page_id=7.

⁴¹ Letter of January 11, 1776, in Nicholas Cronk, ed., *Digital Correspondence of Voltaire*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.13051/ee:doc/voltfrVF1260336a1c>.

⁴² Note also how in our Grand Tour case study, published in this issue of the *AHR*, a host of little-known and often forgotten architects are brought back into the fold of eighteenth-century British architecture.

portraits of a number of correspondents in different locations, while Hatch subsequently articulated Peiresc's network around people rather than places.⁴³ Mandrou's project was a pioneering attempt to create a historical visualization of an intellectual network, but his idea did not really bear fruit for the next few decades. In 1987, Ultee reiterated the need for developing new ways to explore this kind of historical data while he completed his analysis of Leibniz's correspondence, acknowledging the limitations of his ability to convey what he had found in words when he concluded, "Eventually a graphic presentation will clarify the links in this network."⁴⁴

The more historians began to consider correspondence in relationship to the reconstruction of historical networks, the more urgent these questions became. By 2001, David Kronick, one of the pioneering historians of the early modern journal, noted the preliminary results of new techniques of digitizing and analyzing early modern correspondence, especially citing Urs Boschung's electronic catalogue of the voluminous correspondence of the eighteenth-century Swiss physician, naturalist, and poet Albrecht von Haller—almost 17,000 letters from nearly 1,200 correspondents—which subsequently became a highly productive case study in network analysis and visualizations by a team of researchers.⁴⁵ Haller's correspondence is one of numerous projects that have emerged in recent years in which digitization has stimulated new forms of analysis and new ways of presenting the results of these investigations.⁴⁶

As we began our project in 2008, experiments with mapping the Republic of Letters proliferated. Robert Mayhew's account of early modern British geography demonstrates effectively how text-mining can help us understand the intellectual geography of the Republic of Letters and its understanding of physical geography.⁴⁷ Inspired by Steven J. Harris's early studies of mapping Jesuit science and Christopher Bayly's influential account of the relationship between information and empire, Simon Schaffer created a map of the "information order" of Isaac Newton's *Principia mathe-*

⁴³ Robert Mandrou, *From Humanism to Science, 1480–1700*, trans. Brian Pearce (New York, 1979), 309–313; Hatch, "Peiresc as Correspondent," 29–30.

⁴⁴ Ultee, "The Republic of Letters," 103. Shelford responded to this idea by providing useful maps of Huet's Republic of Letters; *Transforming the Republic of Letters*, 9, 32, 128.

⁴⁵ David A. Kronick, "The Commerce of Letters: Networks and 'Invisible Colleges' in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Library Quarterly* 71 (2001): 28–43, here 40; Urs Boschung, *Repertorium zu Albrecht von Hallers Korrespondenz 1724–1777* (Basel, 2002), <http://www.albrecht-von-haller.ch/medien/pdf/repertorium.pdf>. For a network analysis of Haller's correspondence, see Martin Stuber, Stefan Hächler, and Luc Lienhard, eds., *Hallers Netz: Ein europäischer Gelehrtenbriefwechsel zur Zeit der Aufklärung* (Basel, 2005); Florence Catherine, "La pratique et les réseaux savants d'Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), vecteurs de transfert culturel entre les espaces français et germaniques au XVIIIe siècle" (doctoral thesis, Université Nancy 2, 2009). A full bibliography of the research emerging from this collaborative project can be found at <http://www.albrecht-von-haller.ch/e/correspondence.php>.

⁴⁶ To pick another rich example that has produced a considerable body of recent scholarship engaged with questions of correspondence networks and the nature of epistolary commerce, see the Clusius Project, sponsored by the Scaliger Institute of the University of Leiden, <http://www.library.leiden.edu/special-collections/scaliger-institute/projects/clusius-project.html>, which has digitized the correspondence of the Dutch naturalist Carolus Clusius. See Florike Egmond, Paul Hoftijzer, and Robert Visser, eds., *Carolus Clusius: Towards a Cultural History of a Renaissance Naturalist* (Amsterdam, 2008); Florike Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making, 1550–1610* (London, 2010). This archive has recently been integrated into another Dutch project co-sponsored by Huygens ING whose goal is to create a complete digital archive of manuscript facsimiles, transcriptions, and biographical information. Digital Edition of the Clusius Correspondence, <http://www.dwc.knaw.nl/biografie/clusius/digital-edition-of-the-clusius-correspondence/>.

⁴⁷ Robert Mayhew, "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600–1800," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 2 (2004): 251–276.

matica (1687) to debunk the notion that Newton was a solitary scholar untouched by a changing world.⁴⁸ Similarly, Yves Gingras explored the uses of citation and co-citation analysis, taking advantage of the digitization of Royal Society secretary Henry Oldenburg's correspondence by the Electronic Enlightenment Project at Oxford University and JSTOR's fully searchable version of the *Philosophical Transactions* to reconstruct the Scientific Revolution as a "visible map of the intellectual relations between people," arguing for the importance of combining "the usual micro-analysis of the specific content of the letters" with an ability to consider it instead as "a global corpus of data."⁴⁹ A group of French early modern historians, collaborating under the acronym CITERE, have also combined quantitative data and maps to analyze such variables as the speed and size of learned correspondence in eighteenth-century Europe.⁵⁰

Many research questions underpinning scholarship on the Republic of Letters ultimately rest on data issues.⁵¹ While recognizing that not everyone likes the idea of presenting early modern letters as filled with "data," worrying that it runs the risk of flattening the analysis or losing sight of the fact that these are historical documents whose creation is context-specific, we nonetheless believe that the information they contain deserves greater attention. Our experience in the Mapping the Republic of Letters project addresses a number of these questions to demonstrate how a digital and visual approach can indeed facilitate this sort of analysis. Building upon the rich historiography we have outlined above, we began with the insights gleaned from this considerable body of research. The inhabitants of the early modern Republic of Letters had elaborate visions of what their intellectual community resembled—most viewed it as a cosmopolitan, egalitarian place, and proudly highlighted their correspondents in far-flung places. Montesquieu famously satirized this self-perception in his *Persian Letters* (1721), where an astronomer boasts about corresponding with "a man in Stockholm, another in Leipzig, and another in London, whom I have never seen, and no doubt shall never see." Such descriptions parody the actual practices of the great secretaries of the Republic of Letters such as Oldenburg, who reportedly "never read a Letter before he had Pen, Ink, and Paper ready to answer it forthwith."⁵² But could these descriptions really be trusted? Or was the reality of scholarly

⁴⁸ Simon Schaffer, *The Information Order of Isaac Newton's Principia Mathematica* (Uppsala, 2008). The history of science has actively incorporated certain insights from sociologist John Law's and sociologist and anthropologist Bruno Latour's contributions to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to develop a rich account of the role of human and non-human actors in social networks. See, for example, Steven J. Harris, "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge," in John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto, 1999), 212–240.

⁴⁹ Yves Gingras, "Mapping the Structure of the Intellectual Field Using Citation and Co-Citation Analysis of Correspondences," *History of European Ideas* 36, no. 3 (2010): 330–339, here 330 and 339; and Yves Gingras and Alexandre Guay, "The Use of Analogies in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Science," *Perspectives on Science* 19, no. 2 (2011): 154–191.

⁵⁰ See Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, ed., *La communication en Europe de l'âge classique au siècle de Lumières* (Paris, 2014). The English name for this project is Communicating Europe: Early Modern Circulations, Territories and Networks.

⁵¹ For example, see the approach taken in many of the articles in Berkvens-Stevelinck, Bots, and Häselser, *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des lettres*.

⁵² Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. Margarec Mauldon (Oxford, 2008), 221; Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg: Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford, 2002), 129, quoting Martin Lister's recollection of Oldenburg in 1698.

communication in the early modern age far more prosaic? Was the Republic of Letters genuinely cosmopolitan, or was it more regional, national, and confessional in scope? What did membership in this republic actually look like, and how might we bring different versions of this imagined community into focus by exploring well-known, concrete examples simultaneously? And how did it evolve over time and space? These were the questions that our research group set out to explore, initially without the aid of data or visualizations. But like so many scholars who came before us, we inevitably found ourselves grappling with what to do with the growing mountains of historical information about people, places, and time that lay at the center of our enterprise.

IS A BIG HISTORICAL DATA APPROACH the future or an illusion? It is easy to understand why some commentators have been predicting a “big data revolution,” even in the humanities.⁵³ Not only are increasing numbers of texts and archives being digitized, but their accompanying metadata can now be validated and enriched via cultural heritage resources. For instance, we can begin to identify published authors across different datasets thanks to the adoption of authority files (such as VIAF), which link library records and other data sources through unique identifiers.⁵⁴ More and more libraries, including the OCLC, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and Europeana, are also adopting Linked Open Data (LOD) models, making structured and curated data currently contained in library catalogues available for research.⁵⁵ The bibliographer’s domain is fast becoming terrain for scholars to plumb and mine.

Much attention in the past fifteen years has been directed toward *text* digitization, but the production of vast stores of data—in particular, of metadata—is an equally exciting story. Anyone who has spent a few hours on Google Books can probably imagine a future in which all print material has been digitized; but imagining the future of data collection is more challenging. Ideally, if data models become reasonably standardized and well implemented, we might be able to look forward to a world in which datasets connect quickly and seamlessly, combining a wealth of discrete and useful information available to be reorganized into complex combinatorial patterns. If the print era was defined by the revolutionary technology of movable type, this coming

⁵³ See Mayer-Schönberger and Cukier, *Big Data*; Erez Aiden and Jean-Baptiste Michel, *Uncharted: Big Data as a Lens on Human Culture* (New York, 2013). For a similar endorsement by historians, see Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*.

⁵⁴ VIAF stands for “Virtual International Authority File” (<http://viaf.org/>). As the website states, this service “combines multiple name authority files [from different databases, mainly libraries] into a single OCLC-hosted name authority service. The goal of the service is to . . . increase the utility of library authority files by matching and linking widely-used authority files and making that information available on the Web.”

⁵⁵ On Linked Open Data, see notably Tom Heath and Christian Bizer, *Linked Data: Evolving the Web into a Global Data Space* (San Rafael, Calif., 2011), <http://www.morganclaypool.com/doi/abs/10.2200/S00334ED1V01Y201102WBE001>; see also Eero Hyvönen, *Publishing and Using Cultural Heritage Linked Data on the Semantic Web* (San Rafael, Calif., 2012), <http://www.morganclaypool.com/doi/abs/10.2200/S00452ED1V01Y201210WBE003>. Our thanks to Glauco Mantegari for these references. The open data portal of the Bibliothèque nationale can be found at <http://data.bnf.fr/>; for Europeana, see <http://pro.europeana.eu/linked-open-data>. Information about the OCLC’s linked data plans (through WorldCat) can be found at <http://www.oclc.org/data.en.html>. Unfortunately, the process for converting MARC library data into LOD (in BIBFRAME format) is likely to take many, many years.

era could well be defined by the equally revolutionary practice of “movable data.” Once set in print and locked in books, catalogues, or tables, data can now be pried loose from their original settings and made available for new arrangements. Therein lies perhaps the greatest promise of data for historians: until now, most of us have been beholden to search forms for querying library catalogues, digital corpora, and other databases. We are constrained by what the library or the archive permits us to ask. Linked data models have the potential to make data more nimble and malleable, and subject to a much wider variety of uses.

But this prospect still lies in the future, and may yet prove to be a mirage. For one thing, when considering the promise of linking data across archives, we must consider the original state of the underlying data. The metadata for the historical records used in many of our case studies were constructed for data retrieval within particular online systems, not for a research inquiry.⁵⁶ The “place of publication” field in the Bibliothèque nationale contains a number of values similar enough for us to consider, but with subtle variations: Paris appears as “Paris,” “(Paris),” “[Paris],” “(Paris,)” etc. To use these data effectively, we need to carefully decode the meanings in the parentheses, brackets, and commas that may or may not be documented (for instance, when is Paris the stated but false place of publication vs. when is it the unstated but real place?). The same can be said for digitized modern print editions: content structured for publishing is effectively unstructured for the purposes of data analysis. The scholarly parsing of existing data often leads us to create our own new columns of data that serve our research agenda.

Secondly, there is also the problem of incompleteness, often of unknown proportions. To borrow an example from our research, we were fortunate to receive at an early stage of our project a large dataset from the Electronic Enlightenment Project (EEP) at Oxford University.⁵⁷ The records contained the metadata for about 50,000 letters to and from leading seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors, including Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, David Hume, Claude Adrien Helvétius, Adam Smith, and Jeremy Bentham. Along with these metadata, we also benefited from the painstaking curatorial work of the researchers at EEP, who had included information about nationality, occupation, gender, and dates for each individual in the collection. But the data were filled with gaps and uncertainties. This was in no way the fault of EEP, which had produced as fine a database as possible (in addition to their remarkable full-text correspondence database). Rather, the data were incomplete because the historical record was incomplete. Many letters had been passed down without any indication of their source or destination locations; some were also undated. Others had vanished off the face of the earth.

This critical reading and assessment of the state of the data is common to each of our case studies in *Mapping the Republic of Letters*. This distinction points to a third significant methodological difference in our approach to the objects of our study. If our historical subjects had been communicating digitally, and we could have captured their exchanges and movements from a real-time live data stream, we might be able to

⁵⁶ This is why scholarly cataloguing projects such as Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO), developed by the Cultures of Knowledge Project at Oxford University, are so important for work on early modern correspondence. See <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

⁵⁷ See <http://www.e-enlightenment.com/>.

adopt the statistical methods favored by data scientists. But historical information does not stream forth like a Twitter feed. The datasets that we have explored, all of which were manually scrutinized, edited, and enriched by our research teams, came to us already structured, and sometimes designed for purposes contrary to our own. Most of the metadata we rely upon from these digitized archives have been framed and reframed for various uses over decades. We need to unmask their underlying assumptions in order to get down to the level of historical evidence. The role of the scholar thus becomes one of finding meaning in the mass, which in the case of historical data is often also a mess.

Our final problem is more pragmatic and has greatly preoccupied our research project: Where are the tools to support humanistic inquiry into multidimensional, heterogeneous, and incomplete datasets? To take maximum advantage of this coming data deluge, we will need new technologies to help us construct meaningful queries and then explore, filter, combine, and analyze the results.⁵⁸ We need to see the past from many different vantage points in order to understand it, and that cannot happen in front of an infinite tabular spreadsheet.⁵⁹ Visualization has proven to be an extremely effective tool for representing data and navigating data across many disciplines.⁶⁰ ArcGIS, Tableau, R, and Gephi are some of the most powerful desktop applications and programming languages for data visualization used in humanities research today. And yet the quantitative bias that defines much of the functionality of those tools does little to support the kind of qualitative analysis practiced in our case studies. We require different tools that can accommodate ambiguities, paradoxes, and contingencies to help us process historical and more generally humanistic data effectively.

Designing digital tools is a long-term, expensive, complicated process, one that typically involves working with grant officers, data scientists, programmers, and interface designers. Needless to say, we had no idea what we were getting into when we set off down this path. This phase of our collaboration arose from the growing realization that we simply could not begin to explore, to any serious degree, the questions that we wanted to pose without experimenting with different approaches to visualizing historical data. We could borrow or build a database or two, but what did we want to do with it? This became the crucial question that led us in the direction that ultimately resulted in the creation of a web-based data visualization platform, Palladio.⁶¹

⁵⁸ For a similar point, see Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, chap. 4.

⁵⁹ For a fascinating historical reflection on this problem that has inspired aspects of our own historical visualizations, see Daniel Rosenberg and Anthony Grafton, *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline* (New York, 2010).

⁶⁰ Evidence of this can be found in the development of the commercial visualization software packages mentioned below, as well as in the popularity of recent books and websites on the topic from the fields of statistics, design, business analytics, and computer science. For some prominent examples, see Edward Tufte, <http://www.edwardtufte.com>; Manuel Lima, <http://www.visualcomplexity.com/vc/>; Stephen Few, <http://perceptualedge.com>; Alberto Cairo, <http://www.thefunctionalart.com>; David McCandless, <http://www.informationisbeautiful.net>.

⁶¹ Palladio is a data-visualization platform that allows users to upload and analyze their data in the browser; funds for its development came from the National Endowment for the Humanities and Stanford University. It brings together much of what we learned in the design and development of prototype tools over the past six years as members of the Mapping the Republic of Letters project at Stanford University, primarily in collaboration with the Density Design research lab at the Politecnico di Milano, and in conversation with allied initiatives such as the Cultures of Knowledge project at Oxford University, as well as the Circulation of Knowledge project jointly sponsored by Huygens ING in The Hague and the Des-

Since our project has always had humanistic pursuits at heart, it is no surprise that our underlying philosophy of tool development would seek to enhance, not replace, traditional historical methods. Big data are not useful only to scholars who adopt statistical methods. The large scale also allows us to pursue traditional research in a much broader space of possibilities. When we construct visual models with data, we consider those visualizations to be powerful heuristics, not proofs. We wield our data with the assumption that they are incomplete, ambiguous, and uncertain. We visualize them to help guide us, to uncover patterns and provoke questions that we otherwise might not ever have considered. Our publications include online access precisely so that readers can explore and manipulate the data of our case studies. These use cases of Palladio allow direct insight into the process of heuristic visualizations, and on these same web pages readers can download the data to pursue their own research questions as well.⁶² But we do not believe that the data in and of themselves provide answers. The interpretive work is done outside of the computer, in the decisions that go into building our datasets, in the design of the instruments we use to visualize the data, and finally in making sense of the very imprecise maps, graphs, and diagrams we produce. We still need to read those shelf-loads of books and boxes of manuscripts—in the archive or online—to make sense of our findings.

AS A RESULT OF DEALING WITH data visualizations, we found ourselves thinking anew about space. Many of the patterns that interest us, and that our visualizations help to uncover, concern geographical relations. This puts our project in dialogue with spatial history, an area in which digital research has had a great impact. But our material and questions have inspired a distinct methodology for our research. Many spatial history projects analyze the relationships between different categories of space—for instance, between spatial practice and represented space, to borrow Henri Lefebvre's terms.⁶³ This approach often involves comparing *layers* of space—quite literally in the case of the HyperCities project, for example.⁶⁴ By contrast, our project has been much more concerned with the relationships between different areas within a single layer of space. In fleeing Germany, Kircher was cast adrift from his native land, and his correspondence captures beautifully the essence of Jesuit mobility as well as how people maintained a strong sense of identity at a distance. Locke's exile in France belonged to one of those moments when a portion of the "English" world was on the Continent, as would later occur on a much larger scale when the Grand Tour created a world in

cartes Centre at the University of Utrecht. See <http://hdlab.stanford.edu/projects/palladio/>. We count it as a success of our project that Palladio has now been used widely in a variety of projects well beyond our own within Mapping the Republic of Letters. For a recent assessment, see Graham, Milligan, and Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data*, 112, 268–269.

⁶² See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications>, which hosts the online interactive visualizations, databases, and data schemas for our case studies. Note that the datasets for each case study are also stored in SDR (the Stanford Digital Repository), <https://sdr.stanford.edu/collections/druid:zn653qj0117>, to ensure their longevity in what might otherwise at times seem the quite ephemeral afterlife of digital projects, and where they can be accessed openly by the scholarly community.

⁶³ See Richard White, "What Is Spatial History?," Spatial History Lab: Working Paper, submitted February 1, 2010, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29>. White draws on Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

⁶⁴ HyperCities: Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities, <http://hypercities.com/>.

between England and Italy for multiple generations of Britons. Benjamin Franklin, remembered today as the archetypal American, in fact spent much of the last third of his life largely in England and the Continent, often doing business in which the lines between what was “British” and what was “American” were blurred to the point of meaninglessness. When we reflect on the connections among England, France, and North America in the eighteenth century, for example, we are essentially asking how an “English space” was situated in relation to a “French space,” or an American one within a British world. Instead of superimposing layers, we look at a patchwork of spaces, all connected on the same plane by the human interactions that constituted the early modern Republic of Letters.⁶⁵

The kind of spaces we study might best be described as “cultural zones.”⁶⁶ Such zones exist, almost by definition, in the plural: to a large degree, they are defined relative to and in distinction from one another. Our project requires us to identify these zones spatially and conceptually, but also to reflect on their interactions.

At the geographical level, we do not place much importance on exact boundaries or even precise locations; for this reason, we have not used GIS (geographic information systems) in our visualizations, and we tend to prefer abstract maps over historical ones. We take as a given that cultural zones have fuzzy borders and can overlap: eighteenth-century Geneva, for instance, could be seen as belonging to both a Swiss Protestant and a French cultural zone. We use the term “cultural zone” rather than “cultural space” in order to stress its imprecise, often amorphous, edges. A zone also covers a large area, which is why we chose this term over “place.” It can indeed capture connections between places in a given period.

Much of spatial theory, from Georg Simmel and Henri Lefebvre to David Harvey, has roots in urban studies.⁶⁷ Cities are also central to our thinking about cultural zones, but in our case we look *extra muros*. Indeed, a cultural zone can often be defined as the area affected by the dominance of a city (usually a capital). The French cultural zone radiates around Paris; in the eighteenth century, its reach could be felt as far away as St. Petersburg. The English cultural zone extended around London, and reached as far as Philadelphia and the Indian subcontinent. Rome’s reputation as *caput mundi* was certainly enhanced by its role as the nerve center of overlapping global missionary networks whose reach extended to every corner of the world. Of course, capitals did not always play this role: not every region created cultural zones

⁶⁵ On place vs. space, see Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Philip J. Ethington, “Placing the Past: ‘Groundwork’ for a Spatial Theory of History,” *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (2007): 465–493.

⁶⁶ The concept of “zone,” to the extent that it is used in spatial theory, tends to be deployed by literary scholars in relation either to cities (see, for instance, David Bell, Jon Binnie, Ruth Holliday, Robyn Longhurst, and Robin Peace, *Pleasure Zones: Bodies, Cities, Spaces* [Syracuse, N.Y., 2001]) or to climatic “zones” (see Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* [Baltimore, 1995]). There has also been some reflection on this spatial category in postcolonial scholarship; see Imre Szeman, *Zones of Instability: Literature, Postcolonialism, and the Nation* (Baltimore, 2003). Among historians, Peter Sahlin considers zones in relation to frontiers in *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991). We use the term in the sense provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: “A definite region or area of the earth, or of any place or space, distinguished from adjacent regions by some special quality or condition (indicated by a defining word or phrase).”

⁶⁷ See Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life” (1903), in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, eds., *The Blackwell City Reader* (Oxford, 2002), 11–19; Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis, 2003); David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, revised ed. (Athens, Ga., 2009).

around a single capital city. But in these instances, cultural zones still formed primarily around a constellation of cities.

Our general focus on capitals is not meant to deny the importance of other centers in the circulation or creation of knowledge and goods.⁶⁸ For example, Rome's centrality in Grand Tour travels gains meaning only in relation to other Italian destinations—and in any case travelers could not even reach Rome without journeying through other cities and regions. But for definitional purposes, the periphery of a cultural zone is extremely hard to identify spatially (i.e., to map). The edges of a cultural zone tend to be unstable, and can vary depending on the contingencies of war, empire-building, and governmental policy. The Jesuit diaspora was constantly expanding and contracting as new opportunities emerged and others became unstable or vanished entirely. For instance, pockets of a French cultural zone emerged in London and the Dutch Republic after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Cultural zones are rarely demarcated by a wall, a line, or a river. At the edges, they just fade away, as other cultural zones take their place. Cities, by contrast, are much more easily localized. They anchor the cultural zone in cartographic space.

At the conceptual level, what makes these zones cultural? Here we can only point to a wide array of features, most of which have, in themselves, little to do with space. A language, a religion, a system of social hierarchy, literary and artistic tastes, fashions, food, constitutional theories, and so forth: all these features, and others, contribute to the production of a cultural zone, and each zone will be more or less determined by different features. That said, these practices and ideas are nonetheless spatial in that they prevail in a certain zone, and beyond that zone, different practices and ideas prevail. Political institutions are obviously important for establishing differences between cultural zones, but they are not sufficient: the American states remained in an English cultural zone well after independence. In other words, a cultural zone and a political sphere are not necessarily the same thing.

THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED HERE are mainly intended to answer questions about our methodology; they are not meant to serve as a manifesto, and there are of course slight but telling differences in how each of our case studies maps an episode in the Republic of Letters. Since every database is different, and since the needs of different scholarly agendas are best met by different technologies, we do not think it possible or even desirable to dictate a unique methodological approach for all experiments in digital history. One objective of these reflections is to encourage other scholars to venture out into these still largely uncharted waters, using what we have learned along the way as either a guide or a foil.

But we also have our own pipe dreams about the future of digital history, particularly where intellectual and cultural history are concerned. Given that our own collection of metadata was pooled from different sources, we experienced firsthand the advantages of studying historical networks from multiple angles.⁶⁹ This multiplicity can

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

⁶⁹ Our largest source of metadata was the EEP; the Humanities Packard Institute gave us the metadata for the Benjamin Franklin correspondence; Stanford Libraries, for the Kircher correspondence; the

uncover networks that exist at one or two (if not six) degrees of separation. Attempting to make our databases converge has not been an explicit goal of the project, since it is not yet clear that doing so would yield any strong insights. Franklin and Voltaire never corresponded directly (and we know of only one meeting in person), but because we are in possession of the metadata for both their correspondences, we can identify everyone with whom they both corresponded.⁷⁰ Kircher and Locke had even less reason to meet, and in fact never did meet, and they certainly never corresponded, so perhaps there is nothing particularly revealing to be gained by exploring the degree to which their correspondence intersects, since they shared so little. Instead, each illuminates a largely distinctive dimension of seventeenth-century intellectual life and its political, religious, and commercial entanglements. By contrast, the Grand Tour Project thrives on identifying points of intersection that emerge as people meet in Rome, Florence, Venice, and Naples, among other places, form temporary communities forged by travel, and potentially renew their acquaintance around an architectural commission that reminds a patron and an architect that they once shared the experience of Italy together. These examples highlight the potential benefits of having overlapping metadata: it allows us to explore possible connections by following the trail.

The metadata in our own databases is heterogeneous and somewhat arbitrary; it reflects our varied interests and the availability of such information, so we have been opportunistic in selecting projects where it was already possible to do this kind of work. Its limitations also showcase, *a contrario*, what a more systematic approach could yield. Imagine a database even larger in scale than the one currently under construction by Oxford's Cultures of Knowledge project—Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO), which contains the entire Kircher database, among many others—in which all metadata relating to scholarly communication could be pooled.⁷¹ Each person would have a unique identifier, connecting all of his or her interactions, and embedded in a much larger pool of information that spanned two hundred, three hundred, or four hundred years of intellectual activity. Add to this the possible bibliographic dimensions, with each author linked to the relevant holdings in major libraries; and throw in other assortments of metadata, such as membership in learned academies, participation in salons or clubs, university education, occupation, travels, and so on. This would indeed be a multifaceted archive for all of us to explore.

No doubt such a database is a fantasy, and we are not suggesting that it could ever exist in complete form, notably for the reasons advanced above. But a partial realization of this encyclopedia of metadata is not beyond our abilities. A pan-European re-

data for the Grand Tour came from Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*. For an interesting reflection on the advantages of pooling data, see Gingras, "Mapping the Structure of the Intellectual Field Using Citation and Co-Citation Analysis of Correspondences." We also warmly thank Robert Hatch at the University of Florida for generously sharing his experience constructing and working simultaneously with correspondence databases for his research on the relationship between the Republic of Letters and the Scientific Revolution.

⁷⁰ Franklin met Voltaire when the latter was initiated into a Masonic Lodge; see Nicholas Hans, "UNESCO of the Eighteenth Century: *La Loge des Neuf Sœurs* and Its Venerable Master, Benjamin Franklin," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97, no. 5 (1953): 513–524. The list of their shared correspondents includes Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis, Octavie Durey de Mesnières, Mme Helvétius, David Hume, André Morellet, and Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot.

⁷¹ The EMLO catalogue at <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> is a promising step in this direction.

search network, Reassembling the Republic of Letters, has just set out with a similar vision, and in fact, we can draw inspiration from the remarkable work undertaken by classicists to create a “cyberinfrastructure” that enables and encourages interoperability between digital projects.⁷² However, we also need tools, developed for and by humanists, to explore and analyze these data, to make them meaningful. And even in this ideal scenario, the time will invariably come when it will be necessary to turn away from the screen, pick up a book, and try to figure out what these piles of historical information mean. That is the exercise that all of our publications seek to do. We have not attempted to map the Republic of Letters without forgetting why we began this project: because the figures who populate our project are interesting for many reasons and left behind a rich trail of documentation whose content we need to read with care if we hope that we will ever be able to understand them.

⁷² See <http://www.republicofletters.net/> for more information on the Reassembling the Republic of Letters project, with which Mapping the Republic of Letters is now affiliated, and which counts collaborators from more than thirty European countries, as well as from Canada and Australia. For the “cyberinfrastructure,” see *Changing the Center of Gravity: Transforming Classical Studies through Cyberinfrastructure*, ed. Gregory Crane and Melissa Terras, Special Issue, *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (2009).

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British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture

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SEE ROME AND DIE: FOR NORTHERN cultural and social elites in the late eighteenth century, the phrase succinctly captured the allure of Italy—that “most interesting of all possible voyages,” as the abbé Gabriel-François Coyer put it after his own journey in 1763.¹ Dotted with the monuments that these elites knew from their readings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and populated by influential contemporaries who might be encountered in the flesh, the Italian peninsula held out the promise of an educational rite of passage rooted in humanist ideals of classical origins. The story of the “Grand Tour,” as this journey was known, is the story of nations as well as of individuals, and as such it holds enormous cultural and historiographical significance today. To study it, to think about its participants and to re-create their pathways, is to encounter an increasingly diffuse learned community whose travels helped shape the modern world as we know it. This was a community of travelers consisting of the Enlightenment’s most sensitive minds and influential writers, of reluctant youths and intrepid women, of scientists and artists, along with the many other, mostly unnamed figures, among them diplomats, merchants, sea captains, and servants, who made these travels possible. All those crossed paths led to exchanges and interactions that contributed to a massive reimagining of politics and the arts, of the market for culture, of ideas about leisure, and of practices of professionalism.

Yet the Grand Tour also poses a considerable historiographical challenge. Our

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¹ Abbé Gabriel-François Coyer, *Voyages d’Italie et de Hollande*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1775), 1: 4.

grasp on it today is constrained by the widely dispersed documents through which we can know it. Not that there is any shortage of existing texts that can tell us about the Tour: many travelers kept journals and wrote letters, a number of which were published, and those published “travels” were themselves shaped not just by ancient texts but also by previous travelers’ accounts. Even these texts, however, account for the travels of only a fraction of the people who voyaged to the peninsula in these years. So while it is understood that the Grand Tour was a widespread phenomenon, with numerous individuals traveling across a vast geography, and that this long reach is a crucial feature of its influence, the fact remains that we barely glimpse its totality when we define and understand it through the writings of only a small selection of travelers. As we swim in the catchy, oft-reproduced quotations of the Grand Tour’s most prominent participants, we remain blind to the actual numbers that constitute its formative impact on modernity.

The Grand Tour Project at Stanford University takes a digitizing and visualizing approach to this nagging historiographical problem.² Our source, the 1997 prosopographical *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*, compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive by John Ingamells under the sponsorship of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in London, focuses on the British segment of the European-wide community of eighteenth-century travelers to Italy.³ But by digitizing its more than five thousand entries and using enhanced visualization techniques designed to explore its contents in the form of structured datasets, we are able to cast an unusually wide net, bringing into the picture travelers both prominent and obscure, who together represent a far more diverse scope of touristic experiences. (See Figure 1.) A digitized *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, with its expansive view of the Grand Tour, reveals already-known features of early modern culture and erudition in much bolder relief: this was a world of human mobility, of laborious personal transformation through sociability, education, and travel, but it was also a world of accidental, fortuitous meetings. By including secondary and tertiary figures along with the better-known travelers, we add actual hard data of considerable scale to the anecdotal impressions usually cited as sources, thereby revealing the world of the Grand Tour with new granularity. Ours is also an approach committed to the interplay between the qualitative and the quantitative, and sensitive to the mass of unknown details about the historical past.

In order to show the results and possibilities of this work in progress, we have chosen a group of sixty-nine individuals as a case study: travelers whose main or at least most distinctive interest in visiting Italy was architecture. While information on sixty-nine people may not sound like “big data,” even such a relatively small number is difficult to hold intact in one’s mind (let alone in one’s narrative), and in fact there is no history of architecture, nor of the Grand Tour, that includes all of these names. Many have been mentioned in passing, but in our digital study and visualizations, their lives, travels, and experiences, pooled together with those of others, tell a bigger story. We see what these tours were like and what they did for British architects in Italy and beyond. In the patterns that emerge from our data of places visited, of funding, of social

² See <https://www.grandtour.stanford.edu>.

³ John Ingamells, comp., *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1997).

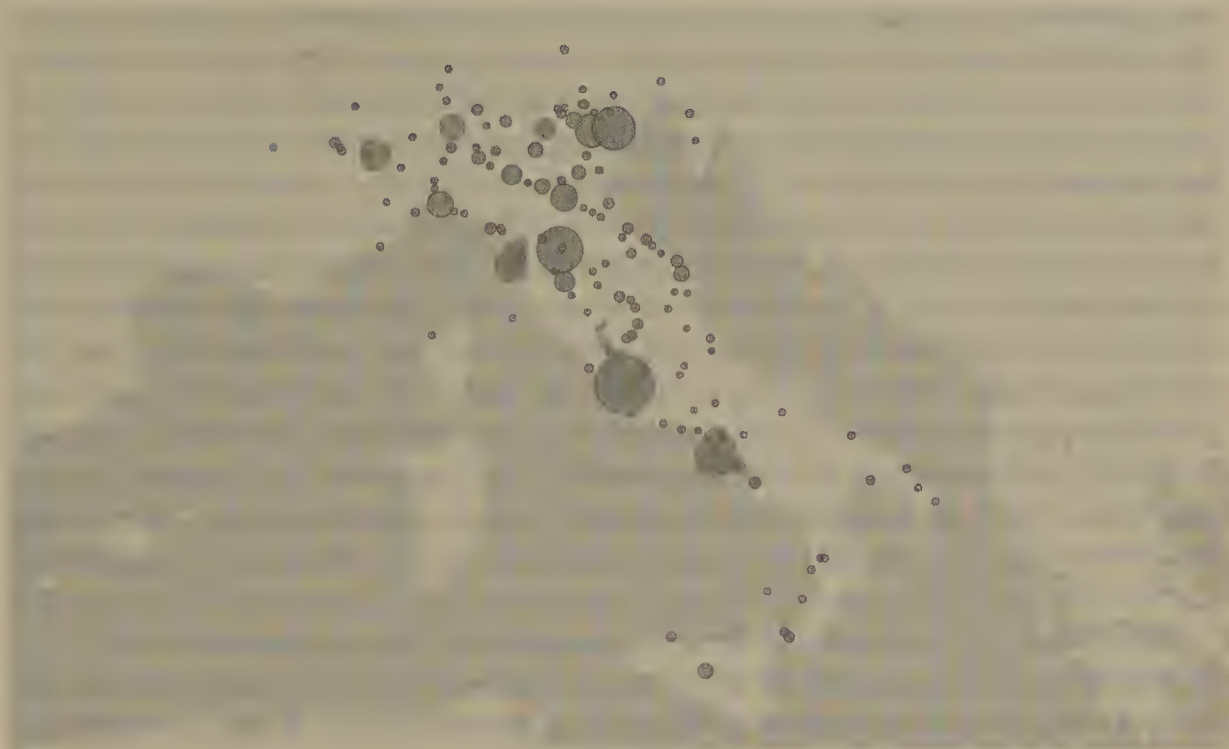


FIGURE 1: Map of places visited by Grand Tourists based on data from John Ingamells's *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1997). The size of each dot is scaled to the number of visits.

and professional gains and interactions, we catch a glimpse of a history of architecture that goes beyond the influence of Italian architectural models on British thought and design. Our approach to the Grand Tour presents the story of these individuals as contributing to the transformation of “architecture” from a gentlemanly passion and artisanal craft into a modern profession and discipline. By indicating some of the ways in which the Grand Tour served this transformative process, this case study also suggests the broader promise of our digital approach for scholars of various interests.

Setting aside its turn to digital scholarship, our approach also builds on the exciting scholarly work done in recent decades on the nature and meaning of the multifaceted world of the British Grand Tour in Italy. For a long time, research on travel was a difficult fit for universities’ departments, and it was often undertaken by scholars outside academia, who relied on the interest of the general public.⁴ The elaborately researched surveys by Christopher Hibbert and Jeremy Black, successful as they were in the trade press, also heralded a new academic turn.⁵ Within the interdisciplinary emphasis of the 1990s, Grand Tour studies emerged and flourished as cultural his-

⁴ For a review of Grand Tour studies starting in 1900, see Edward Chaney, “Bibliography: A Century of British and American Books on the Evolution of the Grand Tour, 1900–2000,” in Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London, 2000), 383–404. For analyses of Grand Tour studies since the 1990s, see John Wilton-Ely, “‘Classic Ground’: Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28, no. 1 (2004): 136–165; and Barbara Ann Naddeo, “Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2005): 183–199.

⁵ See Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (New York, 1969); and the many books on the Grand Tour published by Jeremy Black, starting with *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, 1985).

tory's methods and approaches encouraged new bridges between intellectual, political, and art history and brought sophisticated literary analysis to bear on mundane travel writings. Exhibitions in London, Rome, and Philadelphia literally put on display the Grand Tour's interdisciplinary potential, telling its story by way of paintings, ancient and modern sculptures, and various touristic artifacts, from prints to painted fans. The beautifully produced and illustrated catalogues of these exhibitions, as well as the edited volumes based on related conferences, brought together scholars from various disciplines to provide context and interpretation for these objects.⁶ Since that time, Philip Ayres, Jonathan Scott, and Vicky Coltman have investigated in depth the complex and richly cultivated ideals embodied in the artifacts that Grand Tourists collected: from marble busts of themselves commissioned in Rome and made to resemble ancient Roman statues, to the Greek painted vases they used to decorate their sitting rooms along with mantelpieces of neoclassical design, they used such material possessions to join in a broad cultural dialogue about republican *virtù* and neoclassical taste.⁷

At its most fundamental, the Grand Tour relied on the original humanist belief that classical education made modern men. It is a perennial paradox of the humanities that moving backward in time to study the classical world leads one inevitably forward into the modern one. Grand Tourists clearly did not always manifest the educational ideal: Lady Montagu, for instance, lamented the vulgarity of the English youth she encountered, and tutors frequently complained about their unruly charges.⁸ Yet other instances of disappointment offer further proof of the paradox, which is given resilience by the persistent intertextuality of such accounts. This intertextuality has been fruitfully explored by Chloe Chard, who pierces through the imaginary Italy produced in Grand Tourist writings in order to unlock British and other foreign modes of experiencing the tour, and by Bruce Redford, who uses such an approach to focus on how British Grand Tourists experienced the city of Venice.⁹ Melissa Calaresu and Nelson Moe similarly analyze foreign representations of Italian decline that placed Italy at the margins of modernity, but they do so in order to interrogate the limits of Enlight-

⁶ See Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996); Edgar Peters Bowron and Joseph J. Rishel, eds., *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2000); Clare Hornsby, ed., *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London, 2000); Shearer West, ed., *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1999). Exhibitions were also organized in Los Angeles: at the Getty Research Institute, *Naples and Vesuvius on the Grand Tour* (December 21, 2001–March 24, 2002); and at the J. Paul Getty Museum, *Rome on the Grand Tour* (January 8–August, 11 2002) and *Drawing Italy in the Age of the Grand Tour* (February 5–May 12, 2002).

⁷ Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1997); Jonathan Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Chicago, 2006). See also Ruth Guilding, *Owning the Past: Why the English Collected Antique Sculpture, 1640–1840* (New Haven, Conn., 2015); and Joan Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Montreal, 2015). Edward Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), shows Italy's crucial role in the earlier origins of English collecting.

⁸ Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1965–1967), 2: 177 (to Lady Pomfret, March 1740).

⁹ See Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999); and Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

enment ideals of cosmopolitanism.¹⁰ Other scholars, including Paula Findlen, have unmasked this mediated, merely imagined Italy in a way that allows for a clearer view of the vibrant modernity of eighteenth-century Italian culture.¹¹

These penetrating investigations of the Grand Tour's ideals and cultural dynamics have recently given way to a more sustained look at the lived reality of the Grand Tour. "Whose Grand Tour?" John Brewer asks, launching into an investigation of collecting practices and how they changed through the century.¹² What sorts of reactions did different Italian cities elicit from travelers, and how did the travels of women differ from those of men? It is questions such as these that animate Rosemary Sweet's recent work.¹³ The 2012 exhibition at the Ashmolean of items from the cargo of the British merchant ship *Westmorland*, captured in 1778 and preserved as an almost intact time capsule, has given us a vivid "cross-section" of the Grand Tour. The ship's contents—including works of art acquired by Grand Tourists, their notes and personal possessions, and luxury market goods such as silk, olives, and thirty-two wheels of Parmesan cheese—offer unprecedented insight into the tastes and interests not just of Grand Tourists in general, but also of specific travelers.¹⁴ The fascination with particularities stretches back to one of the very first scholars to cultivate the Grand Tour in academia, Edward Chaney, whose collected essays painstakingly examine, case study by case study, its various contexts.¹⁵

One challenge to this approach, however, involves the question of data. The significance of the Grand Tour has often been explained in terms of numbers—the sheer quantity of travelers who undertook it—and yet, troublingly, the numbers themselves are elusive. While there is no institutional archive for the Grand Tour as such, the published accounts that we do have are becoming easier to access online. Still, these impressive resources represent only a small minority of travelers—most of whom, after all, did not publish accounts of their trips.

So, beyond such unique case studies, how can we get closer to the concrete experience of the Grand Tourist? In our effort to do so, we have begun with Ingamells's *Dictionary* and the many thousands of Grand Tourists whose travels it documents.¹⁶ This rich information has already supported countless studies, such as those by Brewer and Sweet, but our digitization project sets out to mobilize this information as a whole, making it ripe for scholarly inquiry at a different scale.¹⁷ A digitized *Dictionary of Brit-*

¹⁰ Melissa Calaresu, "Looking for Virgil's Tomb: The End of the Grand Tour and the Cosmopolitan Ideal in Europe," in Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds., *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999), 138–161; Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

¹¹ See Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds., *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, Calif., 2009).

¹² John Brewer, "Whose Grand Tour?," in María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui and Scott Wilcox, eds., *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, an Episode of the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., 2012).

¹³ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012); Sweet, "Why Is the Grand Tour Always about Men?," paper delivered at the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies Day Conference "Rethinking the Grand Tour: Questioning Cultures of Eighteenth-Century Travel," University of York, March 8, 2014—see <http://www.york.ac.uk/eighteenth-century-studies/events/re-thinkingthegrandtourconference/>.

¹⁴ Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox, *The English Prize*.

¹⁵ Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*.

¹⁶ For the full history and scope of the Grand Tour Project, see <https://grandtour.stanford.edu/>.

¹⁷ For a different digital approach to the Grand Tour, see the Adam Matthew Grand Tour database, <http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/the-grand-tour/>. This wonderful digital publication also

ish and Irish Travellers, along with added datasets that enable users to visualize its contents, shows known features of eighteenth-century travel to Italy in a clearer light, and gives us new access to its crowded spaces. It reveals individual travelers' routes but also allows us to document patterns within and among those routes, while recovering the importance of the ordinary tourists who are too often overshadowed by the careers of the very famous. Travelers at times recorded their company—the architect Robert Adam kept a notebook of the acquaintances he made in Italy from January 1755 to October 1757, and in July 1768, William Fitzgerald, Marquess of Kildare, wrote from Turin to his mother, “We are about ten English at present, and eight of us were at Eton together. It is amazing how one picks up our old Eton acquaintances abroad. I dare say I have met above forty since I have been in Italy.”¹⁸ Now we can observe these and similar encounters in our data at will. The extraordinarily cosmopolitan world of the Grand Tour emerges in a new light as we add hard data to the heretofore rather fuzzy picture that we have had access to. John Soane poignantly said of his travels in Italy, “This was the most fortunate event of my life.” A digitized version of Ingamells's 1997 *Dictionary* helps us to understand why.¹⁹

It is indeed the *Dictionary*'s abundance that was the starting point for our digital approach to the Grand Tour. This abundance is itself a consequence of the extraordinary effort of the art collector and gentleman scholar Sir Brinsley Ford (1908–1999), who worked for decades scouring archives and collecting material about the Grand Tour, and in 1988 left his papers to the Paul Mellon Centre in London. The publication of Ingamells's *Dictionary* fulfilled Ford's hopes for his work.²⁰ These archives hold still more unpublished material concerning yet more travelers, while the team of scholars who worked with Ingamells provided additional information, especially from Italian archives and British provincial records. All of these components went into the making of the more than five thousand entries in the *Dictionary*.

The *Dictionary*'s pages reveal a world populated by these thousands of people—and many more, were one to count all the individuals who are named in travelers' entries without having an entry of their own. This busy world is organized by the alphabetical listing of entries according to the travelers' names. Typically, each entry offers concise biographical information, which variously extends beyond dates of birth and death to include expertise or occupation, diplomatic posts, titles, education, marriages and other family relationships, affiliations with societies or academies, and occasionally other miscellanea. Next, there is a summary of the travelers' itineraries, indicating dates and locations of visits throughout Italy (and occasionally beyond). Lastly, there is a narrative description—a sort of biographical snapshot of the travelers, focused through the lens of their Grand Tours; privileged here are, as in Ford's

includes a digitized version of Ingamells's *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, which is word-searchable but otherwise repeats, in digital form, the text of the print edition (and also misses a number of entries—another example of the vagaries of digitization, with which we have become all too familiar during our own project); a noteworthy feature is the access to beautiful digital reproductions of a number of Grand Tour archival documents available on this site.

¹⁸ Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 575.

¹⁹ John Soane, *Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect between the Years 1768 and 1835, Written by Himself* (London, 1835), 12.

²⁰ For more on Ford, a fascinating figure, see “Sir Brinsley Ford: A Tribute,” *Burlington Magazine* 141, no. 1155 (June 1999): 327; and “Ford, Sir [Richard] Brinsley,” *Dictionary of Art Historians*, <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/fordb.htm>.

original vision, “matters connected with the arts, patronage [and] collecting,” but also material reflecting his fondness for “the racy bits.”²¹ The database we are building is the result of the transformation of these printed entries into digital ones.

A word is in order on the nature of the *Dictionary*’s entries and the wide cast of characters that animates them. There are wealthy Grand Tourists, but also students of the arts and resident artists, humanists (whether students of manuscripts and antiquities or of new historiographies such as that of music), merchants, military men, servants, diplomats, and Jacobite exiles. The varying lengths of the entries reflect the varying amounts of knowledge we have about the travelers both during and beyond their Grand Tours. Many of the longest entries belong to familiar figures whose tours are substantively documented (such as Lady Montagu and Sir William Hamilton). People who are not as famous but who left behind precise documentation of their travels (such as the aristocrat James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, and the artist Richard Dalton) also have lengthy entries, as do people who stayed in Italy a long time. Well-known figures whose tours were neither extensive nor thoroughly documented, however, warrant somewhat briefer entries, such as the philosopher David Hume, whose journey ended at Turin. And then there are those travelers about whom almost nothing is known; at times only their names survive, and even those might be uncertain. This is the case for a few of the artists mentioned in the crucial and mysterious document that is “Hayward’s List,” consisting of “a gathering of ten octavo-sized pages stitched together” that records in neat handwriting the names and the arrivals of British artists in Rome from 1753 to 1775.²² Taken together, the entries give us a sense of the Grand Tour’s diversity, showing us a world more densely populated than the one we see in individual Grand Tourists’ journals and much of the scholarship based on them.

This variety is what we seek to capture in our digital transformation of the *Dictionary*, and what we aim to explore and visualize with new, creative digital techniques. Much of the biographical and travel information we have been gathering is searchable in multiple ways: one can word-search the full text of the *Dictionary*, but beyond that, one can query, explore, and visualize, extensively and in depth, its digitally reconstructed entries in our database. Such searching releases us from the prisons of alphabetical and chronological ranking that this and other dictionaries and encyclopedias force us into. But a digital *Dictionary* enables the data to be cross-sectioned in multiple ways, as one can query by time, by place, or by biographical information such as academic affiliations, place of education, marital status, or age, for example. It is this possibility of taking data apart and recomposing it that represents the potential of our distinctive approach to digitizing and visualizing Ingamells’s *Dictionary*.

There is a tendency to think of “big data” approaches as inherently quantitative, and thus as anti-humanist. But our approach raises all manner of historiographical issues—including questions about the uncertainty and possibilities of knowing the past—which require qualitative interpretation. Our work deals with numbers that are larger than usual in the humanities, but also with how varied and how incongruous the amount of knowledge we have about them is. This in turn helps us keep in view

²¹ Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, xvi, x.

²² Lindsay Stainton, “Hayward’s List: British Visitors to Rome, 1753–1775,” *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 49, no. 3 (1983): 3–36, here 3.

that much has been forgotten or is altogether unknown. In the visualizations of our data, such historiographical problems cannot be cast aside (as is more likely to happen when the focus is on a well-known individual whose travels are well documented). One is reminded at times of early modern maps from the age of exploration, on which clear contours give way to dotted lines at the point where knowledge about a given land ends. Unlike those early mapmakers, however, we are not aiming to fill in the missing information (or at least that is not our primary goal). We value our visualizations precisely because they show us the shape as well as the limits of our data, while enabling us to simultaneously hold our gaze on various individuals and what we know of them.

How, then, were we to visualize our data? At first we expected that we would be tracing routes on historical maps, but we soon discovered the limitations of our data for such an approach, for we simply do not possess the comprehensive information needed to do this for the great majority of travelers.²³ More importantly, perhaps, even if we were to have many routes traced out on historical maps, that still would not tell us very much about the Grand Tour. What we most want to know is how travel to Italy changed over time, and the variations and/or overlaps among individual travelers. These are the questions that have often been neglected by studies focusing on the most prominent individual travelers. Most interesting, in fact—in part because of the lack of attention accorded to them—might be those travelers who did *not* leave behind detailed accounts of their tours, that great majority whose routes would indeed be impossible to trace. To this end, we look at the relational dimensions of the Grand Tour in a spatial and a temporal context, enhanced by the biographical data that Ingamells offers about the travelers.

As Figure 1 immediately makes apparent, Rome was the most visited place in the eighteenth-century British Grand Tour of Italy. This predominance might not seem surprising: one would expect the Eternal City to be the ultimate destination of any Grand Tour. Yet, out of all the entries in the *Dictionary*, as many as 2,999—well more than half—do not record a visit to Rome. Of course, this in part reflects a lack or inconsistency of information. But when we focused on the subset of sixty-nine architects alone, a striking counter-case emerged. Almost every one of those travelers had been to Rome: sixty-two of the entries for that group positively confirm a visit there, and there are indications of such a visit for six others. For only one of these sixty-nine architects does the lack of a positive record indicate the lack of a visit, as opposed to a mere lack of data. This realization called for a closer examination of this smaller dataset, in order to better understand the place of Rome in relation to the nature of these architects' overall travels, as well as their lives beyond their time in Italy.

It is commonly understood that Italian models have long exercised a profound influence on British architecture. When John Shute published the first British architectural book, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, in 1563, he prided himself not merely on following “the writingse of learned men,” but on grounding his work in

²³ For an example in which the detailed tracing of a full itinerary was possible, see Sarah Murray, “Spatial Analysis and Humanities Data: A Case Study from the Grand Tour Travelers Project,” in Jake Coolidge, ed., *The CESTA Anthology* (Stanford, Calif., 2013), <http://www.jakecoolidgecartography.com/2013/12/09/cesta-anthology-2013/>.

his “owne experience and practice, gathered by the sight of Monumentes in Italie.”²⁴ A few decades later, one of the most significant early modern British architects, Inigo Jones, turned his own genius to architecture after a second trip to Italy; and later yet, Christopher Wren, whether or not he ever actually reached Italy, was influenced by his study of Italian books and his meeting with the Italian architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini.²⁵ But during the eighteenth century, the Italian connection became paramount. At this time of cultural and social transformation—of growing wealth, nascent industrialization, and imperial expansion—the facades and interiors of the buildings in which British people lived, worked, and socialized were also changing. More buildings were constructed, and in many different styles. The pace of architectural history quickened, with Palladianism giving way to neoclassicism, which in turn was challenged by the Greek Revival. In all these trends, architects drew crucial inspiration from Italian models and, when they could, grounded their authority in firsthand experiences gained during their Italian sojourns.

In the case of many major figures of eighteenth-century British architecture, such as Lord Burlington (1694–1753), William Chambers (1723–1796), Robert Adam (1728–1792), and John Soane (1753–1837), the importance of time spent in Italy is understood, and made explicit in their own writings and in those of the scholars who study them.²⁶ These are figures whose names are inscribed in histories of British architecture, where they stand for different styles, and at times different interpretations of those styles—from the Palladianism that spread under the influence of Lord Burlington, to various interpretations of neoclassicism, such as the earlier style of the Adam brothers or Soane’s subsequent version with its richer Greek influence. But our data and visualizations expand the picture beyond these better-known cases to include a much larger set of characters, drawing in all travelers defined as architects in Ingamells’s *Dictionary* (and identifying a few more ourselves).²⁷

Our sixty-nine architects include many whose ties to standard architectural histories may be more tenuous but are no less revealing. Some are minor and forgotten figures whose names never emerged beyond a mere mention in sources and past scholarship; a few died too soon after their tours to leave a mark; others may have eventually turned to other professions. So, for example, we have some who were known as architects only during their Grand Tour, as in the case of Daniel Lock (ca. 1682–1754), who is referred to as an “architect” in Ingamells but nowhere else. The only portrait that is preserved of Lock shows him holding an architectural tool, but otherwise his closest association with the profession comes by way of his travel companion to Italy, William Kent (1685–1748), who went on to great fame as an architect.²⁸ Some of the inconsistencies in the historical memory of scholarship reflect the vagaries of individ-

²⁴ John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (London, 1563), Preface.

²⁵ Lisa Jardine, *On a Grand Scale: The Outstanding Life of Sir Christopher Wren* (New York, 2002), 530.

²⁶ Studies that discuss British architects in Italy and Rome more specifically include John Summer-son, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1993), chaps. 20–26; Pierre de la Ruffinière Du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago, 1982); Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (London, 2000); John A. Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2012).

²⁷ Our main reference has been another prosopographical work, Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 4th ed. (New Haven, Conn., 2008).

²⁸ See Susan Weber, ed., *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven, Conn., 2013).

ual lives. For example, while most of the sixty-nine travelers in this subset went to Italy to pursue architectural interests, others did not become architects until they were there, or later on. James Gibbs (1682–1754) traveled to Italy to be educated as a priest but shifted his focus to architecture within a year, while Alexander Nasmyth (1758–1840) studied landscape painting in Italy, but later in life, back in Scotland, put to work his expertise as an architect. Indeed, our set of sixty-nine architects allows us to reflect in new ways on what the Grand Tour did for architects in the eighteenth century, on how to define who is an architect, and on how a given architect's social and professional status and networks might intersect.

Among those sixty-nine, we also have amateurs. These were gentleman architects, already noted as a British peculiarity in the eighteenth century: “in England more than in any other country, every man would fain be his own architect,” wrote the Swiss author J. A. Rouquet in 1755.²⁹ Scholars identify amateurs as architects who might practice but not for money, and often question their proficiency in architectural drawing. Yet clear defining lines are difficult to come by.³⁰ Ambiguous responses toward these figures circulated in their own time: Lord Burlington, a major force in promoting Palladianism in early-eighteenth-century England, was reported to have “lessened himself” in certain aristocratic eyes “by knowing . . . too well” architecture’s “minute and mechanical parts.”³¹ The Grand Tour of Italy provided almost a natural common ground for traveling gentlemen and architects. (See Figure 2.) We have preserved in our database every architect who is identified in our sources as an amateur so as to let our data and visualizations speak for what might distinguish the tours of these gentleman architects.

The documented travels of the more famous architects reveal their investment in the Grand Tour of Italy. Like artists and antiquarians, they set out to gain explicit and specific knowledge from what they saw of Italy’s past and present. While ruins held significance for many tourists as reflections of the passing of time and bygone glories, for architects they were objects of intense study, to be understood and represented through careful measuring and drawing. This serious and demanding work granted architects a special role in the early history of archaeology: they were the ones who, before archaeology became its own discipline, often provided the first depictions and studies of ancient remains, be these new discoveries in Rome or Naples and beyond. It also afforded them a certain status among the Grand Tourists: the *Westmorland* cargo—which counted among its treasures many prints by the Italian visionary architect and artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi—shows us the architects’ particular value among travelers to Italy.³² For besides portraits of themselves and ancient (and modern) statues and paintings for their collections, wealthy Grand Tourists also sought pictures of the sites and drawings of the ruins that they visited, and these were most

²⁹ Jean André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London, 1755), 96.

³⁰ See Howard Colvin, “What We Mean by Amateur,” in Giles Worsley, ed., *The Role of the Amateur Architect: Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium 1993* (London, 1994), 4–6, who records eighty amateur British architects between 1680 and 1820, of whom eight were in holy orders, and other essays in the same collection; and also John Harris and Robert Hradsky, eds., *A Passion for Building: The Amateur Architect in England, 1650–1850* (London, 2007).

³¹ So wrote Lord Chesterfield in a letter of advice to his son quoted in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark, eds., *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life* (London, 1995), 132.

³² See Frank Salmon, “The *Westmorland* and Architecture,” in Sánchez-Jáuregui and Wilcox, *The English Prize*, 126–136; John Wilton Ely, “Piranesi and the Tourists,” *ibid.*, 137–143.



FIGURE 2: Nathaniel Dance, *A Conversation Piece in Rome*. Oil on canvas, ca. 1760. At left are James Grant of Castle Grant, future agriculturist and politician, and John Mytton, who visited Italy twice before turning thirty—both of whom would later be elected members of the Society of Dilettanti. At right are two other future Dilettanti, the Honorable Thomas Robinson and Thomas Wynn, the future 1st Baron Newborough—both of them amateur architects in our database. Robinson's interest in architecture is marked by the building drawing he holds in his lap; Dance, who made a copy of this portrait for each Grand Tourist in the group, was in Rome with his brother, the architect George Dance. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

expertly provided by architects. Architects were also commissioned to design objects such as mantelpieces—a central item of the flourishing eighteenth-century home-furnishings market, for which British architects in Rome drew direct inspiration from original classical motifs. With their unique ability to peer into the fabric of the ancient past—to reimagine, as if in living form, the past that lay behind the present ruins of ancient Italy—architects in Italy were often sought out as tutors and guides by other travelers, and forged relationships destined to influence their careers back in Britain.

But our data and visualizations add new granularity to this picture. To be sure, the amount that we know about these travelers is highly variable, for there is a wide discrepancy in documentation about their trips and their lives. Often this reflects the degree of their later fame, but at times it is simply a matter of the accidental survival of random traces. For instance, we have a wonderfully detailed and carefully curated archive for Soane, whose vast correspondence from his time in Italy makes it possible to follow his travels almost to the day (and this despite his having famously lost many of his materials on the way back). However, the same is true of Willey Reveley (1760–1799), a much less famous architect. For many others, all we have are scant traces.

LEEDS, May 22, 1787.

Mr. THOMAS JOHNSON, *Architect*,

BEGS Leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, That after having been under the Inspection of JAMES WYATT, Esq; of London, three Years, and having since resided at Rome, and seen all the principal Cities of Italy, with a View to Improvement in his Profession, joined to a Tour through France, humbly offers his Services in ARCHITECTURE, that Branch of Science being familiar to him.

His Wish is to give some Proof to his Employer, in uniting Taste with Oeconomy, and to join Elegance to Convenience.

FIGURE 3: Thomas Johnson's advertisement of his services as an architect. From "Advertisement and Notices," *Leeds Intelligencer*, June 5, 1787.

Sir William Chambers, whose own successful career, culminating in the design of Somerset House, started with a continental trip marked by a long stay in Rome, advised that "Traveling to an artist is, as the university to a man of letters, the last stage of a regular education."³³ But in our data we also have a much less famous figure, Thomas Johnson (ca. 1762–1814), a Leeds architect known today for only a few buildings in Yorkshire. If more prosaic, Johnson left us a no less significant testament to the value of Italian travel for British architects in the eighteenth century when, in 1787, he advertised his services in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, highlighting, among his credentials, that he had "resided at Rome, and seen all the principal Cities of Italy."³⁴ (See Figure 3.) What we want to draw out is the character of travel to Italy in a world that accommodated both Chambers and Johnson, and what it meant for British architects both in Italy and back in England. Each journey was unique, but by looking at all of them together, as our visualizations enable us to do, we begin to see meaningful aggregates, and to comprehend a larger, richer picture of architects on the Grand Tour.

When we look at the places our architects went during their travels, Rome dominates; indeed, it is almost as if a stay in Rome were prerequisite to becoming defined as an architect. (See the red bars in Figure 4.)³⁵ Almost all of them went to Rome, and as our timechart of travels shows, that is where they spent the most time. There they studied and socialized with other architects, both foreign and Italian (the name of Piranesi figures in as many as thirteen of the *Dictionary*'s entries for architects who

³³ William Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* (London, 1825), 103; referenced in Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 194–195.

³⁴ See "Advertisement and Notices," *Leeds Intelligencer* [Leeds, England], June 5, 1787; referenced in Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 560. Thanks to Rachel Midura for tracking down the original.

³⁵ Those who are reading this article in the print issue can view the timechart in color either in the online issue or at <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/timechart/>.

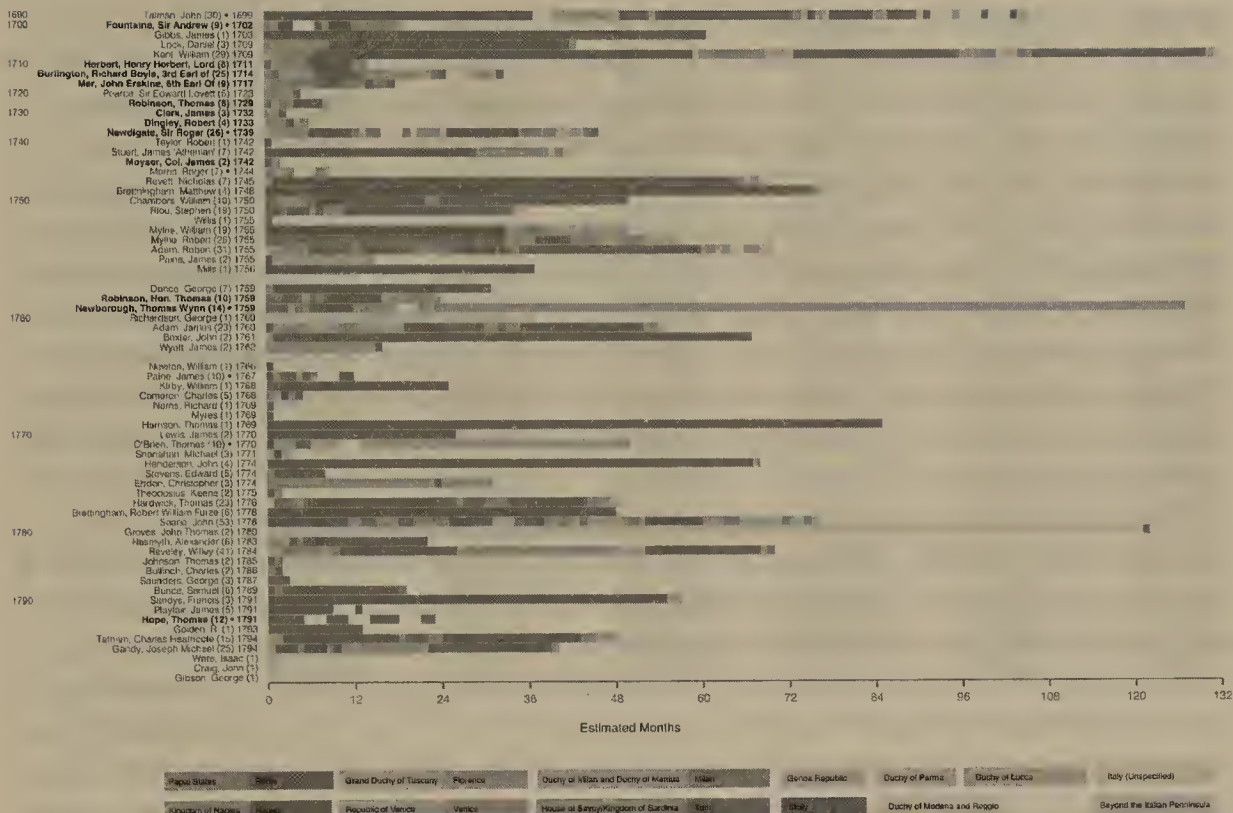


FIGURE 4: Timechart of our data for the architects' travels, showing the comparative lengths of stay in different Italian states, as well as how many places the individual architects visited, whether they took more than a tour of Italy, and the initial year of their travel. Note that the names of the amateurs are in bold and that the travels of the antiquarian, architect, and cicerone James Byres (1734–1817) and of Hadfield are blocked out here to better scale for viewing. For interactive visualization, data, and further explanation, see <http://republicoffletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/timechart/>.

traveled after 1750), as well as with possible patrons, mostly British.³⁶ A few married and had children while they were in Rome: Chambers's two daughters were born there after his 1753 marriage to Catherine More, and colorful stories of Reveley's 1788 shotgun wedding found their way into George Cumberland's correspondence. Many developed friendships there—a crucial aspect of the collaborative dimension of architectural training, even at the most basic level, such as holding the ladder for one another while measuring ruins and churches. Some developed rivalries: in the winter of 1762, Lord Strathmore tried in vain to contain a heated argument between a Mr. McKinlay and the abbé Grant, who disagreed over whether Robert Mylne (1733–1811) or Robert Adam was the better architect.³⁷ Some, such as Edward Stevens (ca. 1744–1775), died in Rome.

But other sites tell equally important stories about the Italian experience of our travelers. Whether an architect disembarked at the port city of Leghorn or crossed

³⁶ Piranesi is the Italian architect who appears most frequently in the *Dictionary* overall (in as many as eighty-nine entries). His inspiring and ambitious intellectual project aimed at achieving a Europe-wide reach, as argued most recently by Heather Hyde Minor, *Piranesi's Lost Words* (University Park, Pa., 2015), but grew out of the lively Italian eighteenth-century architectural world, especially in Rome, on which again Minor's work *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (University Park, Pa., 2010) gives great insight.

³⁷ See John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 295–296; for more on this, see Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 625, where “Mr. McKinlay” is identified as Dr. Robert Mackinlay.

the Alps into Piedmont, Florence (represented in orange in the timechart) seems to have been the most important stop on the way to Rome. Among Grand Tourists in general, travel to Florence increased during the eighteenth century, with a visit to the Uffizi Gallery a particular highlight. For architects specifically, the open-air museum that was Florence offered a crash course in Renaissance art history. It also became attractive for its Accademia del Disegno, which started granting membership to foreign *dilettanti* (arts devotees) and *professori* (practicing artists)—a sought-after mark of distinction for British travelers.³⁸ Robert Mylne had reached Italy by boat at Civitavecchia and spent most of his tour in Rome. Following his impressive victory in the architectural competition at the Roman Accademia di San Luca in September 1758, he stopped in Florence for a triumphant induction into its Accademia while on his way back to England.

The changing fortunes of other destinations speak to the ongoing ebb and flow of interest among British architects in Italy. Venice and the Veneto loom large earlier in the century (represented in green in the timechart), reflecting the vogue for Palladianism. Lord Burlington, who did so much to promote Palladianism in England, spent a large part of his Italian tour in the Veneto. So too did some of his friends and contemporaries, such as Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753). The one architect in our dataset who seems not to have been to Rome at all, Edward Lovett Pearce (1699–1733)—credited with establishing Palladianism in Ireland—traveled mainly between Florence and the Veneto during a nine-month tour straddling 1723 and 1724.³⁹ But our timechart also shows that architects' attraction to Venice and the Veneto long outlived the vogue for Palladianism, hinting at interesting variations within the received narrative of architecture's eighteenth-century development.⁴⁰ One of the most meticulous tours of the Veneto appears in the record of William Mylne (1734–1790), who traveled to Italy with his brother Robert but never attained the renown of his older sibling. While Robert prepared drawings for the Accademia di San Luca prize competition, William seemed rather to withdraw from his brother's imminent fame, traveling to the Veneto to complete some of the most accurate existing drawings of the sites there. Soane, too, made sure to visit Venice and the Veneto, as a sojourn from Rome and, once, when he cut his Grand Tour short to pursue career opportunities back in England.

But Soane's best-known travels were undertaken south of Rome, and these indicate another distinct wave of architectural interests. Naples had always been on the Grand Tour map—Lord Shaftesbury even retired there in 1711—but the city gained new eminence later in the century when it became the gateway for travel farther south (represented in blue in the timechart). For architects, the crucial event was the rediscovery of the three Greek temples of Paestum. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Paestum came to stand to a great extent for Greece, and the growing trend

³⁸ See Frank Salmon, "British Architects and the Florentine Academy, 1753–1794," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 34, no. 1–2 (1990): 199–214.

³⁹ For this extraordinary figure, whose short life was full of architectural accomplishments, however poorly documented their origins and inspirations, see Edward McParland, "Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for Architecture," in Barnard and Clark, *Lord Burlington*, 151–165, here 157–159.

⁴⁰ Crucial on this point is Frank Salmon, "'Heretical and Presumptuous': British Architects Visiting Palladio's Villas in the Later Georgian Period," in Dana Arnold, ed., *The Georgian Villa*, 2nd ed. (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1998), 61–74.

our timechart shows of travel south of Rome into the Kingdom of Naples, to Paestum, and then farther south to Sicily and Magna Graecia signals the emergence of the Greek Revival.⁴¹

Some of the less-visited destinations in our timechart contain particularly compelling stories. Seven of our sixty-nine architects traveled beyond Italy, to places such as Malta, Dalmatia, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey. (Their trips are marked in gray.) The first to do so were James Stuart (1713–1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804), who left for Greece in 1751. This was a momentous trip. In Athens the pair busied themselves measuring and drawing ancient monuments, resulting in the multivolume *The Antiquities of Athens*, which made visual representations of these sites widely available in modern Europe for the first time.⁴² In their illustrations, Stuart and Revett beautifully and accurately depicted the ruinous state of Athens's ancient monuments in modern settings while re-creating the original forms in architectural elevations and plans. This transformative publication was a major vehicle for the Greek Revival, which changed European private and public architecture, from facades to interior design. It also brought its authors renown, offering a template for architects to establish their reputations by making previously unknown ancient monuments visible to a growing, interested public.

Following upon the success of Stuart and Revett, one can almost see a geography, as it were, of opportunities for architectural publications in the exotic destinations of our timechart—whether these other projects were brought to fruition or not. Stephen Riou (1720–1780), who sailed to Greece from Naples in 1753, published *The Grecian Orders of Architecture, Delineated and Explained from the Antiquities of Athens* (1768), “modulating the orders from unquestionable originals”; Robert Adam presented the fruits of his 1757 Dalmatian travels in *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764), advertising it as “executed at considerable expence, the effect of great labor and perseverance,” containing “the only full and accurate Designs that have hitherto been published of any private Edifice of the Ancients.”⁴³ Not all the plans for publication were completed: Reveley, for example, died before publishing work based on his Greek travels. Those travels nevertheless earned him (as they had for Stuart) the appellation of “Athenian,” and the editorship of the third volume of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*.⁴⁴ In other cases, publication projects went unrealized because of an architect's professional success once back in England. Robert Mylne, for instance, fully absorbed by his thriving career, never published his mea-

⁴¹ On Paestum and the Greek Revival in architecture, see Joselita Raspi Serra, ed., *Paestum and the Doric Revival, 1750–1830: Essential Outlines of an Approach* (Florence, 1986); John Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum and Soane* (London, 2002); and Giovanna Ceserani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology* (New York, 2012), 60–68.

⁴² See Bruce Redford, “The Measure of Ruins: Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750–1770,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 13, no. 1 (2002): 15–36; Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles, 2008), 52–82; Susan Weber Soros, ed., *James ‘Athenian’ Stuart, 1713–1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn., 2010), especially 141–149.

⁴³ Stephen Riou, *The Grecian Orders of Architecture, Delineated and Explained from the Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1768), Preface; Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London, 1764), 4.

⁴⁴ Frank Salmon has recovered from unpublished manuscripts the scope of Reveley's studies and drawings; see Salmon, “The Forgotten ‘Athenian’: Drawings by Willey Reveley,” in *Windows on That World: Essays on British Art Presented to Brian Allen* (London, 2012), 144–181.

surements and drawings of Sicily, though his sketches and notes provided material for some of the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann's most influential writings on ancient Greek architecture.⁴⁵

These distant travels, as seen in our visualizations, also tell us how deeply indebted discoveries "beyond Italy" were to the established patterns of the Italian Grand Tour. Stuart and Revett, for example, met in Rome, and during their more than six years in Italy, they outlined their project and secured sponsorship for travel to Greece; their election to the London-based Society of Dilettanti, their sponsor, took place in their absence.⁴⁶ The main-line Grand Tour similarly figured in most other architectural expeditions beyond Italy in the eighteenth century, serving both as a critical jumping-off point and as a breeding ground for much important exploration planning. Take the case of Robert Wood (1717?–1771). This antiquarian, explorer, and (later) politician is known mostly for his beautiful illustrated folios of exotic faraway sites, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec* (1757), for the measuring and drawing of which he brought along the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Borra (1713–1770). On his way back from these eastern travels, Wood met Stuart and Revett in Athens in 1751 and became a great supporter of their work, while his wealthy traveling companion, Mr. Dawkins, offered the material support necessary for completing their project in Athens.⁴⁷ Back in Rome, Wood discussed at length possible destinations for publication expeditions with Robert Adam, who eventually settled on the palace of Diocletian in Spalato. Wood's own exotic travel grew out of his Grand Tour experiences: he spent most of his twenties and thirties in Italy, as a secretary or tutor to British aristocrats; as early as 1738 he was listed among the visiting students at the University of Padua, and from Venice he undertook his first exploratory trips east. Similarly, James Bruce, the famous explorer of Africa, was influenced by his time in Italy. He spent a year there on the way to pick up his consulship in Algiers in 1763, during which time he all but completed an illustrated book on Paestum. He also tried unsuccessfully to hire George Dance (1741–1825), one of the architects in our dataset, as the draftsman for his planned African publication. (Dance may have been wise to refuse: the Italian architect Luigi Balugani, who followed Bruce, died in Abyssinia eight years later.)

Another relationship to emerge in revealing ways from our timechart is that between Rome and other sites. To an extent, the varied and colorful bars representing our travelers' journeys simply reflect the survival of records or the level of detail in travel documentation. Robert Adam, Soane, and Reveley, for example, kept punctilious and precise records of their travels, while Dance, the Mylne brothers, and Joseph Michael Gandy (1771–1843) wrote numerous letters home. But other variations in travel patterns are also apparent: Soane, Robert Adam, Reveley, Dance, and Gandy spent most of their time in Rome, while travelers such as Lord Burlington, Sir Fontaine, and Lord Henry Herbert, the 9th Earl of Pembroke (ca. 1689–1750), with bars that are every bit as colorful, undertook visits to Rome that were not significantly longer than their other stops. What one sees here is how the amateurs' travels—repre-

⁴⁵ See Michele Cometa, *Duplicità del classico: Il mito del tempio di Giove Olimpico da Winckelmann a Leo von Klenze* (Palermo, 1993).

⁴⁶ James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated*, 4 vols. (London, 1762–1794), 1: v. On the Society of Dilettanti, see most recently Redford, *Dilettanti*, and Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti*.

⁴⁷ Redford, *Dilettanti*, 50–55.

sented by multicolored bars and often including multiple tours—correspond to the typical aristocratic Grand Tour, itself quite different from architects' travels, which typically feature long-term stays in Rome to study architectural drawing. We are also reminded, though, of how the world of the architects often overlapped with that of the amateurs and their peers on the Grand Tour. After all, architects, too, desired to go beyond Rome, and often to pursue original publications; opportunities to do so at times came by way of wealthier tourists. Lord Burlington traveled with a full train that included architects; Reveley's trip to southern Italy and beyond was sponsored by Sir Richard Worsley, who hired him as a draftsman; and Soane completed much of his travel beyond Rome by hitching a ride as travel companion to the Bishop of Derry.

Our visualizations of their travels in Italy catch most of our architects in their mid-twenties. Soane, who was twenty-five when he arrived in Rome, nostalgically referred to his stay in Italy as the "gay moment of youth."⁴⁸ It was a time of expectations, and busy work to build future prospects, but with no certainty of outcome. In Rome, in the mid-1750s, Robert Adam's ambition was evident, but his future success was no guarantee. So it was for Soane in the late 1770s, and for many others. The great professional potential inherent in Italian travel was far from realized equally: for all those who became successful architects, there were others who died before they could make their mark, and some who moved on to other professions, or did not work hard enough, or lacked the talent or the good luck needed for success.

Our data on architects' lives before and after the Grand Tour allows us to more fully understand the meaning of their Italian experiences. This data is rendered in graph visualizations, which let us appreciate individual trajectories and peculiarities while observing trends and aggregates. For more than half of our architects, we know something about their education before they set off for Italy. (See the Graph of Education in Figure 5.) Only a small number of them attended universities. The handful of aristocrats and gentlemen from Cambridge and Oxford were all amateur architects, with the sole exception of Daniel Lock, who was admitted to the Master of Arts during his time at Trinity College in Cambridge. Enrollment at other universities reflected social status or national and religious identity or both: some Scotsmen attended the University of Edinburgh (Robert Adam), or Leiden on the Continent, or both (Lord Mar, 1675–1732); and the one Bostonian, Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844), attended Harvard. Riou's study at the University of Geneva in 1743 was in line with his unique trajectory: he enrolled there after a stint in the military, and on the basis of these studies he published his first book, *The Elements of Fortification* (1746). But as this work was almost immediately superseded by a similar one by a professor at the Royal Military Academy, Riou sought the tour of Italy as a new venture, which, as he then traveled further to Greece, led to his successful publication on the Greek architectural orders.

The majority of our traveling architects (excluding the amateurs) obtained their architectural education prior to the Grand Tour by working in the studios of established architects or by attending one of the emerging art schools. In the course of the eighteenth century, the long-existing practice of training with an older, established artist became increasingly formalized; Sir Robert Taylor (1714–1788) was the first to

⁴⁸ Soane, *Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect*, 12.



FIGURE 5: Graph of Education, showing what we know about how architects were educated before their travel to Italy: whether they attended Cambridge, Oxford, one of the Inns of Court in London, another university, or one of the emerging art schools, or whether they trained with an individual. Note that for some architects more than one such case applies, and for others we have no information at all. The nodes of the amateur architects are in bold. For interactive visualization, data, and further explanation, see <http://republicoffletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/education/>.

have pupils as “articled clerks” with whom he drew up a precise contract.⁴⁹ Such ties seem at times to have reinforced emphasis on the Grand Tour, as many traveled to Italy after serving apprenticeships with architects who had themselves been on the Grand Tour, and who advocated for its importance in the formation of an architect’s skills and taste. This was the case for, among others, Johnson, Samuel Bunce (1765?–1802), and Gandy, who worked with James Wyatt before their travels; Thomas Hardwick (1723–1829) and Reveley, whose mentor had been Chambers; and Soane, who before his departure apprenticed with George Dance.

The Graph of Education also reflects the emergence of specialized art schools in the eighteenth century. We find, for example, the St. Martin’s Lane Academy, which offered evening classes in drawing and was led by William Hogarth from 1753 until his death in 1764, as well as the first Scottish art school, the Trustees Drawing Academy of Edinburgh, established in 1760 for the improvement of industrial design. We also see how before reaching Italy, Chambers and William Mylne attended the École des Arts in Paris, a private school established in 1742 by the French architect Jacques-François Blondel. (It closed in 1762 when he became a professor at the newly established Académie royale d’architecture and took his novel teaching method there with him.) The state-supported art academies in France had long been envied by British artists: the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, which dated back to 1648, began sponsoring the Prix de Rome in 1666, which sent the most promising art students to reside and study in Rome for three years. The story of the short-lived English Academy for Artists in Rome is telling. The Earl of Charlemont privately sponsored this academy for visiting British artists, with the painter John Parker as its director in

⁴⁹ Howard Colvin, “The Practice of Architecture, 1600–1840,” in Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 15–37, here 27.



FIGURE 6: Graph of Funding, showing what we know about how architects funded their travels to Italy: whether they were sponsored by individuals, held a fellowship, were sent by families who were already active in the architectural business, sought commissioned work once in Rome, or relied on their own wealth. Note that for some architects more than one such case applies, and for others we have no information at all. The nodes of the amateur architects are in bold. For interactive visualization, data, and further explanation, go to <http://republicoffletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/funding/>.

1752. It did not last long, though, as Charlemont closed it down in 1755, when Parker himself complained that it had become “an asylum for artistic scamps.”⁵⁰ Its ephemerality notwithstanding, this initiative shows that the need was felt, and the significance was attributable to Rome. The British Royal Academy schools were finally established in 1768, and the St. Martin’s Lane Academy closed in 1771, when its director was appointed keeper of the Royal Academy. As our graph shows, many of our architects attended the Royal Academy schools, which confirmed the educational importance of the Grand Tour by offering their own version of the Prix de Rome. Yet, before the close of the century, only two architects—Soane and George Hadfield (1764–1826)—were awarded this prize and traveled to Italy under this academy’s sponsorship.

How did the rest of our architects make their way to Italy? (See the Graph of Funding in Figure 6.) All of the amateurs for whom we have this information traveled in the manner of gentlemen, financing their tours with their own wealth. Some of the practicing architects also traveled with their own funds, whether because they came from wealthy families (Revett, Pearce, and the Bostonian Bulfinch, sent by his physician father and mentored in Europe by Thomas Jefferson) or because they had turned to architecture after earning money in a different profession (Chambers and Riou). There were also a few who traveled as already established architects (such as Roger Morris [1695–1749]), or who were sent by their family to study law or divinity but then switched to architecture once they were in Italy (James Gibbs, for example). The vast majority of the traveling architects, however, undertook the Grand Tour with support from private sponsors, or with funding from their families’ architectural business or their own work commissions gained once in Italy. Often they had to combine multiple

⁵⁰ See Ellis K. Waterhouse, “The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical Style in Painting,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954): 57–74, here 66.

sources of income in order to make ends meet; even some of those who were independently wealthy occasionally sought commissioned work in Italy.

In the graph we can see how promising young men were sent by solicitous patrons to study architecture in Italy with the idea that upon their return, they could be employed to improve the buildings on their benefactors' estates. William Kent, for example, who was a poor young man in 1709, traveled thanks to a consortium of Yorkshire gentlemen. In 1761 John Baxter (ca. 1737–1798), whose father was the builder of Penicuik House, was sponsored by Sir James Clerk of Penicuik, who also sent John's brother Alexander to study as a painter; and in 1769 Thomas Harrison (1744–1829) was sent by Sir Thomas Dundas of Aske, in whose house Harrison's father had worked as a joiner. This type of private sponsorship continued throughout the century, well after the traveling scholarship from the Royal Academy was established. Alexander Nasmyth, for one, traveled on a subsidy from Patrick Miller of Dalswinton in 1783, and as late as 1796 Joseph Gandy went to Italy under the patronage of his father's employer. Architects at times sponsored others: Henry Holland (1745–1806) did not travel to Italy himself, but he financed the journeys of two of his students, Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772–1842) and Christopher Ebdon (1744–1824), in order to secure access to antiquities and drawings. His role as their teacher allowed him the vicarious enjoyment of certain benefits (new skills, sketches, collectible objects) derived from their Grand Tours.

Other architects spent family money to go to Italy. This, though, was a rather different type and scale of investment from the gentlemanly expenditures of amateurs, who, like aristocratic Grand Tourists, sought to gain by their Italian travels the status of "citizens of the world." The families of aspiring architects invested in the Grand Tour to attain a specific goal: the acquisition of architectural knowledge, skills, and prestige. The craft of architecture often ran deep in these families, with grandparents who had been masons; and as the family business became better established in the expanding world of eighteenth-century architectural construction, financing the younger generation's tours seemed a worthwhile investment. This was the case with the Adam and Mylne brothers, whose genealogies reflect a common pattern (notwithstanding the difference in the size of their travel allowances, with the Adams enjoying ten times the amount of the Mylnes). Taylor was sent by his architect father, who gave him "just money enough to travel on a plan of frugal study to Rome."⁵¹ John Henderson (d. 1786) was also sent by his father, a mason and architect in Sauchie, Scotland; and so was Dance at the age of seventeen. There are fifteen such cases shown in our graph of funding, representing stories of aspiration and upward mobility, in which fathers—architects who had never traveled to Italy—sought to realize the promise of the Grand Tour's opportunities through their children.⁵²

Once in Rome, most of these aspiring architects worked hard at studying and drawing. But they also sought commissioned work. Whether designing mantelpieces

⁵¹ "Additions to, and Corrections in, Our Last Month's Obituary," *Gentleman's Magazine* 64 (1788): 929–931, here 930.

⁵² A different dynamic is that between the two James Paines. The father (1717–1789) took the trip when he was already established as an architect, and with a very critical eye for those who, in Italy, merely imbibed "a blind veneration for inconsistent antiquated modes" (Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 731). His son (1745–1829) went as soon as he received an inheritance from his mother, and this contributed to the long-lasting rift with his father.

or whole houses to be built back in Britain, architects in Rome were busy networking with wealthy Grand Tourists—at times also acting as their teachers, cicerones, art dealers, or personal draftsmen. This activity represented an important means of support. It is all we know about how Gibbs survived in Rome for the many years of his stay; and Dance supported himself in this manner when he stopped receiving an allowance from his family because of a breakdown in communication. But architectural commissions could provide more than a short-term income in Rome—a fact that explains why even those who were sent and funded by supportive patrons would seek them. Commissions offered networking opportunities that could be a crucial and fundamental step toward establishing oneself as an architect back in Britain. A young architect, Robert Furze Brettingham (ca.1755–1820), was criticized for making “little use of the potential patrons he met abroad.”⁵³ Soane, ambitious but financially insecure, abandoned his well-laid schemes for academic distinction, such as the plan to participate in the prize competition at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Parma, and interrupted his traveling scholarship in order to accompany his powerful patron, the Bishop of Derry, on his travels—thus laying the groundwork for employment back in Britain.

By graphing the architects' affiliations with societies and academies, we are able to trace the distinctiveness of the amateurs, as well as the persisting influence of Italian experiences once travelers returned home. (See Figure 7.) All the amateurs for whom we have such information were members of learned societies: the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries (est. 1717)—both in the case of Lord Burlington—and the Society of Dilettanti, which was founded in London in 1734 as a dining club for Grand Tourists, but later in the century sponsored major archaeological expeditions. None of the amateurs belonged to the artistic societies in which most of our architects exhibited their designs and sought community and sponsorship. These associations were, for a long time, fledgling, fragile, and prone to division.⁵⁴ The first to be established was the Society of Artists, which began to sponsor yearly exhibits in 1760. Because of infighting, however, a year later a second organization, the Free Society of Artists, was founded. Tensions nevertheless continued. The Royal Academy, established in 1768, was, it has been said, “the unintended consequence of rifts within the artistic community.”⁵⁵ Architects were major characters in this story (the most divisive arguments occurred between James Paine Sr., president of the Society of Artists, and Chambers, who was instrumental in the establishment of the Royal Academy), but they remained a minority in the Royal Academy—only five out of the thirty-six original Academicians were architects. A first attempt to redress this imbalance was the short-lived Architects Club (established in 1792); only much later, in 1834, was the architects' yearning for their own institution resolved with the funding of the Royal Institute of British Architects.⁵⁶

While none of the amateurs were associated with Italian academies, this was the second most common association for the rest of our architects.⁵⁷ We see in our graph the Accademia del Disegno, founded in Florence in 1563, and the Accademia di San

⁵³ Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, 123.

⁵⁴ For a succinct but poignant version of this complicated history, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997), 167–240.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁵⁶ Colvin, “The Practice of Architecture,” 28–36.

⁵⁷ See Salmon, “British Architects and the Florentine Academy.”



FIGURE 7: Graph of Societies and Academies, showing what we know about architects' affiliations with British artists' associations, British learned societies, Italian societies, or other foreign societies. Note that for some architects more than one such case applies, and for others we have no information at all. The nodes of the amateur architects are in bold. For interactive visualization, data, and further explanation, go to <http://republicoffletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/societies/>.

Luca, founded in Rome in 1577, which were joined in the eighteenth century by the Accademia Clementina in Bologna (1711) and the Accademia di Belle Arti in Parma (1757). Most of our architects took classes and participated in prize competitions at the Accademia in Rome, but some sought membership and participated in competitions in other cities, too. This was a mark of distinction, as Mylne's accumulation of academy memberships in Florence and Bologna after his victory in Rome shows; and the Architects Club made this prestige official by requiring its members to hold membership in at least one of the Italian academies. Again we see how the Italian experience was tightly linked to the evolving institutional models for architecture in Britain.

What we know about the employments and appointments of our architects draws a stark distinction between the amateurs and the emerging professionals, but also demonstrates for the latter the growing possibility of garnering high social status over the course of the century. In the graph in Figure 8, the amateurs are exclusively identified as Members of Parliament, knights, or army officers. The majority of the other architects instead sought and gained posts in public offices as surveyors. The primary employer was the Office of Royal Works, which, it has been said, functioned in eighteenth-century England almost as an academy, setting trends and training younger individuals in the practice and the styles of the profession. But a myriad of other such offices also offered architectural positions.⁵⁸ While none of these public office ap-

⁵⁸ Colvin, "The Practice of Architecture," 26–27.



FIGURE 8: Graph of Employments and Appointments for architects after their Grand Tours, showing whether they were knighted, became MPs, held military appointments, or were appointed to some architectural office. Note that for some architects more than one such case applies, and for others we have no information at all. The nodes of the amateur architects are in bold. For interactive visualization, data, and further explanation, go to <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/publications/grandtour/employments/>.

pointments covered all of the architects' professional and economic needs, they did confer a certain amount of prestige, and they lent a degree of economic security that could make it possible to launch a private practice. Moreover, the overlap between the different groups in Figure 8 shows the growing prestige and recognition granted to architects: Chambers, Taylor, and Soane were all knighted, and Robert Adam even became a Member of Parliament.⁵⁹

NOT EVERYONE WHO WENT on the Grand Tour became a successful architect, but almost every successful British architect of the eighteenth century had been on the Grand Tour. It was a crucial educational experience—almost an accreditation. With buildings in Britain being designed and constructed in a variety of styles referencing the classical past, the ancient ruins of Italy were “speaking” (to use Giovanni Battista Piranesi’s own words) in powerful ways to those who would listen. Young aspiring British architects gathered to draw and study these ancient remains: just outside of

⁵⁹ Pearce is the glaring exception to these distinctions, with his connections to all the different categories in our graph. He was an MP, he was knighted, he was active in the military, and he was an official surveyor—all this before his early death at the age of thirty-four. Pearce’s case speaks to the Irish situation in the early eighteenth century as much as to his personal life, which is, however, not very well documented.

Rome, the ruined walls of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli still carry the graffiti signatures of Robert Adam and many others, less known but no less dedicated, who camped there for multiple-day drawing expeditions.⁶⁰ Our digitizing and visualizing approach aims to capture something of the spirit of these graffiti at Tivoli, with a scope that extends beyond the most famous names, and an appreciation for what is known of the travels of these sixty-nine architects, augmented by what we know about their lives beyond the Grand Tour.

Our visualizations of their movements evidence lengthy stays in Rome for professional architects, and show the persistent centrality of Rome as the main point of reference for even the most exotic architectural expeditions. They also show how fluctuations in travel patterns aligned with stylistic and aesthetic trends (the Veneto for Palladianism, southward and exotic destinations beyond Italy for neoclassicism and the Greek Revival), and they point to a relationship between the planning of travel to faraway destinations and the planning of book publications based on these travels. Finally, our visualizations allow us to differentiate the travel patterns of amateurs from those of nascent professionals.

The biographical details in our data convey a collective story of the changing practice of architecture in the eighteenth century. We see that the importance of the Grand Tour in British architects' lives was keyed in part to the weakness of the institutional structure for the arts in eighteenth-century Britain.⁶¹ For architects in Britain, there was no clear course of study, no centralized academy or institute. This made time spent drawing and studying in Italy all the more valuable. As our analyses show, in Rome it was a matter not just of studying from original models, but also of learning the practices and skills associated with the architectural profession: exhibiting and sharing one's work, participating in prize competitions and in the traditions of Italian artistic societies, and cultivating a social network of both Italian masters and British Grand Tourists—the latter of whom were potential future patrons. The lack of architectural institutions in Britain has long been used to explain the peculiar abundance of amateurs in the eighteenth-century history of British architecture—most of whom, as wealthy aristocrats and gentlemen, went on the Grand Tour. Our study shows that in this liminal world between England and Italy created by the collective enterprise of the Grand Tour, amateurs and emerging professionals were tightly linked in the making of modern British architecture.

As we have told this story, some of the most famous figures from among our sixty-nine architects have appeared often, while other names are not even mentioned in our text. But through the data and its visualizations, all of them remain part of the picture. Soane's writings, so often mined for insights about the professionalization of architecture, we cannot help but read now against the thicker canvas woven out of our set of sixty-nine architects. He indeed wrote that by virtue of travel to Italy he had "formed those connections to which I owe all the advantages I have since enjoyed," and we see this dynamic all but confirmed in our data.⁶² Once he returned to London, Soane worked tirelessly to build his practice and to cultivate a distinct style, all the

⁶⁰ Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 146–154.

⁶¹ For this predicament and its consequence for British cultural history see Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.

⁶² Soane, *Memoirs of the Professional Life of an Architect*, 12.

while writing, teaching, and incessantly advocating for the recognition of architecture as a distinct professional field. When the Royal Institute of British Architects was finally established in 1834, Soane was the first to be offered its directorship.⁶³ Long in the making, this new institute was partly the result of the heightened status of architects (by then Soane, along with Taylor and Chambers, had been knighted), and partly the result of support from MPs who had been on the Grand Tour themselves. By the 1830s, the Grand Tour of the previous century was on its way out, eclipsed by the rise of mass tourism, but for architects it was also made obsolete by the emergence of institutions that it had helped to create.

Our digital and visual approach to the architects on the Grand Tour looks for aggregates and patterns, but not in merely quantitative terms. While we did not extend our research on individuals through archival resources, our model would accommodate such added knowledge. For it is precisely in the stories of individuals—whether now forgotten or remembered as more or less successful—that the significance of the Grand Tour for British architects, and the transformation of the Grand Tour throughout the eighteenth century, is best captured. Our approach has been to focus on the Grand Tour as a collective enterprise while making frequent use of the micro-perspectives of individual travelers. We used our visualizations to understand a category of travelers that evolved dynamically as a group over several generations.

This approach might usefully be applied to other subsets of British travelers to Italy—in fact, this is a major objective of the digitization of Ingamells's *Dictionary*. Our chosen case study on architects brings together art history, architecture, the process of professionalization, the formalization of educational institutions, the intersections of British and Italian culture, and the rediscovery of antiquity, among other things, to enable us to see the various ways these early modern phenomena acted upon and reacted to one another. But one could well explore other aggregate terms. Even if our data does not allow us to follow each individual at every single juncture or even to know all of the people who traveled, we believe we are now more attuned to the Grand Tour as a series of intersecting journeys whose details are best understood together. We hope that this work will inspire further investigations into the complex world of the Grand Tour, other subsets of Grand Tourists, and the intersecting lives of the tour's participants.

We also hope that our project will have meaning beyond the world of Grand Tour studies. Our approach might serve as an example of how to create and work with a digital prosopographical database. Indeed, we have already had exchanges with historical enterprises from different places and times, such as the monumental digital database of the enslaved people of George Washington's plantation, which is being created by a team of volunteer researchers who are working with the staff of the Mount Vernon archives.⁶⁴ We can also offer a model of how to give new life to many of the wonderfully prosopographical works of reference that were left to us by previous generations and are at risk of extinction in the current publishing climate. A project such as ours

⁶³ A most detailed and insightful account of the story of the founding of this institution is in Frank Salmon, "British Architects, Italian Fine Arts Academies and the Foundation of the RIBA, 1816–43," *Architectural History* 39 (1996): 77–113. In our project we see some of the dynamics highlighted by Salmon for the early nineteenth century already at work in the eighteenth century.

⁶⁴ You can see and explore this digital project at <http://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/slavery-database/>.

also contributes to an important ongoing conversation about data-driven approaches by making clear that data is never simply given to us by the formidable technological resources that are becoming available. As Lara Putnam has recently written in these pages, technology is not destiny.⁶⁵ Rather, it is urgent to bring sustained and reflective scholarly reflections to the ways in which data comes to us, as we work and think through the evidentiary problems posed by digital resources. These resources present genuine opportunities for thinking about how we do history, about the questions we ask and the stories we choose to tell—but this promise can be fulfilled only if historians take an active, participatory role by bringing their expertise to bear on the new technology.

⁶⁵ Lara Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,” *American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (April 2016): 377–402, here 401.

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Reading the Grand Tour at a Distance: Archives and Datasets in Digital History

JASON M. KELLY

GIOVANNA CESERANI HAS MADE important contributions to the history and historiography of the Grand Tour through her publications, most notably her 2012 work on the archaeology of Magna Græcia during the eighteenth century.¹ In her new work, part of the larger Mapping the Republic of Letters project at Stanford University, she focuses on using large datasets to map the social networks of the Grand Tour in Italy. In the case studies that make up Mapping the Republic of Letters, the research teams rely on standardized datasets, which are more easily extracted and developed from reference works such as biographical dictionaries, editions of correspondence, or digital indexes. In this case, the primary dataset is *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travelers in Italy, 1701–1800* (DBIT), supplemented with information from the 4th edition of Howard Colvin's *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*.² The work that Ceserani and her colleagues are doing, which they detail in the preceding article in this forum, provides a way to focus our thinking about the limits and potentials of digital history, especially as they relate to the archive, the construction of datasets, and data analysis.³

The history of the Grand Tour has a relatively recent provenance. It began drawing the interest of art and architectural historians only in the 1950s.⁴ In the 1990s, the

¹ Giovanna Ceserani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology* (Oxford, 2012).

² John Ingamells, comp., *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1997); Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 4th ed. (New Haven, Conn., 2008).

³ Giovanna Ceserani, Giorgio Caviglia, Nicole Coleman, Thea De Armond, Sarah Murray, and Molly Taylor-Poleskey, "British Travelers in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Grand Tour and the Profession of Architecture," this issue.

⁴ Before the 1950s, there were few works concerned with the Grand Tour as a focus for research. Exceptions included William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1914); E. M. Hutton, "The Grand Tour in Italy: In the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1937); R. S. Lambert, ed., *Grand Tour: A Journey in the Tracks of the Age of Aristocracy* (New York, 1937); Constantia Maxwell, *The English Traveller in France, 1698–1815* (London, 1932). By the 1950s, a series of articles and books represented the interest in eighteenth-century travelers, their collections, and the world of settecento Italy: Paul Franklin Kirby, *The Grand Tour in Italy, 1700–1800* (New York, 1952); John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New York, 1952); James Boswell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica,*

“cultural turn” in historical research led to an interdisciplinary explosion of works on the topic.⁵ This was complemented by new developments in art historiography and the installation of a series of high-profile exhibitions.⁶ Research produced by scholars across the disciplines since then has shown that the Grand Tour was an important element of the eighteenth-century world of letters.⁷ For example, the literary and artistic discussions of the Greek-Roman debate in the 1740s–1760s embodied deeply philosophical arguments over human nature, sensibility, the history of art, scientific methodology, and the order of the natural world.⁸ Not only did the world of Grand Tour letters play a role in broader philosophical discussions, but it also influenced tastes,

and France, 1765–1766 (London, 1955); C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957); Charles F. Mullett, “Englishmen Discover Herculaneum and Pompeii,” *Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (1957): 31–38; Brinsley Ford, “Italy and the Grand Tour at Norwich,” *The Burlington Magazine* 100, no. 666 (1958): 316–319.

⁵ Representative works include Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (e-book ed., London, 2014); Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690–1820* (Cambridge, 2012); Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds., *Italy’s Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, Calif., 2009); Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles, 2008); Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Burlington, Vt., 2008); Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); John Eglin, *Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660–1797* (New York, 2001); *Viewing Antiquity: The Grand Tour, Antiquarianism and Collecting*, Special Issue, *Ricerche di Storia dell’arte* 72 (2000); Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Burlington, Vt., 2000); Clare Hornsby, *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond* (London, 2000); Shearer West, ed., *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1999); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester, 1999); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996); Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., 1996); Jason M. Kelly, “Letters from a Young Painter Abroad: James Russel in Rome, 1747–63,” *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 74 (2012): 61–164; David Ryley Marshall, Susan May Russell, and Karin Elizabeth Wolfe, eds., *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (London, 2011).

⁶ Particularly influential were *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (Tate Gallery, London, and Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1996) and *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and His Collection* (British Museum, London, 1997). Other representative exhibitions included *The Italian Grand Tour in Letters, Journals, Books, and Prints* (Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn., 1998); *Art Treasures in the North: Northern Families on the Grand Tour* (Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1999–2000); *D’après l’Antique* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2000–2001); and *Naples and Vesuvius on the Grand Tour, Rome on the Grand Tour, and Drawing Italy in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Getty Research Institute Exhibition Gallery, Los Angeles, 2002).

⁷ See, for example, Esther Mijers, “*News from the Republic of Letters*”: *Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650–1750* (Leiden, 2012); Willem Frijhoff, “Éducation, savoir, compétence: Les transformations du Grand Tour dans les Provinces-Unies à l’époque moderne,” in Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini, eds., *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005), 609–635; Tamara Anne Griggs, “The Changing Face of Erudition: Antiquaries in the Age of the Grand Tour” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003).

⁸ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity* (Los Angeles, 2006); Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette: With Opinions on Architecture, and a Preface to a New Treatise on the Introduction and Progress of the Fine Arts in Europe in Ancient Times*, trans. Caroline Beamish and David Britt (Los Angeles, 2002); Piranesi, *The Polemical Works, Rome, 1757, 1761, 1765, 1769*, ed. John Wilton-Ely (Farnborough, Hants., 1972); Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History* (New York, 2011); Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti*; Mario Bevilacqua, Heather Hyde Minor, and Fabio Barry, eds., *The Serpent and the Stylus: Essays on G. B. Piranesi* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2007); John A. Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2012); Lola Kantor-Kazovsky, *Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of His Intellectual World* (Florence, 2006); Susan Dixon, “The Sources and Fortunes of Piranesi’s Archaeological Illustrations,” *Art History* 25, no. 4 (2002): 469–487.

fashions, and aesthetic attitudes for elites across Europe.⁹ Moreover, participation in the Grand Tour shaped and reshaped social structures and expectations across a host of realms—from the world of sociability to gender norms to nationalist attitudes.

Since it was a social and intellectual experience that influenced generations of scholars, politicians, and well-to-do elites—one that instituted cultural connections across borders and large distances—research on the Grand Tour necessarily intersects with recent debates over the nature of the Enlightenment (or Enlightenments, depending on one's preferred interpretation). For the most part, however, the two historiographies have tended to follow separate paths. By bringing them together under the umbrella of the Mapping the Republic of Letters project, the Grand Tour Project has the potential to yield significant insights into the nature of the Enlightenment as an “intellectual project,” as a cluster of social phenomena, as a territory for self-fashioning, and as a spatial construction.

In the sample presented in their article in this forum, Ceserani and her colleagues have built a case study around several dozen British architects. The data on architects who traveled to Italy during the eighteenth century is comparatively rich.¹⁰ Many of these men traveled with hopes of using the experience to improve their status in the profession and to find potential patrons. Because of their professional interests, most of these individuals were distinct from the average tourists, who were generally elites who used the opportunity to build their social networks and cultural capital.

The Grand Tour Project team has used the *DBIT* dataset to provide two types of pictures. First, they offer a visualization of where architects visited or lived while they were in Italy. Rather than display this as a GIS visualization, they offer a quantitative presentation, showing the comparative lengths of stay at any one location. The second series of visualizations consists of network analysis maps, focused on a number of social indicators: training and education, mode of income, membership in societies and academies, and governmental positions and honors. Ceserani et al. rightly observe that while there have been studies of individual architects on the Grand Tour—for example, the recent exhibitions at and accompanying volumes produced by the Victoria and Albert Museum and Bard Graduate Center on William Kent, James Stuart, and Thomas Hope—there has never been a comprehensive study of the social lives of British and Irish architects and their experiences on the Continent.¹¹ Using the tools of the digital humanities, the team seeks to build a framework for this larger history.

Their method is a type of “distant reading,” an approach most often associated with literary studies, and especially with the work of Franco Moretti, who coined the

⁹ On the reception of the Grand Tour, see Philip J. Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1997); Jonathan Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Chicago, 2006); Victoria C. Gardner Coates and Jon L. Seydl, *Antiquity Recovered: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Los Angeles, 2007).

¹⁰ They often kept journals and sketchbooks, and took commissions from wealthy travelers. As they attempted to build their careers in Italy, many were successful in attaching themselves to wealthy circles. As a result, their activities were recorded in the letters of patrons and their friends. And when they returned to Britain and Ireland, they were keen to advertise their experience through exhibitions, books, and the periodical press.

¹¹ Susan Weber Soros, ed., *James “Athenian” Stuart, 1713–1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); David Watkin and Philip Hewat-Jaboor, eds., *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer* (New Haven, Conn., 2008); Susan Weber, ed., *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven, Conn., 2013).

concept.¹² Moretti notes that “distant reading” is “a process of deliberate reduction and abstraction.”¹³ Using a suite of computer-aided algorithms, it reduces the noise in a dataset for the purpose of identifying larger patterns. According to Moretti, these patterns are “a specific form of knowledge” that serves a complementary function to close reading. As Moretti’s work has demonstrated, the practice of distant reading can potentially identify new questions and problematize historical assumptions.

However, it is important to note that using computer programs to analyze data can also reaffirm our assumptions and expectations. As the field of critical code studies has demonstrated, the process of framing questions and writing algorithms to answer them is not a neutral act.¹⁴ Algorithms can and do embody and reinscribe hierarchies of class, race, and gender. In the case of the *DBIT*, this potential is particularly acute given the nature of the dataset. Historicizing it and the intellectual framework from which it emerged provides insights into both the limits and the potentials of digital datasets for historical analysis.

THE ORIGINS OF THE *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy* can be traced to the early 1950s. It was originally the project of Sir Brinsley Ford, a wealthy young collector who had served in MI9 during World War II. While examining the backgrounds of the artworks in his collection, he developed an interest in the history of British collecting and began compiling an archive on eighteenth-century British and Irish travelers to Italy.¹⁵ He intended it to become a reference work, but for decades the projected volume remained unfinished as he and his collaborators continued to collect information on the thousands of travelers who visited the Italian peninsula over the century. In 1988 Ford donated his archive to the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and over the next decade, two editors, Kim Sloan (1988–1992) and John Ingamells (1992–1997), brought the work to publication.

¹² Franco Moretti, “Conjectures in World Literature,” *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54–68.

¹³ Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London, 2005), 1.

¹⁴ Megan Garcia, “Racist in the Machine: The Disturbing Implications of Algorithmic Bias,” *World Policy Journal* 33, no. 4 (2016/2017): 111–117; David Hankerson, Andrea R. Marshall, Jennifer Booker, Houda El Mimouni, Imani Walker, and Jennifer A. Rode, “Does Technology Have Race?,” in *CHI EA ’16: Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (New York, 2016), 473–486; Tara McPherson, “U.S. Operating Systems at Mid-Century: The Intertwining of Race and UNIX,” in Lisa Nakamura and Peter Chow-White, eds., *Race after the Internet* (New York, 2012), 21–37; Lorna Roth, “Looking at Shirley, the Ultimate Norm: Colour Balance, Image Technologies, and Cognitive Equity,” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 1 (2009): 111–136; Batya Friedman, ed., *Human Values and the Design of Computer Technology* (1997; repr., Stanford, Calif., 2004); Mark C. Marino, “Critical Code Studies,” *Electronic Book Review*, December 4, 2006, <http://www.electronicbookreview.com/thread/electropoetics/codology>; Marino, “Field Report for Critical Code Studies, 2014,” *Computational Culture: A Journal of Software Studies*, November 9, 2014, <http://computationalculture.net/article/field-report-for-critical-code-studies-2014%E2%80%A8>; Domenico Fiormonte, “Towards a Cultural Critique of the Digital Humanities,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 37, no. 3 (141) (2012): 59–76; Roopika Risam, “Beyond the Margins: Intersectionality and the Digital Humanities,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (2015), <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/9/2/000208/000208.html>; Alan Liu, “Where Is Cultural Criticism in the Digital Humanities?,” in Matthew K. Gold, ed., *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis, 2012), 490–509, <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/20>.

¹⁵ Brinsley Ford, John Ingamells, Francis Russell, John Christian, Nicholas Penny, Jennifer Montagu, Howard Coutts, Timothy Wilson, and Dudley Dodd, “Sir Brinsley Ford,” *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 60 (1998): 91–376, here 134.

Ford's archive—and the reference work that emerged from it—was the product of a decades-long shift in aesthetic criticism, connoisseurship, and art-historical scholarship in Britain. As the art world had developed in Britain since at least the seventeenth century, the world of the collector and aesthete and that of the philosopher and art scholar were closely integrated. However, the influence of Giovanni Morelli on stylistic research; the emphasis on archival work charted by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle; the disassociation of moral philosophy from aesthetics by Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde, the "Aesthetic Movement," and modernists such as Roger Fry; and the emphasis on cultural history, philology, and iconography among the circle at the Warburg Institute created a new postwar world of art and art scholarship.¹⁶ The domain of the collector started to separate from that of the scholar. A new generation of art history experts took positions at cultural institutions and assumed the (still) few university professorships. These individuals placed a premium on rigorous scholarship—not just on the studied analysis of individual form and technique or personal intuition and feeling that had so often dominated the world of connoisseurship, but on the archive. Nikolaus Pevsner summed up this attitude in 1952: "To know your material is a matter of course; not to be taken in by imitation goes without saying. The job of the art *historian* as against the connoisseur only starts on a plane above that."¹⁷

Ford was adept at navigating this new cultural milieu, in which he participated as both connoisseur and amateur scholar. And, in fact, his archive served as a bridge between his personal art interests and patterns of collecting and the institutions of art-historical scholarship. The information that he began to compile mirrored his growing interest in the social history of art—though his was of a quite different variety than that of Arnold Hauser or Frederick Antal.¹⁸ The design of his project mirrored that of Howard Colvin, a medievalist trained at University College London, who had begun to assemble a catalogue on English architects in the late 1930s. Colvin's approach

¹⁶ On Morelli's methods, see Richard Wollheim, "Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship," in Wollheim, *On Art and the Mind: Essays and Lectures* (London, 1973), 177–201; Henri Zerner, "Giovanni Morelli et la science de l'art," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978): 209–215; Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, 1989), 96–125. On modernist art criticism and twentieth-century art history in Britain, see Mark A. Cheetham, *Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism in Britain: The 'Englishness' of English Art Theory since the Eighteenth Century* (Farnham, Surrey, 2012); Griselda Pollock, "Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland," in Matthew Rampley, Thierry Lenain, Hubert Locher, Andrea Pinotti, Charlotte Schoell-Glass, and Kitty Zijlmans, eds., *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden, 2012), 355–378. On the Warburg Institute, see Felix Gilbert, "From Art History to the History of Civilization: Gombrich Biography of Aby Warburg," *Journal of Modern History* 44, no. 3 (1972): 381–391; E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (London, 1970); Edgar Wind, "Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1931): 163–179, translated as "Warburg's Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and Its Meaning for Aesthetics," in Donald Preziosi, ed., *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2009), 189–194; Richard Woodfield, ed., *Art History as Cultural History: Warburg's Projects* (Amsterdam, 2001); Michael Diers, Thomas Girst, and Dorothea von Moltke, "Warburg and the Warburgian Tradition of Cultural History," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 59–73.

¹⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner, "Reflections on Not Teaching Art History," in Stephen Games, ed., *Pevsner: The Complete Broadcast Talks—Architecture and Art on Radio and Television, 1945–1977* (London, 2016), 198–205, here 202.

¹⁸ Ford's social history has much more in common with Nikolaus Pevsner's *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1940), which the author referred to in Pevsner, "Reflections on Not Teaching Art History," 204, as a "social history of art."

was “to apply to architecture the ordinary processes of historical scholarship we were learning in the History Department at UCL.” His methods were targeted directly against connoisseurs who he thought relied too heavily on stylistic attributions. Colvin published the first edition of his *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* in 1954, seeking “to discourage the kind of irresponsible attributionism that had been so prevalent in the past.”¹⁹ His magisterial compilation set the model for twentieth-century reference works on art and architectural history.

Ford’s approach likewise emphasized a commitment to the documentary record. He and his collaborators gathered their information both from archives and from secondary publications, which were often cross-checked against the manuscript record. The Ford archive itself grew to consist of thousands of folders, each labeled with the name of an individual traveler. In each folder were loose notes and sheets of paper with handwritten entries from archival work, pages from auction catalogues, and letters from correspondents. Each item was directly connected to a traveler and included that person’s activities while on the Grand Tour. While some folders bulged with information, others contained the sole evidence for the existence of an individual.

As an intellectual project guided by the vision of a single person, Ford’s archive was idiosyncratic, defined by both his sociocultural status and his personal preferences. Like a number of connoisseurs in the postwar world, he was fascinated by Georgian collections and collectors, a consequence, in part, of the rise of the heritage industry, the activities of organizations such as the National Trust and the Georgian Group, and a cluster of advocates such as Christopher Hussey, Henry Avray Tipping, Ralph Dutton, 8th Baron Sherborne, and James Lees-Milne. Because Ford was a collector of fine art, his archive was, in his own words, primarily concerned with “matters connected with the arts, patronage [and] collecting.”²⁰ The materials it contained reflected this. His work inscribed a metanarrative into the project—one in which the primary actors of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour were the elites, their lives and leisure pursuits, and the fine art that they collected and commissioned. Consequently, the social infrastructure of the Grand Tour—the labors of servants and valets, of artists and tutors and performers—was secondary to the primary aim of the project and relatively absent in the archive. This was not necessarily because Ford didn’t recognize the importance of these individuals. Rather, it was a by-product of the fact that his archive was determined by his social upbringing, his collecting interests, and a twentieth-century approach to art historiography that was primarily concerned with the work of the genius over that of the artisan, with the monumental artwork over the ephemeral, with the history of elites over that of their servants. To use an idea well-known to historians of the archive, the process of creating the Ford archive was both an act of remembering and an act of silencing and forgetting.²¹

¹⁹ Howard Colvin, “Writing a Biographical Dictionary of British Architects,” in Colvin, *Essays in English Architectural History* (New Haven, Conn., 2009), 292, 294. See also Anthony Geraghty, “Howard Colvin (1919–2007),” *The Burlington Magazine* 150, no. 1266 (2008): 613–614, here 614; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840* (London, 1954). Subsequent editions were expanded both chronologically and geographically.

²⁰ Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*, xvi.

²¹ On reading the archive, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 2015); Ann Laura Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 87–109; Carolyn Steedman, “Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust,” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 4 (October 2001): 1159–1180; Jacques Derrida,

In its design, the Ford archive was a living document, with new material and revisions being added regularly. The physicality of its interface reminded the user that the project remained a work in progress—rows of boxes stuffed with folders filled with paper objects, each representing an individual traveler. Its non-uniformity, its fragmentary objects, stressed not completeness, but absence. The researcher was left with the feeling that the project lacked every bit as much as it contained. And given the fact that there was no standard cataloguing scheme for cross-referencing or clustering people, things, or ideas, the archival experience was one of serendipity. There were notes scrawled onto a running list, one day in blue fountain pen, the next in dull pencil; another page, consisting of typewritten text on yellowing paper, had been taken out of a three-ring binder, its holes protected by adhesive reinforcements. The appearance and feel of the papers thus conveyed incompleteness, of an assemblage constantly being reshaped through the mind and actions of its compiler.

In the move to translate Ford's archive into the *DBIT*, the editors were obliged to impose a uniformity on the scattered references in the file folders. Brief notes became biographies, which conveyed a sense of coherence wholly absent in the archive. In the process, the *DBIT* effaced the materiality—and the inherent instability—of the archive creation process. If, as other scholars have argued, the process of archive-making is both an act of preservation and an act of knowledge production, then the process of transforming Ford's archive into an academic reference work further served to stabilize and reify this knowledge. In the case of the *DBIT*, the premises guiding the construction of Ford's archive remained. It still answered to a logic that privileged the interests and preferences of both the elite eighteenth-century travelers it described and the wealthy twentieth-century connoisseur who created it.

Yet, even as the editors translated the archive into the medium of the book, the intellectual framework on which the archival project was founded was being challenged. In the 1980s, the work of John Barrell, Ann Bermingham, and David Solkin, so important to eighteenth-century studies, called for a new social history of British art.²² Their approaches challenged scholars to put class and power at the center of their analyses. Reading eighteenth-century works against the grain, they charted the social inequities and ideologies lurking within the visual field. On the heels of their work, the "cultural turn" encouraged scholars to write new histories of art in which gender and race were fundamental categories of analysis.²³ The dictionary was unable to re-

"Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 9–63; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge: And the Discourse on Language* (New York, 1982). See also the literature review by Marlene Manoff, "Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines," *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 4, no. 1 (2004): 9–25.

²² Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); John Barrell, "Sir Joshua Reynolds and the Political Theory of Painting," *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1986): 36–41; Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1983); David H. Solkin, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction* (London, 1982).

²³ David Bindman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery Revisited," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58, no. 3/4 (1995): 373–382; Bindman, "Am I Not a Man and a Brother? British Art and Slavery in the Eighteenth Century," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (1994): 68–82; Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon, eds., *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 1996); Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture, 1665–1800* (Oxford, 1997); Douglas Fordham, "New Directions in British Art History of the Eighteenth Century," *Literature Compass* 5, no. 5 (2008): 906–917.

spond to these changes. In part, this was because of its long history. The information that Ford had gathered over the decades asked a different set of questions. But the medium of the book also played a role. As an analog technology, the printed book is useful for many things. It is particularly good for creating multiple static versions of a master copy. And it allows individuals some capacity to transform and interact with these versions through adding marginalia or inserting pages. However, universal updates are possible only by releasing new editions. These are expensive and therefore rare, especially in reference projects. The reference book is quite unlike an archive, which, while providing limited accessibility, can continue to be revised and grow, potentially answering new theoretical and historiographical questions. With the publication of the *DBIT*, the new volume displaced Ford's archive as the primary locus of information on the British Grand Tour for most scholars. And, consequently, two decades after its publication, the information that it contains has effectively supplanted the living archive.²⁴

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE *DBIT* makes it a useful tool from which to create a dataset. It provides some basic metadata, and the bibliographical sections can be broken down into unique records made up of a series of fields. For example, the entry for Nicholas Revett notes that he traveled to Naples with fellow artists/architects James Stuart, Gavin Hamilton, and Matthew Brettingham in 1748. A relational database could be configured to identify the links between the record "Nicholas Revett" and other records and data elements, in this case three individuals, one location, and one date.

The database scheme favored by the Mapping the Republic of Letters project is a descriptive model. By this we mean that once the datasets are structured and compiled, they remain relatively fixed. They might then be connected to other datasets through a "linked data" framework.²⁵ There are other schemes, however, including the Itinera project at the University of Pittsburgh, directed by Drew Armstrong and Alison Langmead.²⁶ Itinera is a non-period- or place-specific project that seeks to map the interactions between people, places, and art objects over time. Rather than design the project around an existing dataset, its creators began with two questions: How do we map historical art worlds using data that is both fragmentary and ambiguous? And how do we create a data structure that will grow as we incorporate new archival and visual fragments? From its outset, Itinera was meant to be an emergent

²⁴ For the universities that subscribe to it, a searchable digital version of the *DBIT* is available in the Adam Matthew Grand Tour database, <http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/the-grand-tour/>. It replicates the model of the original dictionary, but it also links scanned copies of papers from the individual traveler files from the Ford Archive.

²⁵ For introductions to linked data, see "Linked Data—Connect Distributed Data across the Web," <http://linkeddata.org/>; "Semantic Web," *W3C*, <https://www.w3.org/standards/semanticweb/>; Tim Berners-Lee, James Hendler, and Ora Lassila, "The Semantic Web: A New Form of Web Content That Is Meaningful to Computers Will Unleash a Revolution of New Possibilities," *Scientific American* 284, no. 5 (May 2001): 34–43, <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-semantic-web/>. On the use of linked data in the Mapping the Republic of Letters project, see Glauco Mantegari, "Linked Data and the Republic of Letters," <http://www.glaucomantegari.com/selected-projects/linked-data-and-the-republic-of-letters>; Glauco Mantegari and Dan Edelstein, "Linked Data and Early-Modern Networks: An Experiment on Voltaire," in Jake Coolidge, ed., *The CESTA Anthology, 2013* (Stanford, Calif., 2013), 73–78, http://www.glaucomantegari.com/assets/docs/papers/CESTAAnthology2013_Mantegari-Edelstein.pdf.

²⁶ Itinera, University of Pittsburgh, <https://itinera.pitt.edu>.

dataset, with data being added regularly by the research team and their students, and ultimately through a process of peer-reviewed crowdsourcing.²⁷

Like the Grand Tour Project, Itinera uses the *DBIT* as source material, but there it is only one source among many. Entries can come from any archive or reference work. Itinera will compile all references to a person or object and link them to a date and geographical location (though in its prototype form, it is not currently showing objects). The idea is to imagine a world not just of people, but of things in motion—letters, books, manuscripts, antiquities, objets d’art, textiles, and paintings. The circulation and exchange of these items was fundamental to forging and sustaining the sociocultural networks of the early modern world of letters. The symbolic information that these objects conveyed, whether mathematical, historical, or aesthetic, helped shape new intellectual communities, even as the meanings transformed in the face of local knowledges, rhetorics, social practices, and cultural lexicons. In effect, objects will become primary players in the historical narrative presented in Itinera.

The philosophical framework guiding Itinera emerged from the cluster of approaches associated with Actor-Network-Theory.²⁸ The project de-centers the human subject, making individuals and things “actants”—with their own distinct pasts and capacities to have historical agency. Following the trajectory of these actants in the system can reveal the biographies of things as well as the network of relationships that they have with other things, people, and places. Consequently, Itinera will allow users to map not only the geography and chronology of an artwork, but its interactions with other actants. While it integrates the data from the *DBIT*, it will not be limited by it.

THERE ARE OTHER DATABASE SCHEMES that could be created for the *DBIT*, their designs determined by the research question at hand and the availability of the data. Because the Ford archive privileged historical information about elite art interests over other information, this perspective will shape any dataset derived from it. Hidden in its schema—its fields, its relationships, its functions—is the original logic that drove the archive’s construction. Ceserani and her colleagues are aware of these challenges, noting in their article that their visualizations “show us the shape as well as the limits of our data.” Because of this, there are a series of questions related to the historiographies of the Grand Tour, the Enlightenment, and the Republic of Letters that remain out of the project’s domain as currently framed.

The Grand Tour Project team does an admirable job asking questions of a dataset that is relatively unforthcoming with social history. Their approach suggests several

²⁷ The distinction between descriptive and emergent datasets was a theme of the Network Ontologies in the Early Modern World Workshop held at the University of Pittsburgh on November 21–22, 2014 (<https://sites.haa.pitt.edu/networkontologies/schedule-of-events/>). The summary in the paragraph emerges from conversations at the workshop and an unpublished manuscript titled “The Pittsburgh Practices in Linked Historical Network Ontologies,” ed. Elisa Beshero-Bondar, David Birnbaum, Alison Langmead, and Aisling Quigley from conversations among the workshop participants on November 22, 2014: Drew Armstrong, Mike Bolam, James Coleman, Mark Custer, Jason M. Kelly, Tom Lombardi, Jessica Otis, Adam Shear, Dan Shore, Chris Warren, and Scott Weingart.

²⁸ John Law and John Hassard, *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford, 1999); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, 2007); Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, N.C., 2010).

directions for database-driven research on the Grand Tour that could provoke new questions. For example, the political culture of the Grand Tour is still relatively underdeveloped, but it is clear that at least a few artists and architects had patronage networks that were closely tied to their Hanoverian or Jacobite sympathies.²⁹ A case in point was James Russel, a long-term resident artist and ciceroni who was closely affiliated with Jacobite circles while resident in Rome.³⁰ With the geographical and time data for each architect, one could co-locate each individual with other architects and artists. (A division between architects and artists is a somewhat arbitrary division, since while in Italy they were often closely associated with each other.) This information could then be cross-referenced to known associates, patrons, and their political affiliations, which in many cases are noted in the *DBIT*. This approach has the potential to identify previously unnoticed patterns of political association and cultural production.

Likewise, the larger social networks and patterns of the Grand Tour specifically, and the Republic of Letters more generally, could be greatly expanded by bridging the Italian, French, German, Dutch, British, and Irish communities. Works on the Grand Tour have tended to focus on distinct national communities, ignoring the intersections and crossover between them. This is the case with the *DBIT*, which has entries for only a few prominent Italian individuals. Connecting British and Irish networks to the international community with which they were in regular communication would provide new ways to think about the Grand Tour as a cosmopolitan endeavor—and make it more relevant for debates over the nature of the eighteenth-century world of letters. For example, there were prominent artists, such as Imperiali, Agostino Masucci, Giovanni Battista Busiri, and Marco Benefial, who operated at the center of Anglo-Italian artistic and patronage networks.³¹ Individuals such as Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Anton Raphael Mengs, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann participated with artists, architects, and other travelers in philosophical discussions that shaped neoclassical artistic theories throughout Europe. And intellectuals such as Antonio Cocchi were key interlocutors in scientific and literary debates. Analyzing these international connections also reveals a sort of reverse Grand Tour, of Italian scientists and writers, architects, artists, and musicians traveling north to Britain and Ireland.³² While documentation for some of these connections is thin, there remain numerous untapped resources (such as the dozens of volumes of diaries left by Cocchi

²⁹ See, for example, the work on Jacobite patronage in Rome during the eighteenth century: David Irwin and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700–1900* (London, 1975); Marion Amblard, “The Scottish Painters’ Exile in Italy in the Eighteenth Century,” *Études écossaises* 13 (2010): 59–77; Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011), 7; Corp, “The Stuart Court and the Patronage of Portrait-Painters in Rome, 1717–1757,” in David Marshall, Susan Russell, and Karin Wolfe, eds., *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Rome, 2011), 39–53.

³⁰ Kelly, “Letters from a Young Painter Abroad,” 68–70.

³¹ Jason M. Kelly, “Rome and Its British and Irish Artists, 1730–1750,” in Martin Postle and Robin Simon, eds., *Richard Wilson and the Transformation of European Landscape Painting* (New Haven, Conn., 2014), 41–42.

³² West, *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*; Marta Cavazza, “The Institute of Science of Bologna and the Royal Society in the Eighteenth Century,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 56, no. 1 (2002): 3–25; Reinhard Strohm, *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout, 2001).

that detail his day-to-day contacts with British and Irish travelers) that could demonstrate the international communities that the Grand Tour sustained.³³

Still, even these questions are operating within a framework established by Ford. As the Grand Tour Project reveals, by and large artists and architects were laborers—privileged at times, but still operating within a commercial framework that was harsh and unforgiving. They were key participants in a labor system that helped to sustain the sociocultural infrastructure of the Grand Tour specifically and the Republic of Letters more generally. They hired themselves out as draftsmen, tutors, and guides. They participated in *conversazione* and sustained intellectual networks through letter-writing and visitations. Some even wrote important treatises that engaged with the rich philosophical debates of the age.³⁴ But they did this primarily so that they could find patrons. For them, the Grand Tour was not simply a realm of pleasure and contemplation; it was a world of competition, which could be cutthroat at times. Russel, for example, was sometimes forced to sell his drawings at well below market value so that he could survive. On one occasion, he wrote home requesting his family to send him a “good large Cheshire-cheese; which I assure you will be a very acceptable utensil in these hungry times.”³⁵ His financial situation could cause him to be a fierce operator, especially when it came to those whom he saw as competition.³⁶ Like so many of his fellow artists and architects, he operated in a liminal social space that afforded him the right to participate in forms of elite sociability but did not recognize him as a social equal. Despite the difficulties many of them faced, the lives of artists and architects existed in the most privileged tier of the Grand Tour labor system. Others, most obviously valets and servants, innkeepers, tavern workers, coachmen, sex workers, actors, singers, stagehands, cooks, tailors, guides, diggers, physicians, and secretaries, also overlapped with the pursuits of those elites described in the *DBIT*.

There was an even broader network of labor that supported the Grand Tourists—especially their spending sprees on art and antiquities to fill their newly constructed and refurbished country houses. The extent and details of this labor network are only just beginning to be investigated by scholars. At the forefront of this research is the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership (LBS) project at University College London.³⁷ By compiling a database of the Slave Compensation Commission’s records from the 1830s, LBS has begun to reveal the close associations between slavery, slaveholders, and elite consumption during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The project’s directors and a handful of other scholars are in the process of demonstrating the connections between plantation slavery and the economies of conspicuous consumption and display.³⁸

³³ Antonio Cocchi, Effemeridi, MSS ME361.1-103, Collezione è Fondo Cocchi, Biblioteca Biomedica dell’Università di Firenze.

³⁴ Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556–1785* (Cambridge, 1990).

³⁵ James Russel to William Russel, October 27, 1750, British Library Add. MSS 41169, f. 51r.

³⁶ Kelly, “Letters from a Young Painter Abroad.”

³⁷ Legacies of British Slave-Ownership, University College London, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>.

³⁸ Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley, and Jessica Moody, eds., *Britain’s History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool, 2017); Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann, eds., *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, 2013); Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington, and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 2014).

Connecting the information in the *DBIT* to that emerging from projects such as LBS would reveal a fundamentally different “distant reading” of the Grand Tour—one that identified new transatlantic economic, cultural, political, and social connections. Doing so would require scholars of the European world of letters to integrate a more diverse series of datasets and more robust network models.³⁹ In fact, it would necessitate an entirely new set of research questions that considered the links between the Grand Tour, the world of letters, elite consumption and display, labor history, and the history of colonial slavery. Connecting data from the colonial archives and linking them to the *DBIT* would bridge the disconnect between the research questions that drove its construction and the new critical frameworks that have emerged since the 1980s—demonstrating that the Grand Tour functioned not just as a finishing school for elites or a system supporting the development of a cosmopolitan Republic of Letters, but as a system of power that reproduced sociopolitical hierarchies and was supported by a transnational infrastructure of subjugation.⁴⁰

IN CONSIDERING THE HISTORY of the Ford archive and its conversion into both the *DBIT* and the datasets and visualizations created by the Grand Tour Project, important methodological questions emerge for the practice of digital (and “digitized”) history.⁴¹ While there have been conversations in the digital humanities, historians in general have yet to engage in a broad discussion about best practices and research standards in the development and use of digital datasets. For example, despite the fact that the Grand Tour Project team has made its data available for this article, there are no general guidelines on whether we should share our datasets as addenda to our research outputs in order to provide a means to verify or replicate visualizations. Like archives, our datasets are assemblages with their own histories, but their lack of materiality and appearance of objective rationality have the tendency to hide the decisions, biases, and assumptions that frame them. As they enter digital repositories and become disassociated from the scholars who created them, datasets become unmoored from their histories and the epistemologies, institutions, and methods that determined their structure. In developing best practices, historians should consider the necessity of embedding reflexive analyses and historical information about a dataset’s creation in its

³⁹ Historians have yet to integrate complex models for historical social network analysis to any great extent. On the potential of this approach, see Scott Weingart’s work, including his posts on “Networks Demystified” on his blog *The Scottbot Irregular*, <http://scottbot.net/tag/networks-demystified/>.

⁴⁰ On the complexities of this process, see Kim Gallon, “Making a Case for the Black Digital Humanities,” in Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, eds., *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016* (Minneapolis, 2016), <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/55>.

⁴¹ Lara Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast,” *American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (April 2016): 377–402. Putnam argues that we have entered a moment in historical research in which not only has the *digital turn* taken root, but a more pervasive *digitized turn* has transformed how we work. The *digital turn* refers to various specialized approaches associated with the digital humanities, such as text mining, HGIS, and social network analysis. The *digitized turn*, on the other hand, suggests a more generalized set of transformations—the ways that digitized databases, Google, and online image catalogues have reshaped historical methods—indeed, how they have reshaped our expectations about what scholars can accomplish in the scope of their studies. As Putnam observes, “we could not be doing what we are, at the pace that we are, with the range that we are, if it were not for the search box before us” (380). On this topic, see also Tim Hitchcock, “Digital Searching and the Re-formulation of Historical Knowledge,” in Mark Greengrass and Lorna Hughes, eds., *The Virtual Representation of the Past* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 81–90.

metadata. Likewise, in training the next generation of historical scholars, we need to develop new modes for analyzing datasets and critiquing the ontologies that frame them. The Mapping the Republic of Letters projects—in particular the Grand Tour Project's work—demonstrate the value of using big data in historical analysis. As case studies, they also encourage us to think about the limits of our data frameworks, new modes of implementation, and the ways in which digital methods might be employed to create a more robust historiographical ecology.

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Featured Reviews

TONIO ANDRADE. *The Gunpowder Age: China, Military Innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. ix, 432. \$39.95.

Over the past three decades, the production of historical scholarship on non-European world regions has shown that history's global turn allows us to place the histories of Europe and its white settler societies into a revised frame of reference. We no longer privilege the traits distinctive to those countries as the sole indicators for what to expect to happen in other places as cultural, economic, political, and social connections become thicker and more entwined across the world. The importance of Europeans teaching others all that is needed to become modern has also been qualified by the discovery in other world regions of practices and sensibilities once thought to be unique to Europeans.

Chinese history has been one site where efforts at reframing Europe's economic rise have been mounted through what Kenneth Pomeranz famously labeled the "Great Divergence" (*The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* [2000]). Tonio Andrade's *The Gunpowder Age: China, Military Innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History* is an engaging recent contribution to this literature. Andrade's focus is on China's military history. His book is organized into four parts framed by an introduction and a conclusion. The four chapters of part I, "Chinese Beginnings," situate the development and uses of gunpowder in Chinese history; the five chapters of part II, "Europe Gets the Gun," shift the focus to Europe and the development of gunpowder technologies, ending with the confrontations between Chinese and Portuguese forces in 1521–1522. Part III, "An Age of Parity," moves in six chapters from the developments of European cannon and military organization through drill and discipline to the use of muskets in East Asia. Part IV, "The Great Military Divergence," opens with a chapter on the Opium War, which is followed by separate chapters considering different nineteenth-century periods of Chinese military modernization. This richly researched analysis begins with a discussion of early modern Chinese military history with key contrasts to European practices. This prepares the reader for the author's account of China's nine-

teenth-century military reform efforts, his assessment of their successes and limitations, and his concluding ruminations on the possible future of military conflict between China and the West.

Andrade puts military history front and center as a key element of dynamism during the Song dynasty (960–1279), what he calls the "Song Warring States Period." For a China historian, the "Warring States" reference to the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.E.) presents a revisionist framing of the Song dynasty. It also reminds China historians that an era we often think of in terms of commercial expansion, urbanization, and the emergence of the lower Yangzi region of the country as the economic center of the empire was also a period fraught with security threats, as indeed the Renaissance era would subsequently be in Europe. Andrade argues that the military competition between the Song and states to its north stimulated technological innovation akin to that witnessed in early modern Europe. He follows the evolution of gunpowder-using armaments through the thirteenth-century Mongol wars and the Ming dynasty's late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century use of gunners to defeat challengers on their borders and to attempt advances against Vietnamese and Mongolian states, which proved able to withstand Chinese incursions.

Andrade's narrative moves to Europe to trace the evolution of guns and artillery over the next several centuries. He uses the development of larger guns and artillery in Europe after the mid-fourteenth century to indicate a military divergence between the two world regions. He attributes this initial divergence to the relative ineffectiveness of artillery against Chinese city walls because they were so much thicker and denser than European city walls; since they were not vertical but slanted, they absorbed the impact of cannon fire more effectively than vertical and thinner European city walls. After raising doubts about the reasons why China did not continue to pursue military innovations, Andrade suggests, "but perhaps the answer to the puzzle is straightforward, with no need for explanations involving powder corning or no-

mads or late adoption or isolationism or autocracy or conservatism. What if the Ming stopped improving their guns because they didn't need better guns?" (112).

Descriptively present but not developed into a feature of the author's interpretation of military divergence between China and Europe are the different relationships of warfare to state making in early modern China and Europe. Military activities defended and at times expanded the politics of Chinese dynastic rulers, but they did not set in motion major changes in the scales and capacities of the Chinese state as they did in early modern Europe. Consider the obvious contrast between the extremely fragmented political landscape of tenth-century Europe and the division of the Chinese mainland among at most three polities at any given moment of Andrade's Song Warring States period. Charles Tilly's analysis of the role of warfare in European state building highlights the role of violent competition between state builders so that the formation of successful states emerged in a competition with other would-be state builders. Tilly's account hardly examines all the significant and distinctive features of European state building, but it does make clear that the forging of effective states entailed both establishing control over a domestic space and competing successfully in an international arena. Moreover, Tilly demonstrated how variations among the paths of state consolidation in Europe depended on the relative importance of capital and coercion to securing authority domestically and forging competitive strength among European rulers (Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* [1975]; and Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* [1990]). China's much earlier Warring States period ended in the creation of the Qin empire and initiated an imperial era through which polities big in territory and large in population were repeatedly built on the Chinese mainland—early modern European state making forged a system of competitive states across a space that in China was typically under the rule of an emperor and his civilian bureaucracy.

A second major contrast, largely implicit and not closely examined in Andrade's study, concerns the role of military force in early modern commerce. The European fusion of coercion and commerce in maritime trade began within Europe itself, in the Mediterranean, when ships of rival Italian city-states began to arm themselves, preparing to do battle to achieve economic advantage, as described for sixteenth-century Venice by Frederic C. Lane (*Profits from Power: Readings in Protection Rent and Violence-Controlling Enterprises* [1979]) and for pirates in the formation of colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic world by Kevin P. McDonald (*Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves: Colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic World* [2015]). The links between violence and commercial expansion took place, as Albert O. Hirschman elegantly demonstrated, over the period in which European thinkers were calling upon the "interests" to mute the "passions" so that commerce could be conceived as an alternative to war making (*The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* [1977]). Thus, at the same time that commerce and war

could be distinguished from each other, and in Hirschman's view provide arguments in favor of capitalism (and against war making), European maritime commerce depended on the threat of violence each side aimed at the other and against people controlling ports where Europeans hoped to establish their presence. Europeans put coercion in the service of commerce overseas, even as commerce could be posed as a substitute for war within Europe.

While Andrade's comparison of military capacities does not, in my opinion, adequately address the different kinds of political and economic significance of violence to Chinese and European actors, it does suggest why violence played far less of a role in relations between them during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than it would in the nineteenth century. By recounting the Sino-Portuguese conflicts of 1521 and 1522 and the defeat of the Dutch, who briefly established a port in mid-seventeenth-century Taiwan, by Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga), Andrade demonstrates the competitiveness of Chinese naval abilities and gunpowder technologies (124–131, 216–219). Military parity enabled economic relations between merchants to proceed according to an agreed-upon set of expectations about commercial value based on supply and demand. The conditions of market exchange between early modern Chinese and Europeans were not imposed by either party on the other, because military parity precluded force from posing the threats that nineteenth-century military divergence would make possible. But this pacific market exchange did not mean that the merchants doing business came from the same kinds of economy. The institutional differences between their political economies of maritime empire and agrarian empire were clearly developed and would prove consequential subsequently (R. Bin Wong, "The Political Economy of Agrarian Empire and Its Modern Legacy," in Timothy Brook and Gregory Blue, eds., *China and Historical Capitalism: Genealogies of Sinological Knowledge* [1999], 210–245; and Wong, "China before Capitalism," in Larry Neal and Jeffrey G. Williamson, eds., *The Cambridge History of Capitalism*, vol. 1: *The Rise of Capitalism: From Ancient Origins to 1848* [2014], 125–164).

Differences in political economy and in military traditions did not mean the Chinese or Europeans were not open to outside influences deemed desirable. Andrade shows how Chinese military successes were the products of their own military traditions that supported an openness and eagerness to take on new technologies that they encountered when Europeans attempted their advances. The Chinese not only adopted and adapted technologies like those for cannon, but also created their own innovations in their tradition of drill and implemented a musketry volley technique before Europeans did (143, 164, 178). Andrade's observations partially parallel those made by art historian Catherine Pagani about the import of Western mechanical clocks in the wealthy commercial cities of Suzhou and Guangzhou between the late sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries (*Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity: Clocks of Late Imperial China* [2001]). The eagerness and effectiveness of the

Chinese in learning a European technology did not mean that China's economy was changing to become more like Europe's in any consequential manner. The same observation strikes me as relevant to the military situation.

Military parity between China and European maritime powers seeking ports in Asia prevented early modern China from becoming a site of colonialism. Parity does not mean that the military abilities of the two were the same or, more importantly, that the similarities that the two shared promised that they could be sustained over time. Disagreements about causes for the "Great Divergence" have tended to conflate parity with similarity, and Andrade does so when he considers military parity a sign of similarity. Kenneth Pomeranz's comparison of standards of living and levels of labor productivity demonstrated closer parity between Chinese and European economies than scholars previously believed existed, but this did not mean that the economies were similar. For his part, Pomeranz, by stressing coal and colonies as factors shaping economic possibilities in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century northwestern Europe that were absent for China's most economically developed region of Jiangnan, allowed parity and similarity to be considered one and the same. Yet other explanations for economic divergence that reject traditional explanations still locate the reasons in earlier decades and centuries, even as they can accept more early modern economic parity than critics of Pomeranz's "Great Divergence" argument find plausible.

Two related accounts of a period before the late eighteenth century look at wages. Robert C. Allen has related the origins of British industrialization to the high wages found in London, which made technological changes desirable to allow the substitution of capital and energy for human labor (*The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* [2009]). Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and I suggested why many conventional arguments about economic differences between China and Europe did not stand up to careful scrutiny, and we posed an argument for divergence based on the fact of urban wages in general being higher than those in the countryside (*Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe* [2011]). This was the basis for a more general argument for why it was far more likely that technological change leading to industrialization would occur in Europe rather than China based on the relative likelihoods of warfare in the two world regions from the late medieval era through the early modern period, making urban crafts more common in Europe than in China. An unintended consequence of Europe's war making was creating subsequent incentives to use capital in place of labor. The salience of cotton textiles to the industrial revolution was related to British desires to develop effective import substitution for Indian cotton textiles, but this is not the industrial revolution's key economic phenomenon. In the absence of Britain's textile expansion, we could well imagine the economically important parts of the industrial revolution involving coal-burning furnaces producing higher-quality iron and steel far more likely to occur in Europe than in China because capital was

cheaper and labor more expensive, in part because European warfare drove some craft production into cities. Empirical support for the plausibility of the link between late medieval and early modern war making and the subsequent development of industrialization comes through the research of Mark Dincecco and Massimiliano Graetano Onorato, who demonstrate in a forthcoming book that there is a visible statistical relationship between places where warfare drove people into cities and subsequent economic growth.

The key to the economic divergence came from transformations in technology that were more likely to occur in Europe than in China. The higher demand for technological innovation in Europe stemmed from differences in relative prices for capital and labor. But these demand conditions cannot on their own explain what kind of supply of innovations would be forthcoming. It is clear that European traditions of science and technology creation mattered to the innovations that were basic to the development of steam-powered engines. In his conclusion, Andrade notes that these "supply" side traits were created by science, but until that point of his book, he explains the nineteenth-century military divergence between China and Europe using a demand-driven explanation, much as he does for comparison of military innovation in China and Europe from the tenth through eighteenth centuries. "It takes significant and consistent insecurity to foment reform," he writes, "because interest groups that support the status quo are difficult to dislodge" (271). The demand for reform was neither as large nor as persistent as needed to shake things up. For Andrade, "the problem for the Qing wasn't a lack of technology or know-how. It was a lack of focus. Old institutions drained resources. Rulers balanced interest groups instead of creating a centralized military structure" (275).

Andrade affirms that the Chinese reform efforts did succeed in importing the needed technologies, building the necessary factories, and constructing ironclad boats. He highlights the coordination needed between Chinese fleets under different regional commands, and how this problem exemplifies a larger state of disorganization. This no doubt is all true in some immediate empirical sense. But what are the real reasons—was China's problem a lack of focus in the central government and of competing interests deflecting leaders from concentrating on military affairs more successfully? Certainly from the vantage point of examining relations among states and considering their organizational capacities to mount naval campaigns effectively, we see in what ways China was less prepared than Japan. More generally, sovereign states in the late-nineteenth-century inter-state world of political competition faced shared and similar challenges. But at the same time, they also had different domestic agendas of rule, based on distinct traditions.

For the early modern era, China's and Europe's political traditions created ideologies and institutions suited to quite different circumstances—China's to manage an agrarian empire, Europe's to organize states that ruled far smaller territories and engaged comparable states in political and economic competition within Europe, as

some went into other world regions and continued their competition elsewhere. A durable difference between China, on the one hand, and European countries and Japan, on the other, was their spatial and demographic scales. If we consider for a moment that coordinating two naval fleets in different parts of China would be similar to coordinating them between European countries, we can appreciate the possible challenges those in a Chinese situation faced—and indeed, the interests of naval forces in different parts of the country might in fact differ. This speaks to the larger challenge of understanding the agendas for rule in an agrarian empire versus a smaller territorial state, and consequently to the caution we should take in establishing the standards we use to evaluate any specific situation.

Economic divergence enabled the political dominance of nineteenth-century European colonial powers and fostered the technological transformations of warfare that continued to serve political and economic agendas of Western countries. In his final chapter, “A New Warring States Period?,” Andrade ponders what may well become an era of tension and conflict between old superpowers and a rising superpower. He expresses hope that Chinese analysts like Hu Angang, who says China will be a “a new type of superpower” cooperating with others to face com-

mon global challenges, prove correct, but he also says that “the warring states dynamic has operated throughout history, and there’s no good reason to expect it to stop, except for one thing: human beings today have an unprecedented and urgent need to work together on global issues” (305).

China’s “One Belt, One Road” initiative may prove a revision of nineteenth-century British and twentieth-century American approaches to political and economic hegemony. However, it is hard to believe in such possibilities becoming realities when some people seek to recover a world of freedom and plenty they fear they have lost, some others seek a future grounded in attitudes and practices selected from traditions that have little hope of transforming their politics or economics in new ways, and yet others, such as the Chinese, wish for wealth and power without embracing beliefs in freedom and plenty. Amidst all these profound efforts to affirm different pasts and pursue different present possibilities, what will a new era of military parity mean for the future of war and peace? Uncertainties abound as we leave behind the great divergence.

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JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG. *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 892. \$34.95.

Accounting for democracy is difficult; accounting for democratic thought, even more so. Intellectual historians have established that there was no sustained tradition of democratic thought in the early modern period. Civic humanism, monarchical sovereignty, and natural jurisprudence were among the many traditions of European political thought with well-established canons and communities of interpretation for which democracy existed only as an intellectual straw man. Before the eighteenth century, democracy was fitfully embraced as a real political option at scattered moments of crisis by religious radicals such as the Anabaptists and the Levellers. The critique of democracy in the ancient world and the early modern period continues to be articulated by conservative thinkers today: the rule of all is the rule of the passions, which is no rule at all. The embrace of democracy as a credible ideal among intellectual elites is not easy to explain.

So how did democracy become the dominant political ideal of the modern world and representative democracy a successful political form? In *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought*, James T. Kloppenberg frames this problem through the optic of the aspiration to self-rule as it emerged in America and Europe in the late eighteenth century. This is a creative and challenging strategy. It approaches democratic thought as a body of systemic reflection on emerging practices of government and governance, rather than as an ideal endlessly postponed, an antique experiment

generally misunderstood, or a doctrine of popular sovereignty that provides a legitimating language for a wide variety of regimes. Kloppenberg’s history of the idea of democracy, or more accurately of the family of ideas that characterize democracy, is a history of the ideas used by agents and built into institutions. In three sections Kloppenberg describes the elements of classic and early modern political thought that addressed self-rule, the eighteenth century crystallization of a coherent theory of democracy, and the challenge to democratic ideals posed by the violence of the French Revolution. The context for the emergence of democracy is largely the political history of the North Atlantic; the democratic outcome is the product of political conflict.

This ambitious book is much more than a description of successive democratic ideals. Kloppenberg identifies a specific set of principles that characterize democracy and another set of conditions of possibility for a democratic order. He argues that doctrines of self-rule offer solutions to the problem of integrating three inherently contestable principles: popular sovereignty, autonomy, and equality. However, the success of those doctrines depends on underlying cultural commitments to deliberation, pluralism, and reciprocity. The historical narrative illuminates the history of democratic thought and simultaneously advances an argument for specific institutional features of modern democracy.

The key moment in the explanatory narrative is the

late eighteenth century, a moment of imperial conflict, economic rivalry, and unprecedented global political insecurity. Democracy, as we inherited it, was the child of crisis. The focus of the crisis in this account is Britain's American colonies. Kloppenberg advances the traditional argument that the democratic potential of Protestant English thought was initially explored in the English Revolution, revived but stifled by the Glorious Revolution, and achieved its full expression in the constitutional moment of the American Revolution. Three factors transformed the American version of the "good old cause." The practices of governance in the colonies were close to the ideals of the commonwealth men, and so ideas of republican liberty had local, contextual meaning. America had enjoyed experiments in self-rule long before it had experiments in democracy, and did not have to replace deeply embedded practices of local governance to create a democratic regime. The roots of those experiments in Protestantism, in its many varieties, cleared a path to political secularization that was not hostile to religion. Kloppenberg contrasts the relatively easy relationship between political and religious elites in the United States with the religious conflict inspired by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy during the French Revolution.

Even more important than Protestantism was the experience of the American Enlightenment, which Kloppenberg presents as a version of J. G. A. Pocock's *Moderate Enlightenment*. The contribution of Scottish thought, both the common sense school of philosophy of Thomas Reid and the more systematic ideas of Adam Smith about the basis of moral experience in sympathetic understanding, was crucial to the elaboration of a democratic political order. Key figures such as James Madison and John Adams were directly indebted to Scottish thought for their ideas about the nature of citizenship in a "great republic." The Scots offered a model of the citizen that could be adapted to the commercial and cultural life of a large, socially differentiated commercial state. Madison and Adams's defense of bicameralism, for instance, was not a rehearsal of Aristotle's. Instead they argued that in complex modern societies deliberative institutions had to impose pluralism, not to defend different social interests but to create different institutional loci for different perspectives. Complex models of representation did not offend against democratic universalism by privileging particular castes or classes; complexity simply recognized the necessarily probabilistic character of social epistemology. Scottish thought, discussed in chapter 5, offered a vocabulary through which visions of an extensive democratic politics and society that did not need a moral consensus could be articulated. The corpus of Scottish thought held together a commitment to the individual (but not individualism) as the agent for the articulation of the common good. Deliberation and imaginative reciprocity were the procedural institutions that approximated the role played by the substantive model of virtue in antique republicanism, and so allowed republics to be democratic.

It is unusual to see Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a moderate; therefore it is surprising to see Kloppenberg insist on Rousseau's importance to the varieties of both American

and French liberal democratic thought that Kloppenberg is most interested in. Rousseau's contribution was to offer a coherent and compelling account of democratic sovereignty. Kloppenberg argues that readings of Rousseau that see him as an advocate of direct democracy miss the distinction that he made between sovereignty and government. He further asserts that Rousseau's writings explain the conditions under which a government could claim legitimacy, and his theory of the "general will" was a device to account for the necessarily coercive element of majority rule. According to the author, a democratic state needed Rousseau to explain its authority, as it needed Smith and Reid to explicate the rationality of its laws. This is particularly important in the latter stages of the book, when Kloppenberg argues that Abraham Lincoln's activity as president remained within the boundaries of the American democratic tradition and was not a radical departure from the premises of the founding.

In Kloppenberg's view, the specifically American innovation that buttressed the new institutions of the democratic republic in the 1790s was the synthesis of the English republican tradition, Scottish social theory, and a French doctrine of sovereignty. No single theorist exemplified the intellectual underpinning of the new institutions. Rather, mutual interrogation under conditions of reciprocity, particularly between Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Madison, modeled the conditions of political life under essentially contestable norms. Despite international turmoil and local social tensions, the new political system produced governments that were accepted as legitimate because they respected the deliberative rationality of the political culture. Political conflict did not lead to anything more than isolated incidents of violence. The author draws a vivid contrast of the American experience with the repeated recourse to violence and the turnover of constitutions and political forms in France: four constitutions in the period between George Washington and Jefferson's elections alone. His conclusion, extended through his treatment of the nineteenth century, is that the U.S. republic survived the challenges of secessionism, abolitionism, and civil war due in part to the solid base of democratic thought that suffused its institutions.

This book offers a rich and complex account of the tangled genealogy of American democratic constitutionalism. Kloppenberg directly addresses, at several points, the obvious criticism that a regime that countenanced race-based chattel slavery and the exclusion of women from public life does not fulfill contemporary understandings of democracy. His resolution of this criticism, that the innovations of the 1790s opened the route "toward democracy" rather than representing an ideal form, is reasonable but will not convince everyone. His account of how the agitation for female suffrage paved the way for democracy is the most persuasive illustration of the use of democratic constitutionalism as an inspiration to further reform. It is not clear how the American experiment offered a route "toward democracy" beyond the United States. The comparative elements in this book are used to contrast the fortuitous discovery of the prerequisites of

self-rule in America with the failed experiments elsewhere. However, neither the singularity of the American experience nor its paradigmatic role in the definition of democracy is entirely compelling.

The American debate that forms the heart of this book reflects the transatlantic late-eighteenth-century discussion of the conditions for an extended commercial state. All the elements that Kloppenberg identifies in the genealogy of American democracy were also part of the debate on the conditions of empire. Unitary sovereignty, civic humanism, and Scottish social theory all featured in the thinking of William Pitt, the Younger, as well as his more radical opponents in the reform movements of the 1780s. The specific debate that Kloppenberg analyzes in American politics was not restricted to America, but was part of a much wider concern with imperial reform. Many of Kloppenberg's liberal democrats look, from this perspective, more like Pittites.

A plurality of visions of the union state and empire, many of them highly federative, while only some of them democratic, animated late-eighteenth-century imperial British politics. Josiah Tucker, among others, made a great virtue of the federative nature of the British realms in the middle of the eighteenth century. This thinking also comprised important ideas about the relationship of political structure to political economy. Public credit, the nature of money, and the status of free trade were only three of the topics in imperial political economy that were inherited by the American constitutional tradition. Kloppenberg's integrative account loses the democratic innovation within the wider imperial Whig tradition. Just where did liberal imperial constitutionalism end and democracy begin?

The liberal constitutionalism that forms the focus of this book represented one element of the reform thinking around empire in the late eighteenth century. Democratic thought was a much more radical variant that suspected that the empires as then constituted could not be reformed. Not all critics of commercial empire were democrats. Political thinkers who otherwise held very different commitments, such as Edmund Burke and Jacques-Pierre Brissot, argued that imperial states in commercial societies with access to public credit promoted war and slavery and so had to be reformed. The Warren Hastings trial and the discussion of the role of the East India Company were both efforts to provoke such reform. However, criticism of empire intensified and took on a democratic character as imperial reform proved illusory. Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, abbé de Raynal, identified the increasing salience of race as a rationalization for domination as a feature of modern empire. Empires, democrats around the Atlantic argued, systematically corrupted political elites and consolidated themselves by creating forms of privilege, racial privilege being only one of them. Jean-Paul Marat, who developed his thinking on the problems of modern imperial commercial states from his observations in Newcastle, saw democracy as the solution to this problem of corruption, even if he was very pessimistic about the likelihood of the success of democratic reform. The contrast between the constitutional experiences of

the French and American Revolutions has to be integrated with the debate on empire and political economy if we are to properly characterize the democratic tradition.

The defining characteristic of Atlantic democrats in the eighteenth century was their analysis of empire. This kind of thinking was not restricted to France. The rich country/poor country debate, elaborated by Scottish thinkers in the middle of the eighteenth century to explain Scotland's role in British imperial political economy, was radicalized by United Irishmen such as Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet to explain the pathologies of empire. They argued that empire created the conditions for systematic corruption. Large monarchical states institutionalized poverty by subverting the political class of the subordinate elements. Their argument was that rational economic behavior, which would end poverty, was possible only under conditions of political independence; under empire, pathologies such as sectarianism were created to protect rent-seekers. O'Connor saw imperial states as historical anomalies and British rule in Ireland as a particularly egregious example of the manner in which imperial states distorted and subverted the secular trend of social and economic development toward equality. Universal citizenship exercised in national democratic states, a world of individuals free and equal in rights, was imagined as the means to rescue the benefits of commercial society from the pathologies of empire.

The stability of the U.S. constitutional order creates the temptation to see it as at least fulfilling some minimal conditions for rational self-rule. Kloppenberg's pragmatic stress on function drives him to underestimate the contribution of the French and Haitian Revolutions to the elaboration of modern democracy. His judgment of the Haitian Revolution as having no consequence for the history of democracy is particularly questionable. Even when viewed negatively, the successful revolt against chattel slavery challenged and undermined every notion of democracy that normalized citizenship as a racial characteristic. He also does not confront the specific French contribution to the history of modern democracy. The social democratic understanding that the cultural and economic conditions of citizenship have to be guaranteed by the collectivity was a French innovation. The American achievement Kloppenberg clearly identifies, of incorporating elements of the democratic response to commercial empire into the emerging constitutional order, was immense but hardly definitive. In the decades around the beginning of the nineteenth century, French, Haitian, and South American states all struggled to identify the prerequisites for modern citizenship. Did citizenship demand universal public education, mass military experience, land redistribution, and access to credit? How were slaves to achieve legal citizenship? What was the status of property? Was it the anchor of independence or a troubling inheritance that sustained old privileges? Was international trade compatible with a world of republics? New work by scholars such as Allan Potofsky, Hannah Callaway, Elizabeth Cross, Pierre Rosanvallon, Rafe Blau-farb, and Malick W. Ghachem is addressing these prob-

lems. As the body of scholarship generated by the major research programs on democracy led by Pierre Serna, as well as Joanna Innes and Mark Philp, illustrates, democratic experiments were entangled with one another and remained highly unstable. Democracy remained a solution without a dominant definition, possibly until Franklin Delano Roosevelt's nomination of the four freedoms.

If Kloppenberg could have extended his imaginative sympathy to the slaves of Saint Domingue, the bureaucrats of the Directory, and the *sectionnaires* of Paris in a manner that paralleled his evenhanded reconstruction of the differences and debates between Federalists and

Democratic Republicans, or Jacksonians and Whigs, then this would be an astounding book. As it stands, the confusion of democracy with constitutionalism gets in the way of recognizing the complexities in the history of democracy. The strength of this book is also its weakness. The pragmatic interrogation of the relationship of discourse to function drives Kloppenberg to underestimate the contribution of less sure-footed and ephemeral democratic experiments outside the United States.

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ANN McGRATH. *Illicit Love: Interracial Sex and Marriage in the United States and Australia*. (Borderlands and Transcultural Studies.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. Pp. xxxi, 503. \$45.00.

When indigenous people and settlers marry, they do a number of things, according to Ann McGrath in *Illicit Love: Interracial Sex and Marriage in the United States and Australia*. They publicly proclaim their mutual affection, or at least their personal interdependence. They cross cultural and legal boundaries. Marriage, after all, is a contract. Most of all, McGrath tells us, they trouble settler sovereignty by breaking down the neat “binary—of colonizer and colonized” (345).

Scholars of gender and of settler colonialism, such as Nancy Cott, Peggy Pascoe, Patrick Wolfe, and Kat Ellinghaus, have long convinced us that more is going on in sexual border crossings than sex. This is so because family formation is of foundational importance to all polities. The perils of incest, the division of community resources, and even one's citizenship and subjecthood are bound up in rules about marriage that shift across time, place, and culture. In settler colonial societies like Australia and the United States, such boundary crossings also chip away at myths of settlement. When couples and their communities countenance intermarriage, they acknowledge that indigenous dispossession is always incomplete. Of course, Wolfe has insisted that settler-indigenous family formation does other work, too. For him, interracial sex is a weapon of elimination: the most powerful articulation of Australian settler colonialism is the goal of making aboriginal Australians white (*Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* [1999]). McGrath is not interested in such bleak tales. Hers is a hopeful story about the endurance of indigenous sovereignty in the “alchemy of transformative connection” (393).

McGrath makes her most compelling arguments about the interconnections between marriage and sovereignty in early-twentieth-century Northern Australia. This is curious because from the 1830s Australian colonies consistently denied that indigenous people had any sovereignty at all. Then, from 1860, a slow spreading mania for controlling and protecting aboriginal “wards” inspired colonial and state legislatures to give bureaucrat-protectors

remarkable summary powers to meddle in aboriginal lives, including powers to control their mobility, their marriages, and their children. By World War I, aboriginal Australians were special subjects of settler regulation throughout the continent. (For a historical overview of law and policy regarding indigenous families, see Anna Haebich, *Broken Circles* [2000].)

So by the time McGrath arrives in early-twentieth-century Queensland, both indigenous sovereignty and most intermarriages in Australia were de facto rather than de jure. McGrath shows us, however, that settler delusions of perfect control over Aborigines were tenuous. A century after colonial administrations pitted their sovereignty against indigenous law, McGrath's aboriginal protectors and missionaries were still confounded by its persistence in the sphere of love. In the vast northern region where indigenous people outnumbered settlers, interracial sex was the object of an odd combination of war, diplomacy, and intensive administrative regulation. Protectors had power to disrupt indigenous families, but even they knew, in the end, that relationships between settlers, itinerant workers, and aboriginal women invoked laws beyond their reach.

McGrath shows the limited powers of missionaries and bureaucrats in a series of arresting chapters that combine broad archival research and deep and satisfying knowledge of indigenous law and Australian history. McGrath, after all, is a leader in this field. Chapter 2 is about the remarkable Ernest Gribble, who forced aboriginal people on his mission to have white weddings, which threatened to break elaborate aboriginal rules about kinship and marriage. McGrath richly renders the dilemmas faced by mission residents struggling to honor their law in a place where tribal identities were muddled by death, displacement, and despair. All the while, it seems that Gribble was having an adulterous relationship with his aboriginal helpmeet, Jeannie. His own comforts (McGrath calls it love) could not be so bounded.

Chapter 5 tells the story of state efforts to guard white Australia by regulating aboriginal women's relationships

with white men and foreign workers. Aboriginal relationships with Pacific Islander and Chinese workers are most interesting here. Such relationships were more threatening than their indigenous-settler equivalent because they underlined a paradox in Australian settler colonialism. By making families with men from China and the Pacific, McGrath argues, indigenous women performed a special right and capacity to challenge white Australia. They showed that, no matter how much Australian politicians fulminated about racial purity, the continent had black roots that could not be excised.

Finally, McGrath explains in chapter 6 that no matter what the state said, aboriginal women asserted the primacy of indigenous law by entering into and leaving interracial relationships with settlers and foreigners unexpectedly and on their own terms. They did so, she tells us, to honor their indigenous husbands, to reinforce their own bonds to country, and, of course, to please their self-governing selves. In all three chapters on Australia, indigenous laws (and sometimes Pacific and Chinese laws) about sex wend their way into the most intrusive of state practices, disrupting settler illusions of "perfect sovereignty."

McGrath's U.S. case studies are more mesmerizing, but less analytically satisfying. This is odd because the historical significance of Cherokee sovereignty is plain to see. From 1816, territorial sovereignty was a weapon wielded by Georgia to argue for Cherokee removal from the state. The Cherokees fought back by formalizing their own "Sovereignty and Jurisdiction" in a Constitution (167). These claims to sovereignty received tepid support from the Supreme Court of the United States. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the court conceded that the Cherokee were a "domestic dependent nation"—that is, some diminished iteration of Cherokee sovereignty had survived the settlement and federation of European Americans. As I have argued elsewhere, Cherokees had sovereignty enough to resist the dictates of the state of Georgia, but no power, not even a state's power, against Congress.

They did, however, have sovereignty enough to legislate about marriage. Indeed, McGrath shows us that interracial relationships were much more closely regulated by Cherokee than by settler law. From the mid-1820s, even as McGrath's first couple, Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot, planned their wedding, Cherokee legislation started to regulate intermarriage. Intermarriage was a question of sovereignty because it posed an existential threat to the Cherokee Nation. As the Cherokee were matrilineal, marriage between Cherokee women and white men gave interlopers access to dwindling Cherokee resources. This was no small matter when the Cherokee had signed a series of treaties for perpetual annuities from the U.S. government. In contrast, the good people of Cornwall, Connecticut, thought God disapproved of their young women falling in love with rich and clever Cherokee men. That injunction served to justify burning Gold and Boudinot in effigy for their engagement, and it led them to close down the Indian school. However, it could not stop Gold and Boudinot from being married

under Connecticut law. As Harriet pointed out to one detractor, "she had 'a perfect and lawful right'" to marry a Cherokee (45).

The sovereignty story here is obvious. But it is episodically told by McGrath. The details of Cherokee laws about marriage and about the sovereignty claims of the Cherokee Nation are largely contained in a bridging chapter (e.g., 147–192). Instead, at the center of the Cherokee story lie the archives of two extraordinary couples: Gold and Boudinot, and Mary Bryan Stapler and John Ross. Boudinot edited the *Cherokee Phoenix* and earned notoriety for signing the Treaty of New Echota ceding Cherokee land east of the Mississippi to the United States. By the time Ross met Stapler, he was principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. These powerful men and their settler women left rich (if partial) archives. The archives are captivating, and in chapters 1 and 4, it is clear that McGrath is captivated. There is no equivalent archive in Queensland—even Gribble's love affair with Jeannie left too few traces to fill a chapter. In my view, the Queensland chapters are better argued for it: they are more deeply contextualized, and they cover more lives. McGrath is thoroughly at home with her American lovers, but she is not so at home in American history.

The Gold and Boudinot chapter, based chiefly on Gold's writings about her persecution by the townsfolk of Cornwall, is not really about sovereignty. It is largely about the intolerance of Connecticut Protestants, including Gold's nearest relations. Their objections to her marriage are comprised of a familiar cluster of snide comments about brown children, savagery, and lust. No one mentions Cherokee law or statehood, though in one imaginative aside McGrath suggests that Cornwall's intolerance had something to do with Connecticut's long chokehold on the local Mohegan community.

Stapler and Ross have a little more to say to each other about tribes and sovereignty in their letters of courtship. Ross reminds Stapler of his status and origin repeatedly, though she knows it well. His status and enormous wealth, no doubt, are what makes him marriageable. He signs in his Indian name, Kooweskoowe, and she calls him "chief." Their love affair transpired while Ross was in Pennsylvania on tribal business. But there is little more than that in their charming letters, certainly not enough to justify the subheadings "Transnational and Transatlantic Identity Games" (214) and "Negotiating a Treaty" (222).

These sections cannot be shoehorned neatly into a story about sovereignty; nor can they be constrained by genre. And here I arrive at the part of the book that is most beguiling and most challenging—McGrath's insistent flirtation with fiction. McGrath's first story, "Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot: Against History?," is emblematic here, not only for its title. Like so many portions of the book devoted to narrative, the chapter starts in the present tense: "It is June 1825 and we are in Cornwall, Connecticut." We arrive in time to find "nineteen-year-old Harriett . . . hiding in the house of a family friend" (35). She is hiding from her brother and friends, who are burning her figurative self in a bonfire. Her relatives ac-

cuse her of dishonoring her family by giving in to her “*animal feeling*” for Boudinot (47).

Intimacy is both the substance of the story and a device here, though Gold’s archive has little to say about romance. Frequently shifting tenses are only one mode of its delivery. We historians are also invited, insistently, to wonder what these lovers were thinking. Sometimes we are told. Harriet is accused of “*animal feeling*,” but she is “silent on the topic of physical attraction. Perhaps Harriet *was* being more conniving than we might wish to think” (47). We guess at Harriet’s connivances, but McGrath tells us other things she knows. “Harriet knew that ‘civilized’ women had to restrain their passions” in order to be “elevated” from the status of “slaves” (47). We learn from footnotes that Harriet’s thoughts here are drawn from Nancy Cott’s article “Passionless: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850” (*Signs* 4, no. 2 [1978]: 219–236). We speculate that the Reverend Hermann Vaill defended more than his sister-in-law’s virtue when he said her death would be better than her marriage to an Indian. McGrath thinks he may have “toyed with a more than friendly interest in his wife’s sister.” Here it is Hermann’s “overly stiff sign-off” that gives him away, “as if to tone down his effusive feelings” (49). For me, that was one speculation too far.

Perhaps, though, the real challenge here is one of introspection. We historians spend a lot of time supposing. Very quietly, my characters fulminate, mock, and scorn; they seldom fall in love. Perhaps we should read McGrath’s imaginings as a challenging reminder of the fictions historians peddle every day.

Like sovereignty, experimental histories are more ambitious than perfect. If McGrath subordinates argument to story a little too much to bear out all of her claims about sovereignty, and if her confounding of genres is occasionally jarring, what of it? Her approach is nonetheless appealing. This is chiefly because McGrath allows indigenous people to be more than mere objects of state scrutiny and control. The real drama in *Illicit Love* lies with the lovers, in relationships, not regulations. Love infuses McGrath’s characters with power and presence. We cynics might call it strategy, self-preservation, lust, or exploitation, but McGrath makes it clear that we miss something important when we do so. McGrath’s “love”—both for and between her characters—gives a depth to this fresh and sometimes dazzling book that must resonate with us all.

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KARINE V. WALTHER. *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821–1921*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 457. \$39.95.

There are few if any topics fitting under the broad rubric of “the United States and the world” that are more in need of scholarly attention than the history of the encounters between the U.S. and Islamic societies in the long nineteenth century. Despite the obvious contemporary importance of the topic, the historiography remains surprisingly sparse, though part of the explanation for this can be found in the quality of those works that do exist on the topic, by historians such as James A. Field, Ussama Samir Makdisi, Barbara Reeves-Ellington, and Heather J. Sharkey.

Karine V. Walther enters this field with a wide-ranging work that will inspire further scholarship. The scope of the book’s argument is ambitious: Walther suggests that such was the continuity in U.S. attitudes toward Islamic societies in different places and in different times that it is appropriate to speak of an invented “Islamic world” within U.S. discourse and policymaking. *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821–1921* is based on a series of case studies of U.S. involvement in and reactions toward the revolutions in Greece and Crete, the colonial administration of the Moro population in the Philippines, the massacres in Armenia, and the geopolitics of the Great War era. In a section somewhat awkwardly wedged between those topics, there is an exploration of Jewish American activism in Morocco in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Though Walther might have more

fully explained the rationale for the selection of these episodes (as well as their running order—the chapter on the Armenian massacres occurs out of sequence), the author should be applauded for seeking to explore the connections and common denominators between such a broad range of topics.

The “Islamic world,” Walther argues, was an invention of U.S. (and European) observers and actors rather than a creation of Muslims at the time. Walther contends that the foundation of this U.S. construct was religion. Throughout the book, the reader sees how U.S. views of Muslims derived from crude and one-dimensional understandings of Islam that depicted the religion as a relic of barbarism that was prone to violent outbursts against peoples of other religions, particularly Christians. What is asserted in the book about U.S. views of Moros applies to discussions of attitudes toward other Muslims throughout *Sacred Interests*: “American colonial policies were primarily driven by beliefs that Muslims were uncivilized, violent, and, importantly, incapable of self-government” (157).

Who was responsible for advancing and entrenching such a view of Islam? Here, Walther also casts her net widely so as to include “nonstate actors, including missionaries, religious organizations, journalists, academics, businessmen, clergymen, philanthropists, and the wider American public [who] collaborated with diplomats, colonial officials, soldiers, and political elites” (5). The differ-

ent specific discussions have different emphases, with the early chapters of the book focusing more on the U.S. press and missionaries and the later sections having more of a diplomatic focus. Some of the most interesting examples demonstrate the significant opinion-making role played by U.S. consuls on the ground, whose reports and links to press outlets did much to frame the discussion of Muslim societies. Walther should be commended for the wide range of characters in the book, although this reviewer would have benefited from more explicit discussion of patterns and trajectories of opinion makers and methods across the nineteenth century.

U.S. views of the “Islamic world,” of course, were not generated in a vacuum. Walther emphasizes the many instances in which American views were conditioned by domestic debates. “Like European nation-states, American attitudes toward the Muslim world were uniquely defined by its history—including domestic attitudes about religious difference, American manifest destiny, empire, and hierarchies of race, religion, and civilization” (321). For example, Walther shows how U.S. attitudes toward Greece were linked to contemporary debates at home about slavery and race. The reader sees time and again how the U.S. experience of conquest and rule over Native Americans provided a frame of reference for encounters with rebellious Muslims around the world, particularly the Moros in the Philippines after 1898. Walther points out the contradictions and hypocrisies inherent in U.S. worldviews. “Ironically, the same men who asserted the necessity of defending political liberty and Christianity abroad and lamented the tragic state of Greeks ‘enslaved’ by Turkish Muslim rule were incapable of turning their critical lens inward,” she points out in the chapter on the Greek rebellion of the 1820s (48).

The most compelling sections of the book are those that show how U.S. attitudes were influenced by, or should be seen as part of, broader European imperialist attitudes and hierarchies of civilization and race. Walther states, “During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, global interactions between people, nongovernmental organizations, nations, and empires embedded American attitudes within larger transnational conceptualizations of the Islamic world” (321). For example, U.S. discussion of the “Bulgarian Horrors” of the 1870s both conditioned the famous pamphlet written by British statesman William Gladstone and developed further in response to that pamphlet (81–83). The chapter on Bulgaria is a particularly rich one in this regard, especially its discussion of Robert College, an institution established by U.S. missionaries that came to function as the “nursery of Bulgarian statesmen” (74). In time, these American-educated political activists deftly deployed U.S. conceptions of religion and civilization to advance their appeals for support to Western powers. One of the most interesting findings of the book concerns how such groups—most frequently Christians within Ottoman lands—utilized the religious and political vocabulary of the U.S. and other Western powers to acquire their support, thus providing external confirmation of one-dimensional depictions of Islam.

This is primarily a study of the origins and development of U.S. views of Muslims and the invention of the “Islamic world.” But Walther also pays attention to the course of diplomatic crises and, in the case of the Philippines, U.S. colonial administration. Here she seeks to link the religiously grounded worldview of U.S. officials to their actions on the ground. In one of the more illuminating sections, she examines how the ideas of the U.S. governor of the Moro Province, Leonard Wood, derived both from a one-dimensional understanding of Islam and from his interactions with British colonial officials, who shared their preferred methods of imperial rule with Wood during his travels to the Philippines. In other sections of the book, however, the link between religion and diplomatic/imperialist action could be more fully substantiated. There are methodological challenges here of a timeless nature. To pose it as a question, what is the criterion for determining if a religiously grounded argument used by a U.S. official is sincere, as opposed to a justification for a policy motivated by strategic or economic interests?

Walther’s conclusions soundly follow from the episodes she examines; however, one can wonder whether a study of U.S. attitudes toward Muslims would look the same if different examples were placed under the microscope. The book is framed around a series of international crises, many of which concerned the treatment of Christian minorities within the Ottoman Empire. It is not surprising that these episodes generated negative and one-dimensional depictions of Islam during heated debates about U.S. intervention. What picture would emerge if the selection of historical episodes were different? The introduction mentions a diverse range of U.S. views of Islam, but this theme is not fully developed and calls out for further scholarship. There is also surprisingly little isolated treatment of the gendered dimensions of the story. Did female U.S. missionaries follow a line of thought on the “Islamic world” similar to the line that males did? Another line of questions that this book raises concerns how U.S. policy toward the “Islamic world” fits in with what we know about the course of U.S. expansion and empire. At several points, Walther shows how established diplomatic traditions such as George Washington’s “Farewell Address” and the Monroe Doctrine frustrated U.S. officials, who argued that there was a moral imperative to pursue a more assertive diplomacy, even an imperialist one (45, 326). In one revealing episode, we see Republican Supreme Court chief justice, Salmon P. Chase, making the case for an activist “Christian doctrine” to guide U.S. foreign policy (65). What should we see as the importance of such views given that in most of the episodes of the book the U.S. ultimately did not pursue an interventionist foreign policy? (The case of the Philippines, of course, is a very notable exception.)

This is an important study that deserves to be widely read. It succeeds in recovering the central role of religion in the construction of an imagined “Islamic world.” It shows how these ideas played out in a range of historical contexts and settings. It should prompt scholars to further

probe the development and application of these ideas by a wide range of U.S. historical actors.

In the conclusion, Walther moves forward in time, showing the legacy of the U.S. understandings of Islam that emerged in the nineteenth century in more recent times. If the narrative from the 1800s to our current era is

not a linear one, there can be little doubt that Walther has uncovered the ideological and rhetorical foundations of the recrudescence of Islamophobia of today.

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DAVID DRAKE. *Paris at War: 1939–1944*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 545. \$35.00.

ROBERT GILDEA. *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 593. \$35.00.

OLIVIER WIEVIORKA. *The French Resistance*. Translated by JANE MARIE TODD. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 569. \$39.95.

The public image of the French Resistance has undergone a sea change in recent decades, which is why David Drake's *Paris at War: 1939–1944*, Robert Gildea's *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance*, and Olivier Wieviorka's *The French Resistance* are such welcome additions to the historiography. In the first years after the Second World War, Communists and Gaullists competed to take control of the narrative. In the Communist version of events, the party, operating on home soil unlike the Free French in London, had led the fight against the German occupier. This was an antifascist effort, an extension of the struggle that had begun in earnest earlier with the eruption of the Spanish Civil War. It was also a popular one; the mass of France's citizenry lined up behind the working class and its political vanguard, the Parti communiste français. And as a mass movement, it fit into a long history of popular insurrectionism that dated back not just to the Paris Commune but all the way to 1789. General Charles de Gaulle understood the war years in ways at once similar and different. He was the man who had launched the anti-German crusade on June 18, 1940, taking to the British airwaves to entreat the French not to allow "the flame of Resistance" to die out. It was he who had dispatched an emissary to the continent in 1943, Jean Moulin, to impose unity on an all too fragmented Resistance movement. It was he once again who in August 1944 returned victorious to France to renew the Republic and restore French grandeur, marching down the Champs-Élysées to the acclaim not just of Parisians but of all his countrymen. De Gaulle, like the Communists, accented the patriotic fervor of the public and its unalloyed hatred of the German occupier. At the same time, he contested the Communist Party's claim to Resistance leadership, casting himself in that role, and in time it was the Gaullist account and not the Communist one that gained the upper hand. De Gaulle's return to power in 1958 made the difference, placing the general

in a position to shape the narrative decisively, which he did. The Gaullist effort culminated in December 1964 in a two-day televised apotheosis that saw the reburial of Jean Moulin's ashes in the crypt of the Pantheon.

Such mythologizing, however, soon came unstuck. De Gaulle retired from office in 1969 and died the next year. A generation of '68ers, at once steeped in stories about the heroic deeds of their elders and ever more skeptical of them, began to cast a critical eye on the Resistance. Many French had backed Maréchal Pétain, and many more had sat out the war, waiting to see who would win, all the while busying themselves to get by in an era of shortages and rationing. Not just that: they had looked the other way as Vichy, working hand in glove with the occupier, deported tens of thousands of Jews to their deaths. There had indeed been a Resistance, but it had always been a minority affair, and, in addition to that, many of the first-hour résistants had been misfits, as Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, a first-hour résistant himself, had so famously characterized them. In the new vision of the Resistance that began to gain currency in the 1970s and 1980s, patriotism was soft-pedaled in favor of a different package of motives, a revulsion in the face of Nazi barbarism and a concomitant embrace of universalist values. Thus, the résistant, once a lover of country, was made over into a paladin of human rights, a more suitable image for an age ever more doubtful about the virtues of national feeling.

As the image of the Resistance evolved, taking on an ever more humanist coloration, the study of the subject professionalized. For many years, it was a state-connected body, the Comité d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, that had assumed the mantle of Resistance research. The Comité, founded in 1951, was the brainchild of Henri Michel, who was also an ex-résistant. In 1978, a new organism, less tied to officialdom, began to take over the Comité's responsibilities, the Institut d'histoire du

temps présent (IHTP), and over time this institutional shift was matched by a generational one, the directorship of the IHTP passing into the hands of younger university-trained scholars who had come of age after the war. Henry Rousso, who ran the institute from 1994 to 2005, and who himself did so much to reconceive how the war years were remembered, is a case in point. Under the aegis of the IHTP and beyond, historical monographs on Resistance movements and personalities proliferated, grounded not just in personal experience and recollection but in deep archival research. All this new wisdom has long stood in need of a critical summing-up, and that moment has at last arrived with the publication of the books under review, two of which, Robert Gildea's and Olivier Wieviorka's, take the Resistance as a subject head on, while the third, David Drake's, also refers to it but in a more glancing manner.

Paris under occupation, the focus of Drake's investigations, is not a new subject, but it is one often addressed from the top down, with attention paid first to artistic elites or to high society. Drake, in contrast, means to look at the experience from the point of view of ordinary Parisians and to that end has worked his way through a trove of private diaries and memoirs, some penned by familiar names—Jean Guéhenno, for example—but most by lesser-known personalities coming from a variety of walks of life. Drake's approach is chronological and impressionistic, and the picture that he paints is one of a city laboring under persistent and increasing material hardship. Food shortages led to rationing already in the fall of 1940. Coal and petrol were also hard to come by, and there were interruptions in the supply of electricity. A deteriorating political environment compounded the population's difficulties. Resistance activity stepped up, and as it did the Germans retaliated with curfews, arrests, and executions. The Allies began bombing Parisian sites in early 1942, targeting the Renault works in the city's southwest and later railroad facilities in the north, all of which resulted in thousands of civilian deaths, what would today be called collateral damage.

How, then, did Parisians respond to such privations and to the intensifying violence? At first, according to Drake, the city's population was too busy scraping by to care much about the bigger picture. To be sure, Pétain's much-publicized encounter with Adolf Hitler at Montoire in October 1940 prompted general indignation, but most people were glad the war was over and willing enough to look the other way when Vichy enacted persecutory legislation aimed at Jewish fellow citizens. This changed, however, in July 1942, when the Germans with Vichy assistance rounded up over twelve thousand Jews, detaining them first in the Vélodrome d'Hiver before deporting them to internment facilities in the Parisian suburb of Drancy and from there to concentration camps in the east, where they were murdered. The event, public and dramatic, stirred Parisians to outrage. Outrage turned to joy when the city learned of the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942, and then to anger once again when Vichy, under German pressure, im-

posed a labor draft the following February, threatening to steal away French youth to work in the service of the Nazi war machine.

The public mood thus appears to have undergone a significant transformation over time. It shifted from initial resignation to a fury directed against the occupier and Vichy alike, even as hopes soared that the city's liberation might be fast approaching. On this accounting, the population of Paris set aside its earlier wait-and-see attitude to embrace the anti-German, anti-Vichy cause, but then Drake pulls back when it comes time to conclude. The book's final sentence reads: "But the energies of the majority of Parisians were focused on doing their best to survive increasing hardship and deprivation while making as few compromises as they could" (427). Survival seems to be the last word, not dawning political engagement, and so in the final analysis Drake confirms the post-1970s conventional wisdom rather than striking out in new directions.

Gildea's conclusions, by comparison, are bolder. In some respects, he adopts an approach similar to Drake's, trawling through an array of firsthand accounts supplemented by numerous taped interviews with former résistants. Gildea's narrative is rich in enlivening biographical detail, which makes it a pleasure to read. Gildea, however, does not settle for the anecdotal but arranges the stories he has gathered, Chuck Close-like, to build up a larger tableau of what the Resistance was all about, and that tableau has a sharp political edge.

The Resistance, as Gildea sees it, is a many-splendored thing made up of divers, often contentious elements, but there are four in particular he is at pains to highlight. He devotes an entire chapter to the Resistance activities of women who served in so many capacities: as couriers and operatives, as housewives protesting shortages, and in a handful of celebrated instances as Resistance commanders. Think of Berty Albrecht of Combat, who was captured by the Germans and died in Fresnes Prison, or of Marie-Hélène Fourcade, who directed the Alliance network. A chapter is also devoted to what Gildea calls God's underground. It is well known how close the hierarchy of the Catholic Church was to Pétain's regime, but there were also many Catholics, and Protestants too, who were revolted by Nazi paganism and Vichy's complicity in the persecution of Jews. They mounted rescue efforts to hide and spirit out of the country the targets of the occupier's repression, and in this were aided by well-meaning foreign organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). People not born in the hexagon, in fact, constitute Gildea's third group of interest, and he shows what a varied crew they were. The collapse of the Spanish Republic had spurred tens of thousands of loyalists to take refuge in France, there to be greeted as objects of political suspicion and herded into internment camps. In the aftermath of the 1940 defeat, many were handed over to the Nazis and deported to Mauthausen, but many also found their way into the ranks of the Resistance. Nor was it just in the hexagon that non-indigenous French took up the fight. A handful of colonies ral-

lied to de Gaulle's call to resistance, and they came equipped with armed units drawn in large measure from local populations. The fighting forces of Free France were officered by Frenchmen, but the rank-and-file was often made up of African-born recruits. And last, but not least of all, there were the Jews who resisted, those who were French by birth and those, naturalized or not, who had immigrated during the interwar period. For France's Jewish inhabitants, citizen and non-citizen alike, the war was a matter of life and death, and at its outbreak they volunteered for service in droves, enlisting in the regular army or, when ineligible to do so, in the Foreign Legion. The coming of Vichy and the persecutions that followed meant that the war, for the Jews, did not end, and many of them kept up the fight. Jews enrolled in a range of Resistance organizations, some, like the *Eclaireurs israélites de France* and the *Zionist Armée juive*, where they militated *qua* Jews, and others, such as the *Main-d'oeuvre immigrée*, where they fought as Communists who happened to be Jews.

The Resistance, however democratic in composition, however powerful the upwelling of opinion it represented, did not in the end leave as enduring a mark on postwar France as might be expected. Gildea has an explanation for this: the U.S. bears a portion of the responsibility. In 1942–1943, in a just-liberated North Africa, American policymakers were more interested in stability than in democratic principle. They tried to block de Gaulle at every turn because they viewed him as a demagogic troublemaker, favoring instead men of order: first, Admiral François Darlan, a former Vichy second-in-command, and then, in the wake of Darlan's assassination, General Henri Giraud, who, though not an outright Vichyite, was known to be sympathetic to the National Revolution's objectives.

De Gaulle, however, outsmarted the U.S. and contrived to come out on top, but in the end he proved himself not that much more sympathetic to the Resistance's democratizing potentialities than the Americans. For de Gaulle, in Gildea's phrasing, the Resistance was "military, national, and male" (3). The general played up how much he, working through emissaries such as Jean Moulin, had done to mold and unite the Resistance on the ground, trying in the process to steal a march on the Communists, who were inclined to tout their own leading role. Not long after de Gaulle's return to French soil in 1944, moreover, he began to insist that armed Resistance units, purged of foreigners, integrate themselves into the regular army. As for the regular army itself, in the wake of the D-Day landings and responding in part to pressure from segregation-minded Americans, Free French commanders undertook a *blanchiment* or whitening of the ranks, removing colonial soldiers from the front lines and dispatching them back to colonial postings. De Gaulle was also not inclined to recognize the role women had played in the Resistance. They had served, but most of the time as unarmed combatants, and so what they had accomplished was of secondary importance. The story de Gaulle wanted to tell subtracted all too many groups from the "bright palette of

anti-fascist resisters," an excision that in Gildea's estimation represented a triumph of order and hierarchy over the "forces of democracy" (378, 423).

So d'Astier de la Vigerie got it wrong, and so too did de Gaulle. The Resistance was not a band of oddballs; nor was it purely French. It was made up of men and women of exceptional courage who came from all over, from the hexagon and beyond. They were bound together by a commitment to democracy and to antifascism, aspirations that ran into roadblocks at the Liberation. These were the work of the U.S. and de Gaulle, and they enabled an older prewar order to make its return, one presided over by the state bureaucracy, army, and political parties.

Wieviorka's book, always thoughtful and judicious, addresses both these issues—the makeup of the Resistance and its political disappointments at the Liberation—and a few more besides. On the matter of the Resistance's constitution, Wieviorka stresses how the movement was built from the ground up, snowballing and ramifying as it went. It did not recruit from the margins but from the mainstream of French life. Wieviorka stresses the foreign element less than Gildea does. He downplays the Jewish side of the story and at the same time situates the movement's social center of gravity among the middle classes, who do not have the same prominence in Gildea's analysis. The most important difference, however, has to do with Resistance politics. Wieviorka's Resistance includes a potent right-wing current made up of Gaullists but also of just plain nationalists. A number, such as Henri Frenay, *Combat's* leading personality, had been first-hour résistants, but there were others, Philippe Viannay of *Défense de la France*, for example, who had for a period continued to believe in Pétain even as they fought the Germans. There were others still, so-called Vichysto-résistants, who had started out as servants of the Vichy regime before grasping the error they had made and turning to underground work. The presence of the Right helps to explain the occasional expressions of antisemitism—and not just among de Gaulle's military entourage—that cropped up in Resistance pronouncements. It also shifts the balance of motives informing Resistance commitment away from the antifascist pole and toward the patriotic one.

As for the Resistance's postwar fortunes, or misfortunes, Wieviorka's discussion differs from Gildea's in two major respects. He does not slight de Gaulle's role but sees the Resistance itself and its shortcomings as in part to blame. The Resistance, after all, was a clandestine phenomenon, better suited for clandestine work than for the calculated maneuvering of electoral politics. In any event, the movement encompassed such a wide spectrum of views that it is hard to imagine what kind of political vehicle would have rallied all its parts. Even so, the *Conseil national de la Résistance* (CNR) did agree on a common program in March 1944. The CNR, created the preceding year on Moulin's instigation, was composed of representatives drawn from all corners of the Resistance. No doubt, the charter agreed to was vague, but it envisioned

projects—a return to democratic institutions, nationalizations, and the creation of a social security system—that were indeed realized at the Liberation. In practice, these Liberation-era reforms, inflected by Gaullist and technocratic influences, may not have been just what the Resistance Left had hoped for, but they were accomplishments nonetheless, and so, on Wieviorka's telling, the Liberation moment represented not so much a setback for the Resistance as "an incomplete victory" (438).

There are three additional issues that Wieviorka has interesting things to say about. One has to do with the military effectiveness of the Resistance. Wieviorka acknowledges that the Allies were bound to win the war with or without Resistance help, which proved more of a bonus than a *sine qua non*. There were, moreover, Resistance fiascos, none more costly than the Maquis uprising on the Glières Plateau in the early months of 1944, which left over two hundred Resistance fighters dead. At the same time, underground intelligence networks supplied the Allies with invaluable information in the run-up to D-Day; Resistance saboteurs dismantled rail lines, complicating German efforts to bring up reinforcements once the invasion was underway; and armed Resistance units took effective part in the actual fighting once American forces, initially pinned down on a narrow Norman beachhead, broke out at Avranches in late July 1942. The Resistance's military record does not bear comparison to that of Yugoslav or Soviet partisans in the East, but it represented something more than a mere moral victory, important as that was; it also made a meaningful (though by no means determinative) contribution to the Allied war effort.

Everyone knows what happened as the Allies pushed the Germans back: the French began to settle scores. Collaborators, thousands of them, were executed in a "savage purge"; women who had slept with the enemy were punished, their heads shaved. However, Wieviorka insists that for all the violence there was no civil war, nothing equivalent to what happened in Yugoslavia or Greece after the war, and he has compelling observations to make as to why this should have been so. The Resistance was no doubt divided. De Gaulle wrangled to impose discipline on homegrown résistants, who refused subordination, and the domestic Resistance itself was divided, with Communists jockeying for advantage against competitors of various political hues. Yet, in the end, the Resistance managed to close ranks in the face of the enemy. De Gaulle had assets that helped him to assert a unifying control: he had much-needed funds and arms to distribute, and as the man of June 18, he enjoyed an unparalleled aura of legitimacy. For a moment, in the wake of Moulin's 1943 mission to the continent, it looked like the general might succeed in shaping the kind of centralized movement he dreamed of, but that effort began to unravel when the Germans captured Moulin, who died in Gestapo custody. The CNR, Moulin's creation, then fell under the control of autonomy-minded internal résistants. For all that, however, the Resistance did not splinter into squabbling factions. Unity prevailed, not the centralized variety de Gaulle had wanted, but one cemented by

a commitment to the common effort. The Communists, too, however much they wanted to come out on top, bowed to the constraints imposed by the ethic of unity, and the end result was a Resistance more cohesive than its counterparts anywhere else on the continent. This was critical to conjuring away the specter of civil war at the Liberation, but it was not sufficient. What mattered just as much was what de Gaulle had done, while the fighting still raged, to prepare the transition from a France under occupation to a France once again self-governing. He had lined up a roster of governing personnel—commissaires, military delegates, prefects—creating in the process a counterstate that was poised to take charge when the decisive moment arrived and take charge it did.

In recent years, there has been a spate of new work on the Resistance as a social movement. The focus here is on gestures of non-consent rather than on organized activity: reading the forbidden press, listening to the BBC, hiding downed aviators and labor draft resisters, rescuing Jews, all of which involved lawbreaking and the risk of punishment. From this perspective, the Resistance was indeed a mass phenomenon, all those myriad gestures of non-consent adding up to a generalized climate of disobedience, one that was favorable, in fact, for the militant Resistance to work in. This is not Wieviorka's subject, but he acknowledges these findings, contending all the while that there is still a fundamental distinction to be drawn between the two forms of Resistance, the one *ad hoc*, the other action-oriented and sustained.

It is clear that more work needs to be done on this subject, on the Resistance as a social movement and its relations with the Resistance tout court. Wieviorka's comparative asides also leave the reader wanting to know more about how the French Resistance stacked up against Resistance movements elsewhere in Europe.

That said, these books, Gildea's and Wieviorka's above all, which are both excellent, go a long way toward renewing our understanding of the Resistance and its accomplishments. The cobwebs of Gaullist and Communist mythology have been swept away, but what remains is still something substantial. Résistants were not marginal but came from the mainstream of French society. Indeed, so many of them were not French at all. They assembled a movement, fissured as it was, that was remarkable for the depth of sentiment, patriotic above all but also antifascist, that held it together. As a military effort, it was not that effective, but it had its successes, and the Allied brass was appreciative. The Resistance's achievements owe much to the personal courage and determination of its members, but also more than a little to the population among which it worked, who over time showed themselves more sympathetic to its activities and goals than is sometimes thought. De Gaulle himself deserves a portion of credit for this, as do the Communists, and for sure, de Gaulle more than anyone else labored to prepare France for the transition from dictatorship to democracy that was effected at the Liberation; it was a smooth one, all things considered. Vichy enjoyed a majoritarian moment in the summer of 1940, and many French retained a faith in Pé-

tain to the very end. Not all of France rallied to the Resistance, but these books show that many French men and women did, reinforced by a solid phalanx of foreigners and backed by widening swaths of their compa-

triot. This story may not be as glorious as the stories of old, but it is glorious enough.

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FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK. *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789–2009*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xviii, 656. \$74.00.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY. *“They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else”: A History of the Armenian Genocide*. (Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xxiv, 490. \$35.00.

A hundred years ago, the Ottoman Empire embarked upon a centrally organized and bureaucratized process of forced displacement, extermination, mass rape, theft of property, and the sale of children to eliminate its Armenian community, one of the largest ethnicities in a modern state that encompassed the great world-city of Istanbul, Anatolia, modern-day Iraq, and the Arab Eastern Mediterranean. Ronald Grigor Suny’s *“They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else”: A History of the Armenian Genocide* and Fatma Müge Göçek’s *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Pasts, Turkish Presents, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789–2009* join a host of books published during the centennial observations of that genocide. These two books, however, are also something much more. Suny and Göçek formed the collegial bond at the center of a decade-long movement to bring high research standards and a strong sense of professionalism to the study of one of the most brutal moments of twentieth-century history. Their books are their individual statements on the outcome of that process; they are a testament to how their efforts, friendship, and deep sense of compassion have helped transform a body of scholarship that had been deformed by the pernicious and inhumane project of Turkish-government-sponsored genocide denial into a rigorous field of historical inquiry that contributes to larger questions about mass violence, memory, and the role of trauma in history.

When I was a graduate student, and even into my first years as an assistant professor, mainstream Middle Eastern historiography ignored this genocide. It was not taught in our undergraduate surveys. Sometimes it merited a few sentences in textbooks, but it was usually accompanied only by the vocabulary of “balance” or “controversy,” and not by words and formulae historians use to describe settled history, and certainly not in a way that highlighted the enormity of the sexual violence, the transfer of wealth, the destruction of culture, and the brutal treatment of young people that accompanied the killings and forced migrations of the period 1915–1922; and it figured even more rarely in research questions we were en-

couraged to pursue. As a collective, historians of the Middle East, with notable exceptions, actively silenced this episode of history, marginalized its victims, and ignored its broader social, legal, and diplomatic implications in the region and beyond.

Manifold were the reasons for the forced absence of this history. Foremost among them was that the Republic of Turkey, the primary nation-state successor to the Ottoman Empire, denied that the mass extermination had been purposeful, or that it had even taken place. The first moments of that denial emerged in the wake of World War I as Turkish diplomats and politicians opposed post-war restrictions and war crimes trials imposed by the Entente victors, claiming that the Ottoman state had in fact been the true victim. The position later fossilized and became orthodoxy for the vast Turkish bureaucracy and diplomatic corps. All of the means that a modern state has at its disposal were used to enforce a falsified historical memory: sanitizing elementary and secondary curriculum; renaming streets, mountains, rivers and entire cities; obliterating sites of cultural heritage and staging misleading museum displays; and, most importantly, exerting tremendous influence over academic appointments and scholars’ access to archives and financial support. The historiography produced by the Turkish state remade Armenians as a disloyal minority whose political activity undermined the integrity of the state; yet, for the most part, the state’s efforts created the “Armenian” as a mythical, dangerous, and insidious other, something that bears an uncomfortable relationship to the “Jew” in modern European antisemitism.

Beyond its borders, and beginning in the 1980s, Turkey embarked on a public relations offensive in the face of growing Armenian American political activism that sought official recognition of the genocide. To enforce its official memory abroad, those efforts included endowing chairs at major research universities, including Princeton University, Georgetown University, Indiana University, and the University of Chicago, and using a Turkish-government-backed research organization, the Institute of

Turkish Studies, to support research, including dissertation grants to graduate students. This campaign's biggest coup was enlisting sixty-nine historians, anthropologists, art historians, and sociologists of the Middle East to sign open letters published as advertisements in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, decrying a 1985 U.S. House of Representatives resolution recognizing the genocide of the Ottoman Armenians. The paid advertisements, signed by all of the most prominent Ottoman historians of the time, marked the fixing of a regime of denial and silencing in the practice of modern Middle East history. Though intended for politicians, the ads were also read by graduate students and junior professors, and had a terrible and lasting influence on the rising generation of scholars. When I was a graduate student preparing grant proposals to pursue the study of the interwar Middle East and the legacy of mass violence, I knew that the mere mention of Armenian refugee survivors' historical role ran the risk of stigmatizing and marginalizing my research. When I look back on this collective act of silencing three decades later, I am still at a loss to understand the many ways in which a community of scholars could participate in this deformation of history, and I wonder at its many lingering effects on our field, and its many continuing silences.

But perhaps where this fixing of a regime of silence had the most destructive impact was on historians of Armenian history and the small group of historians that descended from the genocide's survivors, for whom the facts of this history were part of their lived experience and denial was an act of continued violence. The complicity of the broader Middle East studies community distorted and reduced the subfield of modern Armenian history to one whose main purpose was affirming the truth of what Armenian historians' ancestors had faced. Nonetheless, the dominance of denial in the field meant that Armenian historians of the Armenian Genocide could be easily dismissed as ethnic partisans of a nationalist version of history. It would be as if the entirety of the field of Jewish history had to exist in a state of constant mobilization to confront the denial of the Holocaust by the perpetrator state—a state that had also enlisted at home and abroad a vast institutional edifice of knowledge production—to support its falsification. For professors and graduate students of Armenian origin in particular, it also meant that they sat in seminars or exchanged glances across faculty meeting tables with colleagues who did not believe that their parents and grandparents had faced organized extermination and who minimized or misunderstood the culture of terrible hatred that must have accompanied that effort.

In the early 2000s, the University of Michigan's Armenian Studies Program, led by Suny and Göçek, along with Gerard J. Libaridian, who held a chair in Armenian studies, established the Workshop for Armenian Turkish Scholarship (WATS) to find a shared historical baseline for the political and social history of the Armenian Genocide. Suny, whose ancestors perished in the genocide, had largely focused his work on Soviet history, and Göçek, whose family had been part of the Ottoman upper-middle

class, had published her first major work on the history of the upper-middle class in Ottoman society in the years before World War I. Neither of them were genocide scholars. This afforded them a kind of freedom that those trained in the field may not have had, and neither had suffered to the extent that others had from the personal and professional trauma of decades of denial. Göçek, in particular, understood that reaching out to Suny and trying to understand a silenced history of her own society's past was not just her professional responsibility but an act of compassion.

The series of workshops met nearly every year until 2011, whereupon a collection of essays under the title *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* was published the same year by Oxford University Press. An uneven work, it nonetheless brought together Turkish, Armenian, European, and American scholars not to assess whether the genocide happened—despite the unfortunate use of the language of uncertainty in the title—but rather to begin by acknowledging that a state-sponsored and effected effort at the mass extermination of a people had taken place. This liberated the scholars to explore an entire range of issues, from agrarian displacement and the concept of “demographic engineering,” and internal Armenian and Young Turk politics, to the impact of the genocide on Russian and German public opinion and diplomacy. Critically, Göçek and Suny wrote the introductory historiographical essays, which served as a way for both to reflect back on the uses and abuses of history that were addressed over the course of a decade at the workshop's meetings. That volume also highlighted the fact that an inexorable process had begun of introducing Ottoman-language archival and literary source material to foster the understanding of state and ethnic violence, rather than merely making those archives and access to them an adjunct to obfuscation and erasure.

More important, their joint efforts formed an alternative professional space within which to develop scholarship. On the one hand, that space catalyzed work by younger Armenian and Turkish graduate students; and on the other hand, it ushered in a better understanding of denial in the American academy outside of Middle East history. The quality and credibility of the new work had clear implications for the content of journals and book publishing. In the decade between 2005 and 2015, the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Journal of Human Rights*, the journals *Humanity* and *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, the *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, the *Journal of Genocide Research*, and the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* published noteworthy articles on the Armenian Genocide and broader elements of its history—and in the case of most of these journals, it was for the first time ever. In the same period, the Princeton University, University of California, University of Oxford, University of Cambridge, and Stanford University presses published major monographs on the genocide and its aftermath. English-language memoirs, first-person accounts, and

documentary films are now readily available to support classroom instruction on the genocide. Among the sources, the most evocative one is *Goodbye Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (2015), the autobiographical account of the Lebanese-Armenian educator Karnig Panian, who, having lost family during the genocide, was incarcerated in an Ottoman orphanage near Beirut. In a story that resonates with indigenous peoples in North America and Australia, he was converted to Islam, had his name changed, and was forced to speak Turkish. Perhaps most telling is how central the genocide is to Eugene L. Rogan's popular history *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (2015), an account that writes the genocide back into the global story of World War I.

The WATS process was certainly not the only movement seeking to change the landscape of academic research in the field of late Ottoman history. Until the recent attempted coup in Turkey and the violent crackdown on academic freedom and scholarship that followed, Turkish scholars had begun to publish on the genocide, and openly question state orthodoxy on this and other traditionally suppressed topics, especially state violence against Kurds. Denial, however, still remains the official Turkish government policy.

Göçek's *Denial of Violence* is vast and defies easy characterization: it is part history, part sociology, and part the journey of a truly thoughtful and engaged intellectual into her own and her family's past. Bookended by the onset of Ottoman modernization in the era of the French Revolution and the assassination of her friend, the Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink in 2007 by agents of the Turkish state, it combines memoirs and autobiographies with standard primary and secondary materials. Relying on a rich sociological tradition on violence, memory, and modernity, she aligns her work in particular with the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman and the central argument of *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989), namely that far from a departure from the path of Enlightenment idealism, the German state's intentional destruction of the Jews of Europe was a logical result of modernity's drive toward rationalization, specialization, securitization, and bureaucratization. For Göçek, then, genocide and the subsequent policy of genocide denial by the Turkish state and its agents is not exceptional. It was not epiphenomenal to Ottoman state centralization and modernization, to the rise of modern ultra-nationalist Turkey, or to an unfortunate by-product of a brutal war. Rather, collective violence against Armenians and its denial was elemental to late Ottoman state and society and became, thereby, an ideological foundation of the modern Turkish Republic. Her work constitutes a broader historical revision that shows that structural collective violence is an unbroken thread drawing together the last 225 years of the history of the Ottoman state and the Republic of Turkey.

There is no evidence that Göçek sees either genocide or its denial as inevitable. The answer to the open question of cause is thus intellectually and personally more important. When speaking in public of her own relationship to the past genocide and of how she became more

aware of the violence against non-Muslims and Kurds, I have seen her explain that as a citizen of modern Turkey, a state whose wealth, prosperity, and population was built in part on the systematic transfer of vast amounts of Armenian property and the theft and enslavement of Armenian children, she is "responsible but not guilty." This is, of course, a reversal of Adolf Eichmann's unsuccessful defense at his trial in Jerusalem, but also marks the way she, as a member of Turkish society's elite social class, has built an ethical relationship with a past with which historians and others have a deep personal connection as either descendants of perpetrators of mass violence or descendants of victims and survivors.

As Göçek paints the story of violence and denial on the *longue durée* canvas of the Ottoman Empire's transition from a patriarchal Islamic state to an ultra-nationalist republic, three key elements of her work emerge. The first is a methodological theory in which she demonstrates how to read history from within the literature and memory of the perpetrator community. In part she does this by developing a sociology of the structural denial of collective violence that coalesces around the idea of the "half-truth," emotions, and the act of selective remembrance. She has read hundreds of memoirs, first-person narratives, and biographies of Ottoman officials, journalists, and military officers. She also accessed narratives by Armenian clerics and others, for whom Ottoman Turkish was a language equally used. She analyzes the frequency of word use, recurrence of narrative structure, and affective memory. This leads her to question the centrality of the state in denying the collective violence—though the state still appears as the primary actor. She demonstrates how denial persists at the intersection of state and society, and even, at a later date, in the public sphere. There are, of course, obvious problems with reading the Armenian Genocide from within the literature and memory of the perpetrator community, not the least of which is that Armenians become mute witnesses. She is not telling the story of Armenians, but rather how the Ottoman elite understood and justified their own culture of anti-Armenian violence through two centuries.

By bringing the story of denial across historical periods that had been separated primarily to map the political needs of nationalist politicians, Göçek can also shed light on the specific motivations of Turkish officials in the 1920s to mount a campaign of denial. Assembled under the unassuming heading "Appendix B: Analysis of the Deputies of the First Turkish National Assembly" are lists of members of the first parliament of Turkey, the Grand National Assembly. She traces the role many of these men played in the organization and implementation of the genocide. These were the second-level functionaries of empire that implemented policy at the level of provinces and cities, or had been middle-rank members of the Ottoman officer corps. As she clarifies, these men had every reason to minimize or deny their participation in the genocide, not necessarily out of a sense of personal guilt, but because of the sense of danger and threat to the edifice of state power that any form of acknowledgment might pose. Indeed, she observes how reticent leaders of

the young republic were to pen memoirs of their activities in the period following the Revolution of 1908 and World War I until many decades later. But the act of denial for these men was an adjunct to the act of silencing the memory of violence that facilitated a broad effort in Turkish society after the war to normalize the transfer of Armenian wealth and forestall legal efforts at the recovery of expropriated Armenian property; it laid the foundations for institutionalized forms of discrimination against residual populations of Armenians and other non-Muslims and non-Turks in the military, primary and higher education, and international commerce.

Central to Bauman's explanation of the Holocaust is showing how the "Jew" became the essential "stranger" of Europe's modernity, and that because of the ambiguity of the Jews' relationship to citizenship, secularism, and nationalism, their extermination was necessary. Göçek's magisterial book begins to explore how something similar had happened to the Armenians of the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean. As others will build from it, harder questions about hate, gender-based violence, religious supremacy, and racist ideologies must also be posed.

The chilling quotation in Suny's title, "*They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else*," is drawn from a late-summer 1915 conversation between the World War I-era U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman state, Henry Morgenthau, and the Ottoman minister of the interior and chief architect of the Armenian Genocide, Talaat Pasha, which turns on that question of hate. The targeted killings of Ottoman Armenian intellectuals, journalists, clerics, and politicians had occurred the previous April, and the forced internal displacement of Armenians from villages and towns throughout Anatolia was well underway. Morgenthau remembered how much pride Talaat had expressed in his success to that point. The quotation has often been employed by historians to demonstrate the state's intent to destroy the Armenians, a condition of the common definition of genocide itself; indeed, it presents a clearer statement of executive intent than exists for the history of the Holocaust. The words and its underlying sentiment resonate with Raul Hilberg's formulation of the historical transformation of European antisemitism from the medieval to the modern. For the Armenians of the Ottoman state, however, the movement through these stages was much more rapid, but no less lethal.

Suny's work centers around understanding that transition. While the genocide is the subject of his work, he does not address its acts until the ninth chapter, after a lengthy discussion of political and ideological developments. Suny sees the genocide not just as an outcome of the difficult transition from empire to nation-state, but also as motivated by the role of hatred and fear of the Armenians by the modernizing elite; it was something more than competing nationalisms or a misguided sense of *raison d'état*.

Qualifying hatred is often the most difficult task faced by the historian. Ignoring its reality in late Ottoman history has been among that historiography's greatest failings.

Unlike the workmanlike account of the genocide in Taner Akçam's award-winning *The Young Turks' Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (2013) or Raymond Kevorkian's comprehensive analytical masterpiece *Le Génocide des Arméniens* (2006), what Suny has fulfilled in addressing this component of genocide is the promise of the WATS process: incorporating the perspective of a descendant of the genocide's victims for whom the true measure of that hate still has meaning, a collegial process that recognized his right as both a historian and a descendant of genocide survivors to speak that truth and not have it dismissed. Indeed, dismissing the view of the victim from the history of violence was the practice of earlier generations of Ottoman historians, who instead attributed accusations of hate or even Armenian Genocide history in general to the misrepresentations of a disgruntled and resentment-fueled minority.

David Rieff's recent *In Praise of Forgetting: Historical Memory and Its Ironies* (2016) acknowledges how difficult it is to use history to confront the worst features of "collective memory," especially memories of mass violence. For Rieff, in his evocative chapter "The Victory of Memory over History," collective memory is not drawn from an accurate accounting of the past, but remembered, as it were, as a construct and in a way that serves the interests of states and groups. This constructed collective memory has immense power, nonetheless. Rieff's main concerns are how such collective memory interferes in distinguishing between guilt for crimes against humanity and the collectivization of guilt, thereby forestalling the possibility of forgiveness; however, he believes that collective memory could still have a role in the formation of moral and human rights-based communities. The collegial process that produced these two books was an attempt to build a moral community with the intellectual and institutional tools of "history" in order to break the stranglehold of "forgetting" imposed by the Turkish state and the collective denial of genocide in the U.S. academy. But it was about something else: exploring whether history could address trauma in the now and even help improve human rights in a society like Turkey, struggling with forms of ethnic and religious violence. Its outcomes ask us to reflect whether or not history is in fact ever up to that task. History, even as fine as that presented in these two works, can do little in the face of a modern state's commitment to memory that promotes hate.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

JEREMY BLACK. *Clio's Battles: Historiography in Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 323. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$30.00, e-book \$29.99.

Clio's Battles: Historiography in Practice does not focus, as readers might expect from its main title, on "battles" among historians regarding the theory and method of their craft. Yet if they were aware that Jeremy Black has written over one hundred books on topics ranging from Western warfare from the eighteenth to the late twentieth century, political strategy in the eighteenth century, geopolitics, the Holocaust, British and American history, maps, and the Grand Tour, to Indian comic books, they would more accurately guess that the work is a wide-ranging and largely superficial treatment of the competition (and often warfare), past, present, and, indeed, future, among nations and their spokespersons to shape and claim the past for their own causes.

The author makes clear that he has little use for "theory" and the types of disputes that have engaged theoretically minded historians of the last half century. He makes a broad distinction between the topics and approaches that interest the public and those that interest academic historians, setting himself on the side of "popular" historians. (Public history he defines as "the history produced by public institutions" [xi].) The public wants dramatic accounts, narrative, human agency—and from this, academic historians have turned away (9, 90, 228), as they have from contests in the public sphere about the present and the future (213). Black notes that nineteenth-century historians (especially the British: Thomas Macaulay, Edward Narres, Edmund Burke, Lord John Russell) successfully appealed to a wide public audience; here, history-writing was not kept apart from "political engagement" (69–76). When historians shirk what Black considers their task, they leave the field open to often ill-informed "news outlets, pundits, and politicians" (xi).

The public assumes that objectivity (or at least the historian's detachment) is possible, whereas too many academic historians, in the author's view, have succumbed to the blandishments of the "linguistic turn" and "post-modernism" (9, 103). The stress on empiricism, on "facts," took a battering in the late twentieth century, under the aegis of postmodernism (243), or what should more properly be labeled poststructuralism. Too often, history be-

came "social analysis" without attention to "economic fundamentals" (216). These trends have had dire consequences: historiography came to appear as a branch of intellectual history (104), and political history was slighted. Historiography, Black urges, is not "applied philosophy" (271). He calls for a renewed emphasis on empiricism, "whatever may be the caveats of those with a turn to philosophy and to discussion about the nature of meaning" (243). He further contends that "particular interests and specific conjunctures should take precedence over the fascination with discourse" (268). Only in this way will history as a discipline capture the attention of more than a handful of specialized, philosophically inclined intellectuals.

A second problem, in Black's view, is that specialization has led historians to "turn inward," sometimes with a resulting "pseudo-scientificization" and "general atomization" of academic history as it turns to the social sciences rather than to the humanities as its home (237, 241). In the nineteenth century and beyond, the German emphasis on archival research invaded America in particular and contributed to the divide between academic historians, who accumulated "intellectual prestige" through such research, and "amateurs," who were constantly shut out (243). More recently, historians have turned inward, a tendency that the author ascribes to policies of the British government (and European governments more generally) that reward research output, encourage specialization, and control funding (213–214, 10). Although Black thinks that historians in the U.S. have it better in terms of "institutional independence and individual tenure" (10), many academics in the U.S. have similarly noted the gradual "corporatization" of the university.

The book proceeds more or less chronologically, with brief notes on ancient and medieval history, and longer sections on the eighteenth to the early twenty-first century, with a chapter on "Historiographies of the Future." In these chapters, the author gathers hundreds of examples regarding various forms of memorialization in which respective interests "on the ground" have claimed the past: commemorations, statues, symbols, nomenclature, school curricula, panoramas, newspapers, museums, television, the Internet, and (even) books. Contests over the Holocaust and other forms of genocide are highlighted throughout. The geographical range to which the author appeals is vast: many examples are taken from Britain, the U.S., and various Western European countries, but significant attention

is also given to Eastern European countries in the wake of the demise of the USSR as well as China, India, Japan, Korea, and debates within and among them on the representation of the past. New countries that emerged in modern times (e.g., Israel) or those that shed their colonialist pasts (e.g., India and many African states) needed to create a national history: Black notes that since 1945, over 120 new states have been formed (2). Religion as a contributor to societal dysfunction is a frequent theme throughout, as are examples of historians' appeals in times past to classicizing motifs. Yet the author ponders whether the values of Western culture—free inquiry, liberal universalism—are transportable to other areas of the world (252, 11). Black deviates from standard practice in providing a sketch of his own historical training, one that aids in understanding his approach and interests (chap. 13). Painting with this broad a brush, however, inevitably means that the author takes most of his references from secondary scholarship.

With “public history” now a topic of interest in the historical forum, those interested in learning more about what it is and how it is manifested worldwide can find much in this book. It is a clarion cry to return to history writing not controlled by specialization, the demands of the market, and government intervention—or theorists. Given its enormous chronological and geographical range, however, experts in the field will doubtless find much to fault about coverage of particular issues.

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JEREMY BLACK. *Geopolitics and the Quest for Dominance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 335. \$32.00.

Among historians and political scientists, geopolitics has been old hat for some time for various reasons. Just lately, however, with the waning of confidence in the paradigm of globalization, it appears to be enjoying another of its periodic revivals. Where once it was said that the nation-state was obsolete, that discussion of power was rather quaint, and that trade would determine the shape of the world, one now senses murmurs of economic nationalism and premonitions that the sovereign state might persist after all. The eternal verities about national interest and the balance of power have not completely lost their relevance. This suggests, some say, a kind of revenge of geography. If the return of geopolitics is a reflection of a new era of state competition, does this mean that we are on the horizon of some vast crisis, perhaps comparable to the crisis at the end of the last globalization of the pre-1914 period? Should historians renew their respect for maps?

Jeremy Black, a prolific historian of the eighteenth-century balance of power and British naval hegemony, seems to think so. But he also thinks that what passes for geopolitical wisdom in the beltway discourse is too inflated and pretentious, especially as it pertains to the big questions concerning the really large conflicts. Instead, he thinks, geopolitics is most valuable as an academic guide to understanding sub-global issues and conflicts, suggesting

more questions than answers. With this modest end in mind, Black offers here a bibliographical essay on geopolitics that includes a semantic inquiry about the term, its use *avant la lettre*, its pioneering ideas, and a survey of trends in the subdiscipline. The bibliography covers a wide range of writers and thinkers, historians and geographers, realists, imperialists, and contemporary advocates of a critical geopolitics in the interests of peace and environmental stability. Black approaches the topic with his customary breadth of perspective about international history and political geography.

In *Geopolitics and the Quest for Dominance*, the author treats the heyday of geopolitics as primarily a feature of the era of the world wars, when notions of national interest and the balance of power were being transferred from a European great power setting to one of world power based on navies, and the consequences for a world balance. The British “empire of the seas” (96) began to press in from the Eurasian rimlands and conjure a balance of Eurasian power around the steppe heartland. Halford J. Mackinder, Karl E. Haushofer, and others pronounced on the different prospects of Germany and Russia fusing through war or entente into one force to oppose the rimland sea power, Britain.

After the world wars resolved that issue, and the Chinese revolution created a united Eurasian bloc, geopolitics seemed to lose its allure. To economists it seemed whimsical. In the Cold War outside Europe, geopolitics did not have much to say about the study of Asia, Africa, or Latin America, about decolonization, or about revolutionary ideas. Robert Strausz-Hupé was a lone and generally neglected voice.

This all changed with the Richard Nixon–Henry Kissinger détente of the 1970s. Calculations of the balance of power were imposed anew on Eurasia with an assumed U.S.–Soviet Union–China triangle. While the older geopolitics worried about keeping Russia and Germany apart, the revived version thought in terms of Russia and China. But this was only a brief moment. After Gerald Ford became president, détente went into eclipse and was eventually terminated by the fall of the Soviet bloc. An alternate globalist paradigm of economic universalism held center stage until the rise this year of a new populist nationalism. Black catalogues the various speculations by geopolitically minded academics and well-connected thinkers about all of these things. However, there is relatively little about the Russian Eurasianist revival under Vladimir Putin and geopoliticians such as Aleksandr G. Dugin. After all, geopolitics is really about Russia and Eurasia. Black, who over the years has contributed as much as anyone to our appreciation of geography in history, might have given this a bit more attention. No doubt he will in future works.

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HARVEY J. GRAFF. *Undisciplining Knowledge: Interdisciplinarity in the Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 323. \$44.95.

In *Undisciplining Knowledge: Interdisciplinarity in the Twentieth Century*, Harvey J. Graff explores the history of a con-

cept that many academics, administrators, and the public at large are familiar with but do not necessarily fully understand. In doing so, he weaves together the histories of academic disciplines, institutions, and ideas in a thorough and comprehensive manner. Beginning with an exploration of the rhetoric and reality of interdisciplinary work in the present, Graff identifies a disconnect between the lofty rhetorical praise academic institutions heap on the abstract concept of interdisciplinary work and the actual institutional commitments they make to seeing the work through. While institutional language surrounding interdisciplinary approaches to learning promises aspirational solutions to complex problems on the one hand, and applies a great deal of business and public relations terminology on the other, universities are not as serious when it comes to committing actual financial or other institutional resources to interdisciplinary academics or programs. This is largely because interdisciplinary work is an improvisation, and institutions tend to shy away from such behavior due to the inherent risk factor involved. The result is largely a history of unfulfilled promise, although Graff does point out that interdisciplinarity has shaped and continues to shape institutional academics in profound and significant ways.

To make this point, Graff challenges the accepted narrative of interdisciplinarity as it has previously been written. Where most accounts begin with World War II and focus on the fields of science and technology, Graff writes a more inclusive history of the concept and its practical applications. Beginning in the nineteenth century as modern academic institutions were taking form, his analysis expands the scope of inquiry to include the humanities along with the sciences. The result is a much more comprehensive, provocative history of interdisciplinary development. For each chapter of his book, Graff pairs arts and sciences during particular time frames to show how the theory and practice of interdisciplinary work developed within the framework of the burgeoning university system. This approach is particularly impressive. By pairing genetic biology and sociology at the turn of the twentieth century, materials science and cultural studies in the postwar boom, and other sets of disciplines over time, Graff shows previously unexplored patterns and developments that reinforce his argument in interesting and thought-provoking ways. In doing so, he makes the point that while the modern academic institution continues to evolve, the territorial rigidity of disciplines inside its organizational structure often undermines, impedes, or otherwise complicates its mission to advance knowledge in practical and useful ways for the society it serves.

Of particular interest to readers of this journal is the fourth chapter of Graff's work, titled "Between Mind and Mentality: Cognitive Science and New Histories, 1940s–1980s." Here, Graff uses the mnemonic devices of an octopus and a bat to help readers understand his argument that cognitive sciences are everywhere in modern academics (like the tentacles of an octopus), and interdisciplinary work in the new histories is often imperceptible even when present and irrationally feared (like bats). With attention to the subject of history, Graff explains that new history is itself a product of 1960s and 1970s

ideological and demographic shifts within the discipline, which led to a broader frame and scope of inquiry to include social and economic issues. Here, his point is that interdisciplinarity in history exists mainly within the discipline itself. Graff argues that this is a result of historians moving away from the humanities as a frame of organizational identity and toward the theoretical model of the social sciences during the period in question. While his observation seems paradoxical on its face, Graff explains that it is a "signature achievement" (160) of historical inquiry to have incorporated so much interdisciplinary methodology into its design. According to Graff, the revisionist urge of historical inquiry combined with this more inclusive approach has produced a stronger discipline more capable of addressing critical issues facing society, but has fallen out of institutional favor as a discipline and therefore lacks the necessary resources to contribute in any significant way to the institutional mission.

Graff concludes his work by reminding the reader that there is a difference between actually doing interdisciplinary work and merely appropriating its language. At a time when the rhetoric of crisis proliferates in academia and society writ large, talk of solutions is ubiquitous, but little actually gets done to solve the political, social, and economic problems that dominate the headlines. Universities can play a major role in shaping public discourse and would do well to promote interdisciplinary work as a way forward, both for their own institutional models and for the society they serve. Much has been made about the implementation of business practices in higher education, but little has been made of the element of risk associated with the innovation and progress that the rhetoric of business espouses. While interdisciplinary work is an improvisation, and by economic definition a risk, it is the obligation of higher education administrators to promote the practice of interdisciplinary work, rather than just its rhetoric, in a sincere effort to contribute to society in meaningful and practical ways. As Graff demonstrates in his book, interdisciplinary work has been done for over a century. Moving forward, it should move from the periphery toward the center of organizational modeling so that the practical application of interdisciplinarity has a chance to live up to the rhetoric that surrounds it.

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MICHAEL KIMAIID. *Modernity, Metatheory, and the Temporal-Spatial Divide: From Mythos to Techne*. (Routledge Approaches to History, no. 10.) New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xii, 208. \$140.00.

History is a wonderful discipline. It can cover everything in time and space from myriad points of view with myriad modes of meaning. It can also cover everything imaginable, and historical imagining is a central part of historical reading. Reviewing Michael Kimaid's *Modernity, Metatheory, and the Temporal-Spatial Divide: From Mythos to Techne* is an intriguing exercise, and requires a lot of imagining. Throughout it is written in semi-allegorical terms, using powerful images drawing on Hesiod and re-

ferring to Kronos's failed attempt to protect his Golden Age from the hardship and peril of his son Zeus's mastery of power. This mode of meaning will, for some readers, thoroughly obscure what Kimaid is trying to say, while others might think that perhaps there was no other way of saying it. But it does not obscure a central implication: that we are being posed a binary problem of light versus dark, good versus evil. The book becomes, via a somewhat chaotic route, an ideological tract against "power, oppression, injustice, and resistance" (xi).

A different binary problem is apparent: the book's title versus its contents. The title is full of meaningful material with implications far beyond the straightforward. First, "modernity" is an indeterminate term of art used across many disciplines. Charles Baudelaire used it in 1864 to mark the discontinuity with the past of urban ways of living; Kimaid dates it to Cassiodorus in 510, where the contrast was with the "antique" (17). Describing different camps of historians, Kimaid presents modernity in a traditional way as the third epoch in Western history after the ancient and the medieval, but Kimaid himself means "the present tense, but also the social, economic and political factors that define the present" (5). Seeing modernity as essentially involving discontinuity with some previous period contrasts markedly with Kimaid's attitude of "defining the present," where we seek to clarify some fundamental features of modern life, meaning "now." One of the characteristics of now is surely that some historians fuss about the features of modernity, with many controversial suggestions. Undercutting disputes about such details, we may note William Reddy's observation, drawing on work in the *American Historical Review* (2006, 2011), that modernity is to be seen as consisting of empty time and space ("The Eurasian Origins of Empty Time and Space: Modernity as Temporality Reconsidered," *History and Theory* 55, no. 3 [2016]: 325 n. 4). Standing still further away, perhaps we should rest content with the idea that "modernity" is what Walter Bryce Gallie in 1956 called an "essentially contested concept."

However, Kimaid seeks to *define* the present. We would not then seem to need to engage in any historical exercise that involved thinking of modernity as an epoch discontinuous with some earlier epoch. But in a long first chapter, "Modernity and Its Discontents," instead of a definition he offers a semi-historical account of the term "modernity" itself, giving a mixture of analysis and interpretation drawn from the history of ideas beginning in ancient Greece, in what is an educational if somewhat idiosyncratic route. (He does something similar for the material in his second chapter, "Modern Timespace.") Not for him, it would seem, is Reinhart Koselleck's Nietzschean motto that only that which has no history is definable. Is Kimaid aware of the incongruity of doing both definition and historical explanation at the same time? If defining the present requires the present tense, and defining the present is not distinct from explaining it historically, then everything in that historical explanation would also need to be in the present tense. Now, here one may be thought of as nitpicking about "definition" in the wrong sort of analytical manner, and Kimaid presents himself as using se-

miotics. Yet it is difficult to see what function his semiotic approach actually has in the book other than perhaps licensing an ideological route. Moreover, "Saussure" is misspelled throughout, and one suspects that that may be an ironic sign that the approach is knowingly misused.

The remainder of Kimaid's title deals with matters even less evident in the book. "Metatheory" is highly problematic. Philosophers commonly allow for "metaphilosophy," the philosophy of philosophy. Historians may wish to allow for "metahistory," a term that is not just the title of Hayden White's 1973 book but also is used more generally by historians who feel, as they should, the force of the thought that the writing of history itself has a history that opens to critical inspection the presuppositions of the historians involved. Metatheory is presumably "the theory of theory," unhelpfully empty as it stands. It could be the theory of history itself, in particular the (perhaps historicized) theory of historical theories, if one were intellectually heroic enough. Yet more options are available, but Kimaid does not use or deal with any of them.

The third element of the title, the "temporal-spatial divide," sounds as if the book denies Einsteinian physics, where time and space are understood to complement each other in some mutually interfering way. Should the modern be seen as post-Einstein? Certainly in Newtonian physics "empty time and space" were assumed, and Immanuel Kant also assumed these as distinct and foundational for all rational beings. Kimaid's single reference to Albert Einstein is cursory (22), and his book is not a contribution to understanding the temporal-spatial divide in any of the usual theoretical senses, but—not unsurprisingly, since Kimaid is a professor of both history and geography—his is a contribution informed by "ranging between disciplines with reckless abandon" (xi). Thus, with ideological intent, Kimaid uses his geographical learning to extend the elements of "modernity" beyond those matters usually discussed by historians. With this new material, Kimaid's final ideological chapters are rather more interesting. Chapter 3 on "Technocratic Monoculture" deals with spatial control, surveillance, and commodification. Chapter 4, "Of Spectacles and Monuments," considers "the conceptual framing of events as symbols of historical change" (123), revisiting the chaos and order of the founding ancient allegorical myth. And the conclusion on "Unmappable Places" displays our only hope of hiding from the power of an expanding technocratic hegemony. Very readable, vote for or against, as you choose.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

ADRIAN HOWKINS. *The Polar Regions: An Environmental History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016. Pp. ix, 251. \$25.00.

Like all polar explorers, Adrian Howkins has had to weigh up the risk/reward equation in bringing his project to fruition. The risks of undertaking a book such as this were quite considerable. Where a more conventional approach

would have clung to the coattails of straightforward chronology, Howkins has abandoned these well-known coordinates, and leapt into the whirlpool of what is potentially a chaos of borderless and formless subject matter. No one can be sure where the Arctic or Antarctic begins and ends, as the summer and winter cryosphere of each contracts and expands seasonally. Moreover, the borders of both northern and southern regions are themselves relatively indeterminate—porous and political, contested and constructed. This gives a chimeric intangibility to the physical boundedness of the study that could easily have resulted in an amorphous and shapeless historical account. The risks are amplified by Howkins's additional aim of showing the interconnection between the two regions.

That this risk-taking is amply rewarded is a testament to Howkins's skill as a historian. The central argument of *The Polar Regions: An Environmental History* steers debates about environmental history of the polar regions away from a simplistic "declensionist narrative, in which the only story is environmental degradation" (5). Although the histories of sealing, whaling, extractive industries, and anthropogenic climate change in the polar regions would provide ample scope for such a conventional narrative, Howkins argues that we need to take account of the many countervailing examples that erode the validity of a purely "declensionist" approach. In particular, the impacts of political forces and popular movements that generated regulatory instruments such as the Antarctic Treaty, and which have had a profound impact on the conservation and preservation of both north and south, need to be captured in any comprehensive account of the regions' environmental histories. But even here Howkins wants us to recognize the complexity of historical processes, rather than an unproblematic unidirectionality. For example, the Arctic National Wildlife Range in northeastern Alaska continues to be seen as a problematic and neocolonial instrument by local indigenous peoples. Rather than a deterministic and depressing descent to destruction, or conversely, a redemption, the book argues for the malleability and contingency of humanity's relationships to polar regions and their ecologies. And in that plasticity lie the manifold possibilities for polar futures, and an optimism in humanity that appears to lie at the heart of Howkins's argument.

Howkins mobilizes a central motif to capture this history by characterizing the polar regions as "Lands of Darkness and Light." Each of the book's six chronologically organized chapters is organized around a similar but more specific "dichotomy of contradicting ideas," which allows "the inherent tensions within these histories to be explored" (17). Chapter titles like "Scarcity and Abundance" (chap. 2), "Dreams and Realities" (chap. 4), and "War and Peace" (chap. 5) carry through the book the central idea of examining polar history through the lenses of contradiction and tension. Reflecting on this, the conclusion examines "Geographies of Despair and Hope." While readers familiar with Arctic and Antarctic history will likely find some of the material within these chapters quite familiar, the analysis of contradictions and tensions challenges the tendency in much polar historiography to

give simplistic or unidimensional historical interpretations of the region. Howkins's approach adds new layers of understanding and complexity. One of the most compelling aspects of the book is the recurrent examination of the interconnections between the Arctic and Antarctica. Despite being, or maybe because they are, a world apart, the politics, culture, and meanings of the Arctic and Antarctic were (and are) constituted not in isolation from each other, but in their deeply symbiotic relationship.

Howkins's book also seeks to critique and to contribute to mainstream environmental history. Here some of the claims made are more difficult to agree with than other aspects of the book. While the critique of "declensionist" approaches is very welcome, the claims that studying the environmental history of the polar regions "has much to contribute to the theory and practice of the field [of environmental history] more generally" (13) are asserted rather than substantiated. Historiographical and theoretical discussion is scattered throughout the book, often somewhat awkwardly, and consequently it is not clear what in aggregate terms this tells us about how the book contributes to expanding the field of environmental history. Moreover, the book is fundamentally premised on a quite traditional view of "nature" as the passive background against which an active human drama is screened. Of course, as Howkins frequently notes, the climate of the polar regions is itself volatile and indomitable, but observing this is not the same as identifying nature as an active factor in historical processes. In fact, polar ecosystems display a fairly robust capacity to adjust to many of the disruptive effects of human activity. Other species (e.g., Macaroni penguins) have often proliferated as a result of the depletion of one species (e.g., Antarctic fur seals on South Georgia). And while this is often seen as a negative effect of human activity, a dangerous unexamined assumption often lies at the heart of such views. They depend on the highly dubious proposition that the state of nature that Europeans happened to encounter at the start of the processes of exploitation was itself eternal. Not that Howkins's work displays this characteristic, but consideration of the foundational assumptions of the work suggests that environmental historians need to tread very carefully on this terrain, to avoid unconsciously smuggling into their accounts the ecological equivalent of the Rousseauian "noble savage." For, as paleobiologists and paleoecologists remind us, nature itself has a history, and this fact alone suggests that the idea of a prelapsarian arcadian ecological "balance" that ought to be preserved or returned to is highly problematic. Nature adjusts itself, but not always in ways that humans want it to. And that is nature's agency.

These comments notwithstanding, *The Polar Regions* is a thoroughly engaging, thought-provoking, and insightful book. I read and reviewed it while I was working as a historian on an ecotourism ship on a voyage to South Georgia and the Antarctic Peninsula. Its wealth of ideas and interesting perspectives made it an ideal intellectual travel companion.

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LISA ZE WINTERS. *The Mulatta Concubine: Terror, Intimacy, Freedom, and Desire in the Black Transatlantic*. (Race in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900.) Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 222. \$59.95.

Lisa Ze Winters's cultural and historical analysis of the mulatta reconsiders the key questions and underlying assumptions that inform much of the scholarship in Afro/Black Atlantic and Afro-Latin American studies. In *The Mulatta Concubine: Terror, Intimacy, Freedom, and Desire in the Black Transatlantic*, Winters agrees that free(d) women, a status often captured by the shorthand, "mulatta," are important historical subjects to contend with because they held onto freedom and, in some cases, extracted liberty for their children within slave-based economies such as Saint Domingue (Haiti), Gorée Island, and New Orleans. And yet, Winters argues that both historical representations and scholarly accounts of the mulatta emphasize free(d) women's sexual relationships with white men, their economic autonomy, and their inclination toward vanity and glamour. According to Winters, these depictions of the mulatta as desired, licentious, tenacious, and vain deflect attention away from Atlantic slavery's foundations in terror and in physical and sexual violence. Winters insists that these images of the mulatta, which have crisscrossed the Black Atlantic world, do not simply comprise an archive, but constitute an entire knowledge system that renders the mulatta both elusive and hypervisible: as a public woman yet tied to domestic, private spaces; as mixed-race yet African; as sexually desired yet a mother; and as a visual and literary presence while absent from the archive.

As outlined in the introduction, Winters argues that "reading diaspora through the lens of the free(d) mulatta" requires a reconsideration of the "questions of origins, memory, terror, freedom, and evidence in the production of African diasporic subjectivity" (2). Throughout the work, Winters shows that both historical representations and scholarly analyses overemphasize the mulatta's sexual relationships with white men, making her sexual relationships with white men function as the primary way that they and we define the mulatta's subjectivity and her access to freedom. Instead, Winters insists, the obsession over the mulatta's supposed desirability and her access to white men evidences the centrality of the sexual economy within chattel slavery. Winters examines this point closely in the first chapter, "Echo and the Myth of Origins," in which she draws upon the methodological insights of Haitian Spiralism and recent studies of Haitian vodou to question the notion that mulattas and signares, the free(d) women of color of Senegal, acquired agency only through their sexuality.

Winters also claims that "for African diasporic subjects, to imagine and experience freedom is to inhabit simultaneously multiple temporal and spatial geographies" (3). In other words, Winters wants to trouble the already difficult task of interpreting how historical agents negotiated freedom within the Black Atlantic world. As free(d) people, mulattas and signares already function as symbols of

freedom's possibilities and its severe constraints. Winters takes this further by arguing that paying attention to gender, in addition to color, caste, and class, reveals how and why the private domain and the body became sites of resistance against oppression and sites for the creative reproduction of subjectivity within slave society. For example, in chapter 2, "Intimate Acts," Winters builds on a wealth of scholarship about the significance of dress and adornment for black women and adds another question: Did these defiant expressions, so important in diasporic work on black women's agency, also express difference, status, and division within diasporic communities? Winters even hints here at the possibility that color may have had little to do with a black woman being the product of interracial mixture; rather, color may have also signaled a woman's legal and economic distance from enslavement.

Indeed, what the historical record helps us see or refuses to clarify is another point that Winters addresses throughout the work. Winters maintains that her study is meant to challenge "how we scholars produce and recognize archival evidence" (3). Thus, Winters finds in the transatlantic commemoration of goddesses such as Ezili Dantò, her counterpart Ezili Freda, Lasirèn, and Mama Wata both a depository of historical memory, perhaps about mulattas, and an ongoing conversation about the complex interplay and costs of negotiating one's freedom within the constraints of a slave society. Chapter 3, "Authority, Kinship, and Possession," offers a meditation on this problem—specifically, the absence of free(d) men of color and the lack of first-person narratives from free(d) women of color. Free(d) men's invisibility in the archive, Winters argues, speaks to their illegibility as colonial subjects in French-ruled Senegal. When European colonizers wanted to see them, people of color entered their archives; where no mechanisms existed for such incorporation, African-descended people remain excluded from the historical record. Thus, the absence of free(d) men and women of color from the archives, despite their hypervisibility in travel literature, letters, and oral history evidences, is real. As Winters states, "white surveillance and recognition are fundamental to the constitution of black diasporic subjectivity" (141).

At the same time, disavowal, denial, and cognitive dissonance nurture the landscape from which black diasporic subjectivities take root and grow. As explained in the final chapter, "Mapping Freedom and Belonging," while surveillance and obsession over African-descended women's sexuality were commonplace, power in slave society depended on a series of refusals: a refusal to acknowledge slavery's sexual economy and, in turn, a refusal to acknowledge the relationship between sexual exploitation and black women's limited agency. In this chapter, Winters most forcefully emphasizes the final argument of the book. In negotiating their way out of and distance from slavery, free(d) women of color revealed that freedom's landscape was also nurtured by the same violence, terror, and traumas of enslavement. The ongoing movement toward freedom required reckoning with slavery and its multivalent legacies.

Winters's analysis is ambitious and challenging. It is a book that raises many compelling questions of interest to both historians and scholars of black diaspora.

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ADELE PERRY. *Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-Century Imperial World*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 296. \$99.00.

Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-Century Imperial World tells the fascinating story of the Douglas-Connolly family over several generations. James Douglas was born in Demerara in 1803. His father was an itinerant Scotsman and his mother probably a free woman of color. Douglas accompanied his father to Scotland at around the age of eight or nine, was educated at Lanark Grammar School, and took up a position in 1819 working for the North West Company in Canada, where he married Amelia Connolly, the daughter of a Cree mother and an Irish-Canadian father. It was not unusual for men working in the fur trade to marry Metis or indigenous women, but it was less common for someone like Douglas to remain married to Connolly for the rest of his life (and, indeed, to marry her formally in a Christian ceremony in 1837). Douglas was unusual because he rose to become governor of the colony of British Columbia, and thus Connolly took her place at the very apex of colonial society, despite her Metis origins.

Much of the Douglas story has been told before, but Adele Perry puts the Douglas-Connolly relationship and the history of their families at the center of her narrative. Some of the details about Douglas's early life in British Guiana (formerly Demerara) and in Scotland cannot be established with certainty, but Perry has done an admirable job of dredging through archives and tracking down every reference to the Douglas-Connolly family; her conclusions seem wholly plausible. So, too, are her judgments about the importance of intimacy and the centrality of marriage in understanding colonial societies, the malleability of issues of race on the fringes of the empire, and the important relationship between material success and power in defining one's status regardless of one's origins. Many of Perry's generalizations force us to rethink our understanding of how intimate relations operated in societies on the fringes of empire. In both British Guiana and British Columbia in the early nineteenth century, Perry notes, it was "the table rather than the bed or the nursery that served as the critical instrument of intimate racial separation" (41). Unmarried women of color, Perry also notes, had certain advantages over white married women in slave societies since they could own property (even slaves) and act on their own behalf in the colony's courts.

Perry is deeply immersed in the vast literature on racial attitudes within the British Empire, and some of her most important generalizations concern the fragile construction of race in the first half of the nineteenth century. She points out that members of the same family could be ra-

cialized differently depending on the nature of their encounter with white society. Perry also admits that there were significant differences in "the work marriage and race did in American and British territory" (155), a generalization that seems to contradict her claim elsewhere that national borders ultimately do not matter. I would not describe Scotland as on the fringes of the imperial world, and I would certainly not describe Edward Gibbon Wakefield as having "rock star status" (177). Three colonies—not four—joined Confederation in 1867. But these are minor criticisms in a wide-ranging book that tackles so many important issues in a thoughtful and sophisticated way.

Yet, in the end, I remain unconvinced by some of the main themes of the book. Perry wishes to link together the histories of British Guiana and the Canadian Northwest, but her attempts to do so are strained. Beaver hats from British Columbia may have been available for sale in British Guiana and sugar from British Guiana in British Columbia, but in other respects these two colonial societies really had very little connection. Even the fact that Douglas was born in British Guiana had virtually no relevance to his later career in British Columbia. He left British Guiana while still a child and retained no ties with his mother and her family there, not even seeking them out (if he knew anything about them) when he returned for a brief visit toward the end of this life. Douglas grew up thinking of himself not as a creole or a black (both terms Perry uses) but as a Scot. Indeed, I have grave difficulty with Perry's conclusion that Douglas had "a tenuous connection to Britishness" (201) and that his life "demonstrated some of the limits to these vernacular and hybrid sorts of Britishness" (205). Douglas's return to Scotland after an absence of fifty years seems to reveal a very clear commitment to his sense of Britain—and Scotland in particular—as home. So too does Douglas's decision to send two of his children to Britain to be educated and his efforts to marry his daughters to British-born immigrants, thus tying his family to the larger British world of which he felt a part. Unfortunately, Perry takes a very narrow view of definitions of Britishness. She implies that it is somehow illegitimate to focus on the part of one's genetic heritage with which one wishes to identify and to ignore the part with which one does not. How far Douglas was deliberately doing this in cultivating and celebrating his family's British identity and how far he was acting out of ignorance of his roots is unclear, but it is apparent that Britishness was an identity broad and flexible enough to accommodate people like him, and that it did not depend simply upon the color of one's skin or the purity of one's British ancestry. The children of the Connolly-Douglas family did retain the knowledge that one of their grandparents had been a Cree, but it does not follow that they thought of themselves as Metis, or that they should have. Historians have a duty to search out the truth about people's personal history; they do not have the right to tell them how they ought to have defined themselves.

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HASIA R. DINER. *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 247. \$35.00.

This study of one aspect of Jewish economic activity in the long nineteenth century is not only innovative and insightful, but engaging too. In flowing prose, Hasia R. Diner presents the reader with a vivid group portrait of the hundreds of thousands of modern Jewish migrants who began their lives in their new homes by walking the roads with a pack from which they sold goods door-to-door.

The figure of the Jewish peddler was not unknown before this book, yet it had never really been submitted to critical scholarly gaze. *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* is thus the first monograph to do this. Diner's source base is extensive and in at least three languages. From these materials, particularly memoir literature (much of it unpublished) and the press, she extracts a wealth of fascinating details on which to base her conclusions.

The chapters of the book follow the development of the phenomenon, beginning with a discussion of where the migrant peddlers came from. Diner examines the peddling business itself, provides an analysis of the relations that developed between the Jewish peddler and his customers, and describes the opposition that peddling aroused. She concludes with a discussion of the ways in which most peddlers settled down.

New insights abound. In the first chapter, Diner insists that to look only at Ashkenazic migrants is to misunderstand the nature of modern Jewish migration. Jews were on the move from the Near East, too, particularly from the Ottoman Empire and Morocco. In similar fashion, she redefines the geography of the migration. For her, the Jews' "new world" included not only the U.S. and Canada, but South America, the Caribbean, the English-speaking lands of the British Empire, the four countries of the UK (and later Eire) and also Sweden, even though not all of these were strictly new to Jews. Finally, she extends the study's chronological boundaries back to the late eighteenth century and forward to include Jews who emigrated to South America during the 1930s.

It is within this unfamiliarly broad world of Jewish migrant society that the author situates her peddlers. They form a group quite different from those engaged in the other quintessential Jewish migrant activity of the period: the sweatshop workers. Unlike the laboring masses, whose power lay in collective action, peddlers worked as individuals, empowered by bringing into people's homes consumer goods they could not otherwise purchase. Diner explains that her subjects formed part of larger economic networks, often based around the stores of ex-peddlers who had settled down. It was there that the aspiring immigrants would receive the details of the area in which they would work, stock up with goods to sell, and sometimes even receive a little credit. It was there, too, that, on weekends, they would meet other Jews like themselves to exchange stories and information. Nonetheless, the peddler's life was a lonely one.

This was not without significance because it was as individuals that the Jewish peddlers were invited into their customers' homes to make their sales. Diner argues that these one-to-one meetings, which took place in the millions, played key roles in helping break down a range of stubborn social, cultural, and religious barriers. As white men, the peddlers crossed the racial divide, becoming welcome (and respectful) guests in the homes of black families; as foreigners, they broadened the horizons of insular rural America; and as identifying Jews, they facilitated face-to-face religious contact with Christians who had never seen a Jew before.

There was a crucial gendered aspect to their work too. Though they were mostly men, their customers were mostly women. By coming into these women's homes and allowing them to purchase the goods they wanted, the peddlers empowered their female customers, whom patriarchal society had largely excluded from economic decision-making. And by buying domestic scrap provided by the women, the peddlers also put money in their pockets, giving them some economic independence.

It is in these domestic interactions that Diner finds peddling's broadest significance as an early stage in the development of consumer culture. In fact, the Jewish peddlers were not only opening up the world of consumer choice long before the mail-order catalogue, but also extending it far beyond the middle-class urban environment. The study also suggests that the development of consumerism was not driven just by great manufacturers and retailers, but owed a lot to these poor Jewish peddlers. Some, such as Meyer Guggenheim and the Lehman brothers, did make it big, but the masses of peddlers were no less significant in changing the economic landscape.

In the final chapter, Diner argues that once they had made enough to settle down in small-town America, the ex-peddlers, who had become well-known and accepted figures while on the road, were able to overcome prejudice to become not just pillars of the local Jewish community but valued members of non-Jewish society too. She thus sees in them harbingers of Jewish modernity, particularly in the liberal setting of the U.S.

Such an original and stimulating study naturally raises a plethora of new questions. It treats peddling as a single phenomenon across space and time. Was that in fact the case? Were there differences between peddlers in different contexts, and if so, what does that teach us? What were the differences between Jews and other peddling groups, such as the so-called "Arabs," and what was their significance? Finally, were Jewish peddlers really a single group, or can we identify differences between the strategies of peddlers hailing from different parts of the Jewish world?

It would be churlish to expect all these questions to be answered in a single volume, but in so skillfully opening up the topic, the author has at least allowed us to ask them. Like the peddlers she describes, Diner has succeeded in blazing a trail into new and profitable territory.

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ALISON BASHFORD and JOYCE E. CHAPLIN. *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus: Rereading the Principle of Population*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. 353. \$49.50.

"For more than two hundred years," the authors of this timely new book state, "people have loved to hate Thomas Robert Malthus" (1). The formulator of the bitterest principle in modern global life, Malthus has certainly attracted his fair share of haters—from the perfectibilian anarchists with whom he originally sought to engage to the hard-line economists who thought he did not go far enough. But the popularity of Malthusian ideas today among groups as far apart as resource-focused environmentalists and migrant-fearing Brexiters reminds us that Malthus has also always attracted admirers. His ability to compel both Karl Marx and Charles Darwin, both John Maynard Keynes and Adolf Hitler, makes it unsurprising that he should once again speak to people across various political spectrums.

In *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus: Rereading the Principle of Population*, Alison Bashford and Joyce E. Chaplin are less interested in tracking the conflicting ways that Malthus's key idea has been received through history than they are in opening up fresh fields through which to read it in the first place, specifically the fields of colonial and indigenous history. In their effort to break Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1st ed., 1798) out of the strict bounds of intellectual history, however, the authors have evoked a need to return at some point to the work's reception, which may help to answer some questions newly raised by their volume.

The premise of this book is to address a strange omission in studies of Malthus. While Malthus claimed to offer a universal principle based on his study of all humanity, he has been considered almost exclusively in European contexts. The blame might partly rest with Malthus himself. Even in his much-expanded 1803 edition, the majority of his examples still derive from European scenarios. The authors prefer to point the finger at "publishing logistics" (10), noting that most readers, then and now, refer to the shorter, even more Eurocentric 1798 précis edition. We might add a third reason—the still predominantly Eurocentric focus of the subdiscipline of intellectual history, which has "owned" Malthus for so long.

Whatever the rationale, Bashford and Chaplin have now admirably filled the lacuna. They show how Malthus developed his theory through his abundant reading of New World populations (colonial and indigenous) just as much as through his study of European conditions. The key chapters are the middle five (chaps. 3–7). Chapters 3 to 5 discuss the place and role of Australia, the Americas, and Oceania respectively in the *Principle*, while chapters 6 and 7 set Malthus's work among the two key New World debates of his age—slavery and settler colonialism. Together, they represent a bold, original, and fascinating social and political history of an idea, and inarguably offer the best text on understanding Malthus in a twenty-first-century globalized era.

The authors' exposés, however, also raise some queries, even while they present fresh vistas. The chapter on Aus-

tralia details the surprising extent to which Malthus read up on British ventures there—texts by James Cook, Joseph Banks, and most especially David Collins. The authors argue that this material gave Malthus the baldest evidence for how indigenous, or "savage," populations always faced the cruelest checks: disease, dearth, and deadly customs. But they also light upon Malthus's unexpected willingness to personalize these populations through the figure of Bennelong, the first indigenous Australian to travel to Britain (although Malthus never met him). And they note that it was in the 1803 edition that Malthus voiced his unease about the colonizing forces that indigenous people faced: their extermination or removal by other means "will be questioned in a moral view," Malthus opined (138). These two aspects lead the authors to suggest that along with its grim prophecies, the *Principle* was also, paradoxically, a critique of the colonial project and even a "defender of native peoples" (4). Much of the proceeding pages then set to worrying about how Malthus could be both: How could he be both a stadialist dealer in stereotypes and a critic of the political consequences of such thinking? Later, when discussing Malthus and settler colonialism more generally, the authors suggest he was "torn" on the fantasy of white emigration—on the one hand, seeing its temporary utility, but on the other hand, seeing its long-term futility as well as its "violent" ruination of indigenous people (207, 236).

The authors provoke and destabilize common understandings of Malthus with this suggestion of a paradox, but readers might wonder about the strength of Malthus's so-called radicalism in the first place. Totted up together, the examples of his political criticisms do not amount to a huge chunk of a six-hundred-page opus. As well, Malthus's well-known dedication to clarifying his principle above all other considerations might also help explain his minimalist approach to the propriety of empire.

The same wonderings occur during the discussion of Malthus in the American New World. The chapter on Malthus's reading of American materials is very strong, making the case for his debt to American observers such as Benjamin Franklin, as well as his understanding that the central question for the new republic was as much about Indian decline as it was settler increase. The authors note, however, that while Malthus identified what we might call a metalogic of native elimination at play in America's success, his phrasings were always "timid" (138). At the very moment that he criticized displacement, his imagery and tone "naturalized native population decline" and "exposed his underlying racist assumptions" (117). Likewise, the authors note that Malthus treated the other great racial topic of contemporary America—slavery—with a near-deafening silence. They conclude that such silence indicated that he was "indifferent" to black exploitation, which squares awkwardly with a man so much more astute, well-read, and thoughtful than has been hitherto seen (200).

As with the authors' worries about Malthus's take on Pacific colonization, their puzzlement about his attitude toward American empire might be countered with a return to his chief aim. While additional chapters brilliantly

detail Malthus's intellectual and personal heritage, as well as his fascinating afterlife in nineteenth-century fiction, they are a bit short on how he dealt with the reaction to his incendiary 1798 edition. Although Malthus did include more evidence from the world in the 1803 edition, he did so in order to push forward his core mathematical calculation ever more powerfully. Such determination may well account for his otherwise curious omissions. Alternately, the hammering that the retiring parson received for the 1798 work may also account more for his shyness than any slack politics. It is hard to know without the crucial missing subtopic of initial response.

I raise these queries not to cast a shadow on this eye-opening book, but out of due respect for the next level of questions to which it unfailingly elevates its readers. This book will surely stand as the central history for understanding Malthus in a world now truly globalized by the imperial processes through which he lived.

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DOUGLAS R. BURGESS JR. *Engines of Empire: Steamships and the Victorian Imagination*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 342. \$35.00.

When Isambard Kingdom Brunel's massive iron-hulled, five-funneled *Great Eastern* steamship was launched in 1858, with thousands of spectators looking on, the ship traveled a mere one hundred feet before grinding to a halt, not to move again for over a year. It was the largest vessel ever built, a technological triumph, and an engineering marvel. It was also "more spectacle than ship" (118), a phrase that succinctly encapsulates one of the themes of this insightful, richly textured transnational history of the cultural meanings of steamships and steamship travel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Following in the footsteps of Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (1977), Douglas R. Burgess Jr.'s *Engines of Empire: Steamships and the Victorian Imagination* excavates the complex relationship between Victorians—not only in Britain, but also in the U.S. and Germany—and their steamships. Drawing on the observations of famous travelers such as Charles Dickens, Jules Verne, and Mark Twain, as well as ordinary voyagers, both male and female, Burgess explores the many and varied meanings of steamships and steamship travel for "spectators," "tourists," and "imperials." This is not a history of steamships, but of how they were experienced and understood as "spectacles," "solipsistic void[s]" (12), "avatars of statehood" (14), "bastions of Britishness" (16), "simulacrum[s] of rage" (23), "harbinger[s] of civilization" (224), "imperial avatar[s]" (250), and above all, "floating allegories" that represented "national pride, international amity, technological superiority . . . the march of civilization, or all of the above" (119).

Burgess looks at the way steamships were promoted through a melding of science, statistics, and spectacle that emphasized wonderment over utility; the meaning of the famous steamship races down the Mississippi and across

the Atlantic; the way a "narrative of technological triumphalism" (95) led to the *Titanic* disaster in 1912; the onboard communities these ships created; the new forms of leisure travel these ships made possible and the travel-ogues that resulted; and the national identities these ships promoted.

The introduction of steamships had wide-ranging consequences. They "annihilated space" (41, 45), closing the gaps between nations and regions and opening up new worlds. At the same time, however, they divorced passengers from landscapes and created temporary self-contained artificial communities from which passengers would (occasionally) descend for brief contact with foreign people, goods, and cultures. In this respect, Burgess writes, "despite the real potential for steam travel to bring cultures into contact and connection, in practice it often drove them further apart" (168), not least because steamships represented and reinforced "the vast unbridgeable gulf between colonized and colonizer" (275).

Steamships also seemingly undercut class distinctions; they were one of the very few places where rich, poor, and everyone in between met in close proximity. And yet, with their extraordinary levels of social stratification, steamships also fortified class divisions, becoming "floating microcosms" (148) of society more broadly. One of the most rewarding sections of the book deals with steamboat design and décor. American steamboats, in particular, provided a kind of "wish fulfillment" (127) in their lavishly outfitted dining saloons, but Burgess notes "the dichotomy between public grandeur and [the] private austerity" (144) of the cramped cabins where middle-class passengers got exactly what they had paid for.

One of the best chapters, cleverly titled "Tiffin for Grif-fins" (chap. 9), focuses on how ocean voyages shaped imperial administrators' understandings and perceptions of empire. The voyage out offered many of them their first exposure to foreign words, foods, customs, and people, helping them transition, both physically and psychologically, from Britain to its colonies. But "brief interactions with avaricious locals at coaling ports," Burgess writes, also "reinforced preexisting prejudices" (224). Here, though, there are some unwarranted leaps of interpretation, such as the suggestion—never proven—that the weeks-long crossing from Britain to India was a "cathartic experience" (231), or that the ships, which often employed deckhands recruited from East Africa and stewards from Goa, "conditioned" travelers "to the mores, rituals, and even language of the world they would soon inhabit" (232). Awkward, too, is Burgess's hyperbolic claim that stopping for coal in Port Said "never failed to disappoint," despite quoting a traveler who complained about "filth, uncharm, roguery, poverty, disease, ignorance, [and] nastiness," as well as "evil looking men who hawked their wares, arguing, haggling, [and] bargaining" (243).

There are a few factual errors, especially concerning the Great Exhibition of 1851, which was not "born from the germination of the *Great Britain*" (53), the first steam-powered iron-hulled ocean liner, which was launched in 1843. The thousands of letters and meeting notes of the exhibition's organizers do not even mention the ship. Nor

was the exhibition conceived “as an opportunity to display the supremacy of English art and engineering” (54)—quite the opposite. And, the ornamental water towers that Brunel designed were for the rebuilt Crystal Palace in Sydenham, not for the original building in Hyde Park. There are also several melodramatic oversimplifications, such as the statement that England in 1859 “had little time for foreigners” (67), although London was crawling with them, including Lajos Kossuth, Karl Marx, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Hippolyte Taine, and Richard Wagner, to name only a few.

The repeated use of the term “phantasmagoria” (twenty times by this reader’s count) is a bit excessive, but the book’s overarching point about the “phantasmagoria of steam” (22)—that there was a fragility and ephemerality underlying the whole steamship enterprise—is important and illuminating.

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SARAH ABREVAYA STEIN. *Extraterritorial Dreams: European Citizenship, Sephardi Jews, and the Ottoman Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. Pp. 224. \$30.00.

Over the past ten years, more than two hundred thousand Israeli Jews have taken European citizenship, obtaining passports from countries that just seventy years ago their ancestors had fled: Poland, Hungary, and Germany. In recognition of the huge losses suffered by Jews in the Holocaust, a host of European nations—motivated by varying degrees of cynicism, apology, and pragmatism—have moved to restore national citizenship to the descendants of displaced and murdered European Jews. And for their part, the Israeli Jews who have sought out these citizenships by waiting in endless lines and going through complex bureaucratic hoops also have an array of reasons, from the emotional to the pragmatic, for doing so.

While the media have treated this development as something new, or as an ironic historical twist, it is, in fact, a familiar tableau, a new chapter in the long and complex story of Jewish (and European) nationality and citizenship from the Ottoman era. Sarah Abrevaya Stein’s excellent and insightful *Extraterritorial Dreams: European Citizenship, Sephardi Jews, and the Ottoman Twentieth Century* presents the difficulties, ironies, and vexations of Jewish “nationality” in the twentieth century. In so doing, it traces historical threads that take us from the early modern period to the present day, from the Bronx to Baghdad, and to numerous places and moments in between.

Stein lays out the complicated history of European citizenship through the lens of Ottoman Sephardic Jewish history. Starting with the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), as the Ottoman Empire sputteringly gave way to a map of nation-states, its Jewish “protégés” scrambled to renegotiate their legal status within a changing world. Under the Ottomans, various nationalities had been possible; one could be at once a member of a religious “nationality,” an Ottoman subject (or, after the reforms of the latter half of the nineteenth century, even an Ottoman “citizen”), and a cit-

izen or protégé of one or more European nations. At the same time, the age of empires—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and British, as well as Ottoman—had created a world in which it was possible to live in Hong Kong, be a Jew born in Baghdad, and claim the protection of the British Crown. One could be born in Salonica, go from being an Ottoman subject to being a Greek citizen, and all the while enjoy the status of a “Portuguese national.” But with the end of empire, everything had to be renegotiated.

Such dizzying threads make up the “extraterritoriality” discussed in Stein’s new book. And, as she ingeniously points out, they are but one side of the same coin highlighting European citizenship’s countless permutations. Indeed, one of Stein’s central concerns is “the exceptionally messy nature of modern European citizenship” (8). The book examines this messiness through a series of biographies unearthed in the course of Stein’s archival work. Her microhistorical vignettes show that late Ottoman Levantine Jews—now romantically thought of as the quintessential cosmopolitans with linguistic and ancestral ties to numerous lands—inhabited a world where, far from having myriad national options, they found doors swinging shut, one after the other.

Stein effectively prompts the reader to understand “citizenship as a spectrum: a range of conditions or possibilities that Jews could access” (9), rather than a simple binary proposition, something that one had or did not have. The citizenship status of an early-twentieth-century Ottoman Jew could be revised and re-revised according to such vagaries as changing laws, shifting maps, and the personality, inclination, and knowledgeability of any given official with whom one happened to come in contact.

Stein teases out such stories as that of Nahum Vidal of Salonica, who was variously classified by different authorities as having his nationality listed first as “Salonican,” then as “Levantine Jew,” then as “Greek,” and finally as “French” (84). Or Nissim Jeremiah, a Jew born in Baghdad who, after living three decades in Hong Kong, was denied British registration in Shanghai and effectively ended up without classification (105). In following the itineraries and histories of such protagonists, the author most successfully brings “the history of European citizenship in dialogue with Ottoman, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern history” (10). Indeed, she demonstrates resoundingly that without this dialogue, European citizenship’s history cannot be told.

Extraterritorial Dreams, then, very deftly forces a dialogic reconsideration of European citizenship. In placing the late-imperial trajectory of Ottoman Jews within the frame of European citizenship, this important study casts the complexities and contradictions of both into stark relief. But most of all, this study is vitally important for opening up the full scope of “extraterritoriality,” which beyond its legal meaning had, of course, a far more emotive and fraught dimension: after all, for many Ottoman Jews in the first decades of the twentieth century, the successful assertion of one’s extraterritorial status quite literally meant the difference between life and death as the Third Reich rose to power.

Here Stein’s book is as powerful for what it does *not* ex-

PLICITLY say as it is for its reasoned and well-researched historical approach and its pitch-perfect balance of archival case study with interpretive analysis. The stakes of extra-territoriality crystallize in the book's devastating illustrations—the "Hôtel Meina" series by contemporary Italian artist Andrea Ventura—which tell the little-known story of the massacre at the Hotel Meina on Lake Maggiore just north of Milan. In the summer of 1943, a group of Greek Jews who had fled the German occupation of Greece took refuge there. That September, Germans occupied the area around the hotel, and on September 15 they surrounded the hotel. In short order the hotel's twenty or so Jewish "guests"—after a formal meal in the dining room and a stroll around the gardens—were rounded up, driven a short distance, executed, and thrown in the lake. The victims, all Sephardi Jews with personal histories and itineraries of the sort Stein's excellent book so meticulously recounts, vividly illustrate the book's core assertion: that "to think about extraterritoriality is to conflate the distinction between histories macro and micro, geopolitical and familial" (12–13). The late Ottoman Jewish search for home, nation, belonging, and citizenship is one of the most devastating and fascinating chapters in the past century's history. In *Extraterritorial Dreams* it receives the careful and nuanced treatment it deserves.

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NED BERTZ. *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean: Transnational Histories of Race and Urban Space in Tanzania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 275. \$59.00.

There are few cities in Africa to match Dar es Salaam—Tanzania's largest urban center, principal port, and former capital—for effervescent scholarship on the racial contours of colonialism and decolonization. On the heels of James R. Brennan's superb histories of the city and the dexterous historical sociology of Ronald R. Aminzade, Ned Bertz adds humanity and finesse to the study of fractious Afro-Asian relations in twentieth-century East Africa.

In *Diaspora and Nation in the Indian Ocean: Transnational Histories of Race and Urban Space in Tanzania*, Bertz delves into East African and Indian state archives and print cultures, especially colonial-era newspapers in English and Kiswahili. Through these relatively well-thumbed texts, he explores the context and influence of "an Indian Ocean frame" (3) on one cosmopolitan African locale—Dar es Salaam. Indian Ocean commerce had long shaped the African and Indian littorals, not least through the migration of large Indian communities to Africa before, and especially with, the expansion of European empire in the late nineteenth century. Subsequently, into the 1920s, the interdependent public spheres of the Indian Ocean nourished interconnected Asian and African political movements, which called for imperial equity, self-determination, and eventually full-blown anticolonialism. This was the arena in which Mohandas K. Gandhi, during a twenty-year residence in South Africa, began his

transformation into the "Mahatma"; the milieu that reflected early avatars of Kenya's political parties.

This much is now documented at panoramic economic, cultural, and especially elite political levels. But Bertz's integrative work also reveals South Asian testimonies from both shores of the western Indian Ocean. Like a raft of recent work on "East African Asian" fiction, particularly the Canadian/Tanzanian novelist M. G. Vassanji, these interviews are rooted in the emotional resonances and multivalent encounters of African urban spaces. Such combination yields an important, attractive volume about the quotidian experiences of Africans and, in particular, South Asians as they negotiated racialized social change in modern Africa.

The introductory contention is that two contiguous phases of scholarship—"nationalist" and "diasporic"—fail to grasp the degrees to which cosmopolitanism influenced how South Asians and Africans imagined, comprehended, and navigated colonialism and independence. Bertz argues that, in their different fashions, these two schools tend to segment South Asian and African communities. Into the 1960s, African nationalists lambasted economically parasitical, even neocolonial, "Asian" communities that dominated the retail economy and urban property holding under colonial rule (and well before). Scholars of "East African Asians" in the 1980s–1990s, most notably Robert G. Gregory, almost annexed strands of orthodox nationalist discourse in order to emphasize Indian political and philanthropic contributions to the freedom struggle and nation-building. *AwaaZ* magazine and its Kenyan-South Asian editors took up this agenda vehemently in Nairobi in the early 2000s. This self-defined "civil society" forum, a product of activism for democratization in the 1990s, produced hagiographical accounts of local "African-Asian" patriotism to legitimize South Asian presence in racially tempestuous East African postcolonies. Such works flattened everyday racial tensions beyond the political podium. Transnational "diasporic" studies of Indians in East Africa tended to detach such communities from their African neighbors, privileging analysis of Indian nationalism or South Asian ethno-religious communal networks as they played out on African soil.

Bertz, by contrast, takes specific institutional sites in Dar es Salaam—schools (chaps. 2 and 4) and cinemas (chaps. 3 and 5)—as the prime frames of analysis from early colonial Tanganyika to contemporary Tanzania. This enables him to disaggregate the nuances of Afro-Asian encounter and debate under British rule. Bertz, like Brennan and Aminzade, is especially strong on decolonization when increasingly exclusive and powerful notions of black African belonging sealed more permeable racial membranes of autochthony in Julius Nyerere's Tanzania and independent East Africa more broadly.

Through what one might term an "urban ethnoscape" approach, Bertz peers through these two portals—one strongly directed by the state, the other state-regulated but driven by the private sector. He uses these arenas to explain the possibilities and constraints of cosmopolitanism (with all its transnational connotations) at institutional choke points of racial debate in an avowedly racially

hierarchical city. The two chapters on segregated schools—where Bertz charts how, over half a century, “the state sought to enforce ideologies of colonial or national rule” (10)—reveal “significant contestations” over race and nation between colonial administrators, Africans, and South Asians. Moreover, as he skillfully shows in his archival trawl, divisions emerged between South Asian communities over religious insularity. Equally, the nimble chapters on cinemas demonstrate effectively how “both African and Indian groups successfully challenged aspects of official film policy, although they did not overly oppose the government’s administrative reliance on racial categories” (123). This is a work that gives space to imagination and historical contingency beyond the state without expunging the significant racial, ethnic, and class cleavages that developed under it and characterized urban East Africa.

Bertz’s contribution, to follow Brennan, is to use these case studies to consider “nation and race in a dialectical relationship” (21), rather than as exclusive categories, in public discourse. The experiences of Tanzanian Indians and Africans sit “in the same frame” (21). Therein he writes with empirical and stylistic verve. The analytical texture of such slippery ideas as “nation” and “diaspora” are not unpacked with pinpoint precision in the terse analytical passages of the orientating first chapter and beyond. The book is certainly alive to theory. Yet, the volume does not revolutionize existing conceptual interventions in the field, for example, on Jawaharlal Nehru’s failed “nationalization” of the Indian diaspora from the 1930s to the 1950s or the Indian Ocean as a zone of “African imagination,” to borrow Gaurav Desai’s term. That said, stellar source revelation from Gujarati passport registers, affecting oral histories, and lesser plumbed archival material from New Delhi, add zest and poignancy to the picture we have of the mid-twentieth-century western Indian Ocean. Last year the *American Historical Review* published a rare collection on an author of fiction, Amitav Ghosh, the foremost literary chronicler of historical Indian Ocean worlds and the dignity of its subaltern peoples. It is fitting here that its readers be reminded, through Bertz’s fine book, that academic historians bring similar humanity to such transnational pasts.

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LAWRENCE SONDHAUS. *The Great War at Sea: A Naval History of the First World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. viii, 407. \$35.00.

Days after the armistice of November 11, 1918, Lord Wester Wemyss, Britain’s first sea lord, wrote to Admiral David Beatty, the commander-in-chief of the Grand Fleet, about the “feeling of incompleteness” that dominated among naval officers. The victory at sea that the navy had won was lacking in display and spectacle. As a result, he argued, “the unthinking” did not realize how much Britain and the world owed to the Royal Navy. Beatty agreed: the navy had won the Great War, but the absence of an all-decisive, triumphant naval battle made theirs a “passive victory,” which was much misunderstood by a public focused on celebrating the army.

The question of what role the fleets of the belligerent powers played in deciding the First World War has been the focus of naval historians ever since. For a long time the sense of “incompleteness” highlighted by Wester Wemyss dominated the historiography. This was accentuated by a longstanding emphasis on the North Sea as the main theater of the war, a theater that the Royal Navy commanded without conclusively defeating the Kaiser’s fleet.

Drawing on a wealth of recent work, Lawrence Sondhaus has written a comprehensive corrective to this picture. *The Great War at Sea: A Naval History of the First World War* covers all major theaters of the maritime war. It shows how much this was a global conflict (there is a particularly good chapter in which he explores the odyssey of the German East Asiatic Squadron under Vice Admiral Count Maximilian von Spee). Rather than re-narrating battle after battle in detail, Sondhaus follows key themes that explain the course of the war. This approach is heavy on technology and strategy, but yields important insights, especially with regard to Germany’s U-boat campaign, which he sees as less effective than is often assumed.

What mattered most for the outcome of the war, Sondhaus argues, was not the new weapon of the submarine, but the traditional surface fleet employed as an instrument of economic warfare. The Royal Navy’s success at blockading Germany and its allies was far more important than the skirmishes and inconclusive battles that the navy fought. Battleships were highly sophisticated fighting machines (which, Sondhaus shows, repeatedly worked better on the German than on the British side), but what was decisive was the economic pressure they exerted. This role may have been “passive” in the sense evoked by Beatty, but it was crucial: the effective and continuous blockade of Germany and Austria-Hungary was a key element in the long-term strategy that ultimately turned the First World War in favor of the Allies.

All this is backed up by Sondhaus’s impressive command of the specialist scholarship not just on the German and British navies, but on all major fleets at war between 1914 and 1918. Yet the comprehensive, global reach of the book comes at the price of a rather narrow methodological focus. Readers expecting the social or cultural history of naval warfare to be covered will be disappointed. We rarely get a glimpse of what fighting—or waiting to fight—on board these monsters of steel meant. There is a rich historiography that has explored the politics below deck, everyday life, mobilization, and propaganda. Sondhaus shows little interest in it.

Traditional in a methodological sense, Sondhaus’s narrative works from the navies outward. Key naval developments thus tend to appear isolated from larger social and political contexts. The mutinies at the end of the war are a striking example. Sondhaus suggests that they occurred mostly because of internal factors that were specific to the navies affected, but surely the explanation has to be sought in a broader context. The navies of the great powers were closely integrated with the social and political dynamics that characterized the societies at war. Those interested in how the war at sea intersected with these larger

dynamics will sense a vacuum, as if naval history ought to be studied in separation from what took place on land.

This disjuncture is also evident with regard to the book's main argument. Sondhaus demonstrates just how important it was that the Allies were able to continuously blockade Germany and Austria. Yet the blockade ultimately made sense only if it worked in tandem with the war on land, which forced the German government and its allies to mobilize ever more resources, inflicting hardship on their societies without achieving victory. Surely the two together, naval blockade and military stalemate, explain why the war turned the way it did without one taking precedence over the other.

Sondhaus has written a comprehensive scholarly synthesis that sheds new light on important questions. His account is destined to become the standard work on the First World War at sea. At the same time, the book serves as a reminder that the history of the navy has yet to be integrated into mainstream historiography to the degree to which military history has.

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LISA A. KIRSCHENBAUM. *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 278. \$99.99.

With the opening of Soviet-era and Spanish Civil War archives, quite a few studies of Soviet-Spanish relations in the 1930s have recently appeared. Many focus on politically contentious issues, such as the extent and intention of Soviet influence. Lisa A. Kirschenbaum's *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion* is a refreshing contribution to this growing body of scholarly literature. It focuses on the "everyday lives of international communists" (2) and promises to offer "a grassroots history of international communism" (2) as it played out in the Spanish Civil War. Throughout, she stresses that the civil war was a "personal and political point of reference" (9) for its communist veterans. The scale of Kirschenbaum's research is impressive, indeed exemplary. The evidence comes from a wide array of archives and collections in Russia, Spain, and the U.S. The source base and focus make this an original contribution to the historiography.

The volume, which consists of an introduction, seven chapters, and an epilogue, is subdivided into three parts, the first of which unfolds in the USSR and focuses on how communists trained at the Lenin School adapted to life with new international comrades and learned to "see" and "feel" "the Revolution" (52). In many ways, this is the most original section of the book, as she discusses not simply the training and regimen, but also how students adapted to each other and began to create a sense of international solidarity. Although many communists in the interwar period trained at the Lenin School, its history has received scant scholarly attention in the English-language literature until now.

Part II, which consists of three chapters, unfolds in Spain and addresses the International Brigades during the

war. Its overarching focus is on how participants "understood the abstraction of 'international solidarity' to operate on the ground" (11, 89). In chapter 3, that understanding exists in a sometimes uneasy relationship with a series of more personal responses to daily life and battlefield issues—the impact of cigarette shortages, going unpaid, the lack of leaves, and International Brigade members' ignorance of Spanish and Spanish mores. Kirschenbaum reveals the humanity of the soldiers in these vivid details. Chapter 5, "True Bolsheviks and Trotskyite Bastards," offers a welcome, albeit succinct discussion of the attention that the Spanish Civil War garnered in the USSR and the impact that it had on Soviet citizens. Yet it also seeks to find connections between that war and the conspiratorial mindset that animated the contemporaneous mass repression in the USSR. Here Kirschenbaum gives great weight to the role and impact of Stalinist political perceptions, often at the expense of the very complex realities unfolding in Spain. She dismisses allegations that the May Day 1937 uprising was, as communists viewed it, a Trotskyist-inspired rebellion, and not without reason. But for Kirschenbaum, "Trotskyism was a catchall term" (141) used to describe an array of behaviors by alleged enemies. That description of Trotskyism is more valid for the USSR than it was for Spain, where it connoted a political party's policies and individual's behavior in relation to the civil war, the nature of the army, and the deferral or demand for socialist revolution. From that perspective, an uprising on the home front, which was what the May Days were, was tantamount to treason for many.

In chapter 7, "Best Comrades, Tough Guys," Kirschenbaum explores a series of issues that rarely get scholarly attention in the literature on the Spanish Civil War—social and personal discipline, marital relations, "homosocial bonding" (153), homosexuality, temperance, "communist manhood" (172)—and how these issues affected and were affected by the community of soldiers. In battle in a foreign land, soldiers do form a community, and each community has its norms. Kirschenbaum's exploration of those norms is welcome. Her treatment of homosexuality as a political failing, one "incompatible with communist manhood" (172), is especially intriguing because it provides insight into how the political values of communists and the moral values of the period intersected.

Part III of the book, which centers on memory, ranges widely from how the civil war helped to shape representations of the Great Patriotic War, to how it became a "personal and political point of reference" for its communist veterans, to how it reshaped Spanish communist identity in the USSR, to how it influenced the construction and persecution of "real and imagined spies" (214) in the early postwar period in the U.S. and Eastern Europe. While her discussion of the experience of U.S. veterans of Spain is solid, the shift to Eastern Europe is a bit jarring and not always effective. She is quite right that the trials in the East and West were "uncanny reflections of shared fears" (230). But her different tone in the discussion of each is frustrating at times, especially given that she appreciates that all "transnational networks were inherently conspiratorial and subversive" (227).

Despite the promise to examine the “everyday lives of international communists,” it is the English-speaking comrades who get the lion’s share of Kirschenbaum’s attention. Aside from her discussion of Spaniards in the fine chapter on the Lenin School, only well-known Spaniards, such as Dolores Ibarurri, Juan Modesto, and Margarita Nelken, receive much attention in the rest of the volume. Yet precisely because they were leaders, their experiences and memories differ from those of their “grassroots” comrades, who formed their own communities in the army. This may be a source issue because there are many memoirs by English-speaking veterans of the International Brigades but fewer accounts by Spanish defenders of the Republic. Whatever the reason, it detracts from this otherwise refreshing volume that places individuals at the center of the story and offers many original insights.

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BARBRA MANN WALL. *Into Africa: A Transnational History of Catholic Medical Missions and Social Change*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 230. Cloth \$49.95.

The past decade has seen a resurgence of interest in the role that missions and religious figures played in the development of European colonial empires. Much of this work has shown that missionaries pursued their own independent agendas that evolved over time in response to changing social and political influences at home, growing awareness of local culture, and the agency of colonized peoples. Barbra Mann Wall’s slim volume *Into Africa: A Transnational History of Catholic Medical Missions and Social Change* continues and expands upon this trend by looking at Catholic medical missions run by women religious in post-1945 British Africa. While it breaks new historiographical ground in terms of the time period studied, it focuses on Catholic rather than Protestant missions, and it emphasizes the transnational character of mission work. *Into Africa* is uneven and fails to deliver on some of its promises due to an overly ambitious attempt to cover too many of the Catholic mission societies over too many territories. The result is short on detail and often presents a series of generalizations that are insufficiently supported by the evidence. This is odd because the extensive notes show that the book is well researched, drawing on archives in the U.S., Britain, Ireland, and Africa.

Over the course of six chapters, Wall argues that transnational connections influenced the practice of religion, medicine, and education in Ghana, Nigeria, and Uganda. In particular, she makes the case that groups like the Medical Mission Sisters (MMS), the Medical Missionaries of Mary (MMM), the Maryknoll Sisters, and the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary not only drew membership from the U.S., Europe, and Africa, but also called on the resources and support of a global Catholic Church in pursuit of their goals. Wall also argues that the confluence of post-Vatican II reforms, the emergence of liberation theology, the changing political landscapes in Africa and the West, the civil rights movement, and the growing interac-

tions with African medical assistants and patients caused Catholic medical missionaries to shift their thought and practice from using medical care primarily as a means of evangelism to seeing it as the cornerstone of humanitarianism and social justice. While her sources admittedly privilege the voices and actions of white women, Wall convincingly demonstrates that Africans were active participants in this process, serving as agents of cross cultural exchange who translated, communicated, and occasionally adapted the religious, medical, and cultural knowledge flowing between their own communities and the Western religious sisters who served them.

Two of *Into Africa*’s chapters explore how postwar medical missions blurred gender and occupational boundaries. Wall shows how MMS efforts to expand medical care in postwar Ghana forced the sisters to take on roles normally held by men, including control over the mission’s daily operations and the supervision of physicians unaccustomed to having anyone, let alone women, challenge their medical authority. Rather than face continued challenges to their control, the MMS developed its own sister doctors and began training African nurses, both of whom increasingly upended the traditional Western patriarchal doctor-patient relationship by collaborating with local mothers in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Wall then documents how MMS institutions in Ghana became Africanized over time as the mission delegated family planning initiatives to local assistants. Unfortunately, her contention that this Africanization increased missionary awareness of local culture is never adequately documented. Similarly unproven is her belief that this awareness, rather than external factors such as the civil rights or feminist movements in the West, caused the sisters to buck Vatican control as they sought to make mission practices more relevant to people’s daily lives.

Wall’s examination of the Maryknoll Sisters in Tanzania follows similar lines. She documents their efforts to incorporate religious rituals and evangelism into medical practice and shows how this led the sisters to resist local traditions, such as fieldwork for women, which challenged Catholic views of motherhood. She also makes the case that Tanzanian medical assistants were critical to the Maryknoll Sisters’ health and prenatal visits precisely because they acted as linguistic and cultural translators. The resultant growth in Maryknoll awareness and appreciation for local culture, plus exposure to Julius Nyerere’s socialism, Vatican II’s emphasis on social justice, and the emergence of liberation theology, eventually led to a profound shift in mission identity that emphasized humanitarianism over evangelism.

Chapter 4, easily the best in the book, uses missionary diaries to illustrate how the Biafran War (1967–1970) changed public perceptions as well as mission practice in Nigeria. While clinics and nursing schools run by groups like the MMM were initially well respected by the Nigerian government and local populations alike, once the war broke out in 1967 many Nigerians began to complain that the mission was too white and saw it as a symbol of British profiteering from the conflict. As public opinion turned, the government expelled Irish nuns and seized mission

property on the grounds that they had given aid and comfort to the enemy through their humanitarian work and provision of medical care to rebel soldiers. Rather than let these operations fade, women in Nigerian Catholic communities stepped into the breach and worked vociferously to reclaim mission property while simultaneously expanding clinics, reopening nursing schools, and providing new humanitarian services. The end result was a rapid and permanent Nigerianization of the local church hierarchy.

Turning to the 1970s and 1980s, Wall shows how medical missions in Tanzania and Uganda increasingly collaborated with practitioners of traditional African medicine in a bid to improve primary health care. As missionaries began studying and writing about local medical practices, they became increasingly open-minded and occasionally incorporated some of them into their own medical care. This quickly opened the door to deeper and more meaningful collaboration. In Tanzania, the Maryknoll Sisters began working with the Ministry of Health to train native healers, especially traditional birth attendants, in hygiene and basic first aid so as to improve the quality of primary care in rural areas. The MMM and MMS took on similar initiatives in Uganda, focusing on midwives and village health workers. In both cases this not only significantly expanded access to health care, but also increased the Africanization of health workers.

Despite the occasional lack of detail and tendency to generalize, this is still a valuable addition to the literature on religion and empire, both for its focus on the role played by Catholic women in post-1945 medical missions and, perhaps more importantly, for showcasing how transnational elements shaped missionary thought and practice across Africa. This is an important concept that will no doubt inspire readers to look for similar forces at work in other time periods and parts of the globe.

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TIMOTHY NUNAN. *Humanitarian Invasion: Global Development in Cold War Afghanistan*. (Global and International History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 326. \$99.99.

The last sentence of the jacket copy's descriptive paragraph for *Humanitarian Invasion: Global Development in Cold War Afghanistan* sets very high expectations: "*Humanitarian Invasion* signals the beginning of a new stage in the writing of international history." The hubris of foretelling the place of one's oeuvre in the future of an academic discipline notwithstanding, this is an elegantly written book that provides a history of, or perhaps a story about, American, European, and Soviet transnational and international aid in Afghanistan.

If *Humanitarian Invasion* has a driving argument or overarching purpose, its author struggles to define it. The closest Timothy Nunan gets to defining the thesis of the book is to characterize it as "a history of international development and humanitarianism in Afghanistan" (15). As a history of ideas in communities of practice on two sides of the Cold War divide, the book does not disappoint. It

weaves the intellectual histories of both European and Soviet aid-program strategists (ironically both rooted in leftist ideologies) with their implementation of aid programs in Afghanistan. Nunan carefully traces the influence of worldviews and understandings of Afghanistan on how aid programs were conceived and implemented, and on how they fared on the ground. Also interestingly, he describes the effect of failures and perceived successes on the development of thought among the Soviet and West European development and humanitarian workers. Empirics make it into the book (*inter alia*, chaps. 2 and 5) through several case studies of Cold War development efforts in Afghanistan by Americans, West Germans, and (mostly) Soviets.

Fragments of the introduction (5) could be combined into what resembles a more specific statement of purpose: the book is the "story" of how Afghanistan became "a battleground between . . . Soviet-style territorial authoritarianism on the one hand, and poststate humanitarianism on the other," and how the battle between these two projects "would reveal Afghanistan's role not as 'the graveyard of empires,' but rather as the graveyard of the Third World nation-state" (5). And the book does tell that story well too. It elegantly discusses how the meaning of sovereignty changes among the development and humanitarian workers, as well as among some of the other players in the Afghan conflict. For better or worse, Nunan's use of the term "story" to describe his book excuses him from developing a full-fledged argument in his narrative. His use of weak, non-causal verbs (such as reveals and suggests) in this description, and throughout the book, makes this a book about the meaning of things to the development and aid workers Nunan studies, for which the politics of Afghanistan and the lives of Afghans mostly provide context.

Like all stories and histories, Nunan's is selective in its scope and tends to omit what the author, in this case an expert on Europe and the Soviet Union, is not particularly familiar with. *Humanitarian Invasion* ignores, for example, the role of Muslim aid organizations and the evolution of ideas about the nation-state among Muslims (except among Pakistanis). Also unmentioned is a Muslim-centric way to interpret the dissolution of borders among some Muslim states, and the weakening of those states' institutions, as a return to a precolonial, more authentic regime. The bulk of the book also deals with the Cold War and (to a lesser extent) the Taliban era, with very little coverage of the immense, and likely just as ill-fated, developmental and aid efforts since 2002.

The text can be reductionist whenever it implies causality. Nunan's Afghan actors are reduced to consummate manipulators of foreign donors, and their preferences and actions are interpreted only in the context of aid. A puzzling refrain in *Humanitarian Invasion* is the idea that the Afghan state, at different junctures, would strategically stoke the Pushtunistan issue (the vague project to create a greater Afghanistan that includes Pushtun areas of Pakistan) to attract international aid. This may very well have been the case, but Nunan provides no evidence in support of his attribution of intentions, and he does not assess alternative explanations for Afghan leaders' behavior. It

could be, for example, that Mohammad Zahir Shah (r. 1933–1973) and Mohammad Daoud Khan (prime minister, 1953–1963, president 1973–1978) raised the specter of Pushtunistan for domestic reasons, such as the desire to maintain the loyalty of Afghan Pushtuns, or for realpolitik ones, such as wanting to balance Pakistan's greater power and influence within Afghanistan. Here lies the main weakness of this book, it provides an elegant but non-analytical narrative that overinterprets accessible evidence and ignores competing explanations. It is an anecdote-based, as opposed to pattern-seeking or process-tracing, narrative about meaning. It therefore stumbles whenever it ventures beyond the study of meaning and intentions.

Humanitarian Invasion does have some weaknesses, but they should not keep the tome from being useful to Western aid strategists looking to gain context and self-reflective depth, and to those who study their efforts, and to scholars of Afghanistan and other weak states with interest in developmental and humanitarian intervention. It will not provide them with an empirical, process-based study with recommendations, but with a reflective, meaning-focused critical approach that should give the practitioner pause and encourage the scholar to reconsider the role and meaning of transnational histories of development and humanitarian interventions.

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ASIA

GAGAN D. S. SOOD. *India and the Islamic Heartlands: An Eighteenth-Century World of Circulation and Exchange*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xvii, 338. \$99.99.

In 1748, roughly one hundred letters from merchant and trading families, along with a cache of business documents, were entrusted to the *Santa Catharina*, which was making its return journey from Basra to Calcutta. British officers commanding a man-of-war intercepted the ship off India's east coast and soon claimed it as enemy booty once most of the officers and several of its seamen proved to be French. The letters and documents, written in Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Portuguese, were preserved for legal proceedings before finding their way to the British Library and, ultimately, to Gagan D. S. Sood, the author of *India and the Islamic Heartlands: An Eighteenth-Century World of Circulation and Exchange*. The book draws as well on the papers of a Goa-based business family, depositions from the Bombay Mayor's Court, and European travel accounts.

Sood's innovative approach is to work from the bottom up to chart a network that transcends conventional political or cultural areas in favor of one characterized by "circulation and exchange." Sood focuses on the everyday life of a "sub-elite class" (xi) that largely operated outside the world of high politics. He also, ambitiously, seeks to excavate the mental worlds of the documents' authors. In chapter 1, he sets out four "cognitive patterns" (identity; sovereignty and governance; measurement and assess-

ment; and space) for which he elicits key terms from the documents that will appear throughout the book. The next two chapters take up briefly the cosmic order (chap. 2) and the familial order (chap. 3), followed by chapters on the relational order "of intimates and strangers" (chap. 4), the communications order of language and writing (chap. 5), and the political order (chap. 6). Chapter 7 turns to the everyday practices that sustain the networks at stake. A final chapter addresses four case studies. Sood does not provide any categorization of the documents by subject, name and identity of writer, or language, nor does he consistently identify the writer's language or religious background.

In part, the lack of labeling no doubt reflects Sood's bold argument that attitudes and behavior were uniform no matter the author's place of origin or religious tradition. This is certainly plausible, since one would hardly expect anything other than the patriarchal values in chapter 3 or the great value imputed to trust and reputation in chapters 4 and 8, let alone shared business and communication methods. That concepts of the "cosmic order" in chapter 2 were shared is also plausible given the plasticity of the transcendent traditions of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and what I assume to be the Zoroastrianism of the occasional Parsi, the Vaishnavism of the Banias, or the Brahminic ritualism of the Gaud Saraswats. Still, chapter 2 needs more of an argument to account for what largely reads like the monotheism, intercessors, and afterlife of conventional Islam and Christianity.

Sood tends to take his texts at face value. Some letters surely do reflect deep bonds of longing for a lost son (56) or indignation at a husband who has stayed away far too long (90–91). But what Sood calls "relational markers" are also speech conventions. For example, Sood himself points out that anyone writing in Arabic script makes more pious invocations than the same person would in Latin (199). Is the meaning of an accusation that a person caused his brother to suffer because he had not thanked God for his prosperity a testimony to belief in divine causality, Sood's gloss, or rather a clue about sibling jealousy that precluded such thanks (78)? Sometimes, too, Sood extracts a statement to fit a chapter's topic without assessing its larger context. To be sure, Minas, the supercargo, claims that he undertook his charge in order to serve his Armenian community (95), but elsewhere the reader pieces together the profitable financial transactions the trip also afforded him. Similarly, a father's tone may be "domineering" (81), but surely that needs to be placed in the context of political turmoil and high insecurity that undoubtedly provoked such urgent letters (149, 154–155). Organizing this fragmentary material is fiendishly hard, but the chapter organization narrows the context for analysis, a problem that the final case studies are meant to overcome.

The book's organization also undercuts Sood's claim that the letter writers did not understand the world in terms of "the political, social, economic, private and public spheres familiar to us today" (44). Surely that is right. Yet Sood's prime example to show this holistic mentality is not convincing. In it, one 'Inayat Allah's explanation of

his business failure—political chaos, banditry, his own material losses and illness, monetary crises—seems exactly to echo the “complex and interconnected reality” (43–44) that someone in his situation would invoke today. The letters as presented often confirm shared human feelings and experience more than difference.

If identifying distinctive mentalities is elusive, the rich documentation of practicalities in chapters 5, 6, and 7 is not. These chapters ably deal with modes of transmission, the limited role of rulers and their institutions, and the self-regulating mechanisms for mediation within ethnic and occupational communities. Chapter 7, far and away the longest of the book, sets out the contrasting epistolary forms and conventions; the roles of brokers and agents; the strategies of negotiation; and the methods deployed to settle deferred transactions (by specie or forms of credit and exchange like *hawala* and *hundi*).

Sood’s tag of this region as “Islamicate Eurasia,” in my opinion, remains problematic, since, *pace* the popularizer of “Islamicate,” M. G. S. Hodgson, a suffix is not enough to remove the assumption that “Islam,” even in this diverse and plural world, has a cultural gridlock that other traditions lack. “Eurasia,” moreover, points to Central Asia, not part of the story here. Why not just “South and West Asia”? Looking ahead, Sood calls for studies, unlike his, with a comparative and transregional approach and with chronological depth, suggestive, perhaps, of a work like Sunil S. Amrith’s *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants* (2013) for a different region. But Sood’s own stimulating focus on fragmentary documents and “emic” reading (19) is also an approach that invites emulation, as does his own linguistic mastery, which unlocks for us intriguing documents like these.

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DINGXIN ZHAO. *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History*. (Oxford Studies in Early Empires.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 447. \$85.00.

Dingxin Zhao has written a work of Weberian historical sociology that combines original quantitative research on early China (antiquity into the first century B.C.E.) and a synthesis of the secondary literature on later periods. Zhao says (xi) that he was inspired by but ultimately rejected Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng’s theory of China as an “ultra-stable structure” (*Xingshengyu weiji: Lun Zhongguo fengjian shehui de chaowending jigou* [1988]). His alternative is to present China as a Confucian-Legalist state that first took shape with the establishment of the imperial bureaucratic system in the Qin-Han period (221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). Despite the Han and later Tang empires’ breakups into multiple states, and despite the conquest of all Han-Tang territory by the Mongols (1234 and 1279–1367) and the Manchus (1644–1911), Zhao argues that the Confucian-Legalist state was resurrected, in particular by the Song dynasty (Northern, 960–1127, and Southern, 1127–1279), through the dynasty’s control over the military and

expansion of the civil service examination system. This made modernization simply impossible without the destruction of the traditional system. Zhao thus sides with those historians who view “modern China” as a fundamental and necessary rupture with a “pre-modern” culture, and against those who see the recent past as one of a number of fundamental transitions in China’s history.

Zhao’s resurrection of this view is important. In my opinion, no earlier historians of the modernization school have attempted to make their case with such a thorough discussion of all of history (with the exception of Mark Elvin, who saw a revolution on all fronts in the middle period and stagnation thereafter); have done so in a manner that casts new light on the interpretation of early history; or have taken early modern Europe as a comparative frame for all of China’s history. It is a strong defense of the liberal position in China today against those scholars and politicians who claim that China’s future can be positively related to its past. *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History* can be read as a warning, although not stated so explicitly, against the restoration of the Confucian-Legalist state whose values the author implies still linger in the Chinese mentality but contravene human nature.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted to early China. In Zhao’s analysis, warfare was the engine of early history, beginning with Eastern Zhou in 770 B.C.E. and continuing through what he calls the “age of hegemons” (770–546 B.C.E.) and a transitional period into what he calls an “age of total war” (419–221 B.C.E.). Winning wars required resources, and ultimately this led to the triumph of instrumental rationalism over other ways of thinking, and thus to the “legalist state” as the most effective means of harnessing resources in support of total war. The analysis of warfare from Eastern Zhou to the Qin unification of the warring states in 221 B.C.E. is compelling. Zhao tracks changes: in the distance that states traveled to battles in a series of maps, in the clustering of battles, in the distribution of war over the four seasons (laying to rest the claim that war was fought mainly in fall and winter), and in the reasons for war (showing that only later was war mainly aimed at expanding territory). Success in war inevitably brought new territory. At first re-feudalization promised a solution to holding new territory, but feudal aristocrats increased the succession hazard for rulers. Ultimately, centralized bureaucratic governance was more effective in securing the ruler’s position and extracting resources from the population, making possible total war and territorial expansion. In this, rulers were aided by the emergence of the *shi*, offspring of aristocratic families who provided a class of educated administrators, and the Confucian, Daoist, and Legalist thinkers among them, who he argues were, in contrast to the Greeks, oriented toward the state rather than individual rights. But why, Zhao asks, did this period of total war lead to a total conquest by the legalist state of Qin rather than a balance of powers and a multistate system as in early modern Europe? For Zhao this is explained by the lack of the constraints on centralized power present in Europe: the feudal aristocracy, the church, and the independence of merchants. It was inevitable.

Although he is interested in ideology, Zhao passes lightly over the contemporary justifications for a single-state system. In fact there were two, one historical and one natural-philosophical. The historical idea was the ideal of universal kingship, which provided an ancient justification for unification. The natural-philosophical idea was the theory of cosmic resonance, which explained why returning the natural world to its constant and proper course depended upon fully organizing the human world, an idea that was expounded by the *Lüshi chungiu*, the only monumental work of scholarship to come from the Qin court. It was this theory, amended to make the orchestration of human society dependent on the ruler's behavior rather than coercive social organization, that would, in the form of "Huang Lao" thought, guide the early Han dynasty.

Did a Confucian-Legalist state really emerge in Western Han? There was a revitalization of bureaucratic governance, but bureaucratic rule and even the state activism and territorial expansion of Emperor Wu (141–87 B.C.E.) did not follow the Qin legalist model of organizing society for total war. It is hard to agree that Emperor Wu promoted "Confucianism." Rather, as the "Discourses on Salt and Iron" from 81 B.C.E. show, there was a division in the bureaucracy between defenders of Wu's activist state and advocates of a morally and economically self-sufficient rural order. In fact, Zhao allows that Confucianism did not fully develop until the Song dynasty, one thousand years later (275), yet the discussion of the last millennium of Chinese history is overly brief. The claim that the centralized bureaucratic state ruled through legalism and was legitimated by Confucianism (292) distracts from Zhao's larger conclusion that the most enduring dynastic states in China's history found ways of institutionalizing the collaboration of central power and semi-autonomous elites through bureaucratic governance.

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LI CHEN. *Chinese Law in Imperial Eyes: Sovereignty, Justice, and Transcultural Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 400. Cloth \$60.00, e-book \$59.99.

From the Orient, light; from the Occident, law: such has been the immemorial Western image of east-west transcultural exchange. This fascinating new study in transnational legal history challenges this notion, even as it provides a wealth of new information about Sino-Western cultural interaction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like a skilled surgeon, Li Chen peels away the layers of cant, misunderstanding, and linguistic confusion to reveal the reality of law along the China coast during this period. Western traders in China in the early nineteenth century claimed that they needed extraterritoriality to protect them from the barbarity of Chinese law. But as Chen shows in his discussion of the *Lady Hughes* case of 1784, Chinese law and British law were in fact quite similar, and decreed the same sanction for the gunner who was accused of killing two Chinese as he fired a

salute to a departing ship. Westerners needed extraterritoriality not because of the primitive quality of Chinese law, but because of their own insecurity in a world whose language and customs were incomprehensible to them. Chen's work also provides the first substantial account of the life and work of Sir George Thomas Staunton (1781–1859), who was a page boy for George Macartney, Britain's first envoy to Beijing. Staunton was also the first translator of the Qing code, and a prominent advocate of a British military response in the Opium War (1839–1842). Evidence may be thinner for the influence of Chinese law on the formation of European modernity, the subject of Chen's third chapter, but the discussion of the conceptual differences between Chinese and Western legal orders, public and private, codified and non-codified law is so fascinating and fundamental that it stands as one of the signal contributions of the volume.

Chapter 4 shows how the spectacle of Chinese executions wonderfully focused the mind of Western observers on Chinese cruelty. Westerners in China agitated for mitigation of the cruelty they perceived; however, they could not restrain themselves from visiting execution grounds. Chen's last chapter addresses the role of law in the opium crisis of 1839–1840. The British conversion of support for tawdry drug dealers into a defense of legal principle has long been a staple of Opium War narratives. But the story has never been told in the detail that is here, which includes discussion of the nineteenth-century argument that barbarian states like China should be excluded from the provisions of international law, and a more thorough treatment of the activities of Charles Elliot. Elliot, who is often treated as a somewhat passive figure, emerges in Chen's account as the central actor in the opium drama. By collecting opium from merchants and surrendering it to China on behalf of the British Crown, he set the conflict up as one requiring a British military response to secure reparations for the opium surrendered.

All of Chen's claims are fully documented and richly theorized. One of the pleasures of this book is that the author is comfortable with both Chinese and European sources, and seems as sure-footed in dealing with Locke as with Lin, with Thomas Babington Macaulay as with Macartney. This genuinely bicultural account sheds new light on Frederic E. Wakeman's work on the Opium War, *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (1966), which famously began with the exhortation: "Let us engage in local history" (7). But local history, though necessary, may no longer be sufficient to understand the complex global pressures that produced nineteenth-century events in China. New conceptual tools for understanding the relationship between Europeans and the Other were developed in the last several decades by figures like Edward Said and Mary Louise Pratt, among many others, and they call for and support a reconsideration of events of Sino-Western interaction. Newly available archives in China provide telling details. The rewriting of nineteenth-century Chinese history, which is very much the task of the modern and early modern China field at the moment, will be accomplished by a generation more sophisticated theoretically and more broadly

trained than the “old China hands” of the last generation. Chen’s *Chinese Law in Imperial Eyes: Sovereignty, Justice, and Transcultural Politics* sets a very high bar for new studies, and will be a standard for many years to come.

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STEPHEN R. HALSEY. *Quest for Power: European Imperialism and the Making of Chinese Statecraft*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 346. \$49.95.

The idea that the period 1839–1949 was the “era of humiliation” in which China, the “sick man of Asia,” struggled against successive waves of foreign imperialism is a powerful one with remarkable staying power. Stephen R. Halsey’s *Quest for Power: European Imperialism and the Making of Chinese Statecraft* joins a growing chorus of works that question this broad characterization. Where others saw dissolution and decline, particularly in the last decades of the Qing Empire (r. 1644–1912), Halsey highlights dynamism, transformation, and resilience.

Even proponents of the narrative of weakness and decline have had to acknowledge that China (or at least some parts of it) managed to avoid the direct colonization and annexation that was the fate of nearly 85 percent of the world’s land surface during the era of high imperialism. But while previous explanations may have focused largely on external factors that led to this outcome, Halsey highlights the internal changes that gave rise to a growing capacity of the Chinese state to attain what he labels “the minimal threshold to retain its independence” (147).

After a wide-ranging review of the onslaught of Western imperialism in much of the rest of the world, Halsey turns his attention to the factors that allowed China to avoid complete collapse and colonization. One factor is largely structural: the very nature of the Treaty Port System that was thought to have been imposed upon China by the West actually served to *limit* foreign access and penetration, particularly in the area of the Chinese economy.

But the core focus of Halsey’s work is on the internal changes and reforms brought about by Qing statesmen such as Li Hongzhang and Sheng Xuanhuai, and merchants such as Tang Tingshu. Faced with the challenges of foreign imperialism and internal turmoil, most notably the devastating Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), these influential figures took measures to establish and improve a military-fiscal state capable of defending the empire. They developed new sources of revenue, most significantly the domestic transit tax (*lijin*) and customs receipts. This led to a tripling of state revenue during the last six decades of the Qing. They also worked to increase the size and effectiveness of police forces and modernize the Qing’s army and navy. They established the China Merchants Steamship and Navigation Company, a successful attempt to wrest control of domestic shipping from foreign ventures, and the Imperial Telegraph Administration, which kept domestic indigenous control of a strategically vital communications infrastructure.

All of these state-building efforts were carried out in

the name of concepts relatively new to China such as “sovereignty” (*zizhuzhiquan*) and “right to profits” (*liquan*). Halsey concludes by emphasizing what he sees as significant continuities in statecraft from the late Qing through the Republican and into the early PRC periods.

This work is a welcome addition and corrective to the older caricatures of China as only weak and ineffectual. The present-day rise of China prompts a search for the foundations of China’s current strength, and surely at least some of these foundations were laid well before 1979 or even 1949. Halsey harnesses a variety of sources and data that richly illustrate the improvements in statecraft with an emphasis on the Lower Yangzi River region (Jiangnan).

The focus on this single region does raise some questions about representativeness and the broader imperial or even regional context in the book. For example, Halsey repeatedly notes an increase in Qing financial resources being devoted to the Jiangnan region at the expense of the western territories from the 1880s on. However, he fails to note that this shift took place only *after* the famous 1874 debate over maritime defense versus frontier defense in which the Qing Empire actually decided the opposite, and gave Zuo Zongtang the lion’s share of Qing resources to put down rebellion and solidify Qing control of what would become the “New Territory” (Xinjiang). The shift of emphasis to the coast, then, took place only after the Qing had secured its first priority. Moreover, the ensuing revenue shortfall in Xinjiang was at least partially made up not by transit taxes or customs receipts but by the more intensive application of the traditional land tax. Similarly, Halsey makes no mention of Zhao Erfeng’s brutal but successful imposition of more direct Qing control of Tibet in 1908–1910. Did Zhao’s armies enjoy the benefits of the Jiangnan-area modernizations and improvements (a conclusion that would seem to lend some additional significance to Halsey’s core arguments), or did they represent a rather different strand of Qing state and empire making (a conclusion that might complicate his core argument)?

Another area that cries out for more attention from Halsey is the Qing application to Korea of most of the trends and transformations he describes. From the 1880s on, the very same array of actors and institutions, from Li Hongzhang and Tang Tingshu to the China Merchants Steamship Company and Imperial Telegraph Administration, were used to project and promote Qing interests on the Korean peninsula. This development supports Halsey’s depiction of Qing dynamism and innovation, not to mention a willingness (consistent with norms of the time) to fiercely claim and defend sovereignty at home while simultaneously abrogating others’ sovereignty abroad. However, it cannot be denied that the modern Qing imperialist enterprise in Korea was ultimately eclipsed by the more forceful and effective imperialism of Japan.

Halsey cannot but acknowledge setbacks such as the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War, but he consistently seeks to minimize them, declaring that the outcome of the war “illustrates little beyond Tokyo’s greater military power in the mid-1890s” (149). Perhaps. But when one starts to tally the cases in which China, for all of its innovation and

reform, was unable to resist Japanese (or other foreign) incursions—the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, the Twenty-One Demands in 1915, the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the 1932 creation of Manchukuo, and the devastation of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)—the ultimate significance and utility of a growing capacity of a Chinese state might be called into question. Yes, throughout the entire “era of humiliation,” “China” survived; but what, exactly, was it that survived? The unfortunate inhabitants of Manchuria or Nanjing might be forgiven for not finding the continued existence of a Chinese state in, say, Chongqing to be terribly relevant or helpful.

Finally, it bears noting that India, Halsey’s paradigmatic example of a nation that was not strong enough to resist formal colonization, achieved independence from foreign colonial rule two years before China “stood up” in 1949. Perhaps the difference between, on the one hand, semicolonialism and military conquest in China and, on the other, formal colonial rule in India is not as great as we once supposed. Or perhaps external factors and international context still merit consideration after all.

These issues and questions are unlikely to be fully and satisfactorily resolved any time soon. But what is clear is that Halsey has done the fields of Chinese history, the history of statecraft, and the history of imperialism a great favor by encouraging all of us to view China in a new and rather different light and to reexamine previously held assumptions about the sources of state and national power. All readers will have much to learn from this book.

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SHELLEN XIAO WU. *Empires of Coal: Fueling China's Entry into the Modern World Order, 1860–1920*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 266. \$45.00.

When one thinks of the dynamics of China’s industrial expansion over the past several decades, coal is certainly one element of it that readily comes to mind. Coal has been a principal fossil fuel energizing China’s growth in national and personal incomes, as well as a source of profound environmental degradation. In *Empires of Coal: Fueling China's Entry into the Modern World Order, 1860–1920*, Shellen Xiao Wu asks how coal became king in China. Her fascinating exploration of this question implicates the history of European science, imperialism, scientism, and nationalist discourses. Consistent with recent scholarship that has reassessed the late Qing, Wu argues that the foundations for China’s contemporary “empire of coal” are found in the last decades of the Qing dynasty, when Chinese political and intellectual elites fundamentally changed their views of minerals and resource management as China confronted the mutually supportive powers of Western imperialism and science. Over six chapters, the author arrives at her conclusion that China largely bought into modern global discourses and practices of mining and energy between 1860 and 1920 through suc-

cessive phases: from the creation of a cultural space for science through the writings and surveys of Ferdinand von Richthofen and translations of Western scientific tomes, to the introduction of foreign engineers (principally German) in the late nineteenth century, to mining rights-recovery movements during the last decade of the Qing, and ultimately to Chinese geologists who increasingly viewed geology as a metaphor for national identity and survival. All these stages were essential to the adoption of modern conceptions of resource management and the predilection to interpret the “science” of geography in terms of its productive potential.

While the discussion of the creation of a “cultural space” for the emergence of scientific disciplines in the late Qing is indeed nicely argued, the discussion in chapter 5 centering on the assertion of state authority over mining operations in China is particularly illuminating as the author connects the drafting of mining laws with the rights-recovery movement led by provincial interests—a set of interlocking interests between center and province that has not generally been appreciated by historians of China. The provincial rights-recovery movements have typically been viewed as expressions of the beginnings of nationalist sentiment in China, but the author perceptively recognizes that the complementary effort by the Qing to rewrite mining laws in order to assert greater regulatory control was indeed consistent with contemporary statutory revisions in, for example, the U.S. and Japan (who also were engaged in early geological survey and mapping projects similar to Chinese efforts). This juxtaposition of developments in the provinces, predicated on nationalist discourse, and efforts of the Qing state to replicate, as it were, Western mapping and regulatory innovations were mutually reinforcing dimensions of China’s adoption of modern resource management.

It is indeed perhaps a rather short step from these developments in stronger state regulation of mining and resource nationalism of the late Qing to more contemporary notions of resource security (in China and elsewhere), but the author’s discussion of geology as metaphor during the late Qing and early Republican eras provides a powerful antecedent to resource management concerns after 1949. As the author explores in the latter portion of the book, a series of Chinese scientists, most recognizably Ding Wenjiang, adopted geology as a metaphor for national survival in a pernicious imperialistic world. As such, the science of geography, viewed in its utilitarian mode of resource exploitation, moved into the realm of politics, statecraft, and national identity. In a sense, it is indeed during this period that geology and mineral resources assumed their modern guise in China, ultimately undergirding the author’s observation on contemporary China that “in joining the European and American powers to establish control over mineral resources around the world, China today is not an example of subversion or triumph over imperialism and the old world order but rather the unequivocal embrace of its underlying values” (3).

Empires of Coal is a well-written text that makes a significant contribution to the historiography of modern China. First, as mentioned above, the author strongly ar-

gues that the late Qing established a set of discursive and institutional patterns that laid the foundation of a new worldview on resource extraction and energy use—pillars of a modern political economy. This history revises a decades-long narrative that described the establishment of the China Geological Survey in 1910 as the opening of a discourse on modern resource management. As much as this event reflected global conceptions of resource management and utilization, there were earlier developments in the late Qing that opened the cultural and institutional space for the founding of the Geological Survey. And most of these developments reflected the global forces as China was pressed into the international system in the late Qing. Ultimately, the author argues that the rise of China as an economic and political power in the twenty-first century calls upon historians of modern China to jettison the narrative of failure of Qing efforts in industrialization and adoption of modern science. If indeed there was an earlier divergence between the trajectories of China and the West, “by the end of the nineteenth century, China and the West converged in a crucial measure of modern, industrialized states: the theory and exploitation of natural resources, particularly fossil fuels” (195).

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WING CHUNG NG. *The Rise of Cantonese Opera*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 266. \$60.00.

The Rise of Cantonese Opera is a most welcome book about an opera form that is less covered in the English-language literature than is its northern “rival,” Peking opera. The book traces the roots of Cantonese opera in nineteenth-century Guangzhou and follows its development until the late 1930s, ending with the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Basing his argument on various previously untouched sources, Wing Chung Ng provides a highly dynamic historical narrative of Cantonese opera, which gives particular attention to individual agency, institutions, and networks, all of which promoted and pushed Cantonese opera through modern China’s complicated history and into overseas communities in the U.S. and Canada.

Divided into three larger parts, the book starts historically with the “Formation of Cantonese Opera in South China.” Ng detects early efforts to incorporate popular performance styles such as *yiyang* and *bangzi* in the Guangzhou area during the mid-Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), and illustrates the rise of Cantonese opera as a plebeian form of entertainment in rural areas, largely excluded from the exclusive stages in Guangzhou until the late nineteenth century. Deep insight into the organizational structure of the opera business offers Ng’s exploration of the role of opera business houses (*xiban gongsi*), which were supported by merchant capital and often controlled by the troupe owner and their partners based in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. Troupes tried to avoid performing in the lawless and often dangerous rural areas and successfully pressed for engagements at the urban theaters, so the 1920s became the golden and highly competi-

tive years of Cantonese opera. This was the decade of individual actors, high salaries, daring performances, opera reform, innovative background stages, new libretti, and professional scriptwriters. With the genre focused on six role types, a new star system evolved, and “Cantonese opera blossomed as a popular entertainment driven by commercial interests and market demand” (55). However, opera entertainment was a vulnerable business: the 1925 demonstrations in Shanghai and Guangzhou, the Hong Kong strike, the costs for large troupes and their extravagances, the popularity of sound film, and the downturn of the global economy in the early 1930s threw the opera world into unemployment and a struggle for survival that only a few actors managed to survive.

Part II, “Popular Theater and the State,” is an eye-opening analysis of the conflict between the opera’s entertainment business, popular demand, and cultural politics, a conflict displayed mainly by “elite literati and imperial government officials, who denigrated the emergent local theater as socially disruptive as well as aesthetically inferior” (81). Ng explores the early attempts to reform Cantonese opera and concludes that patriotic themes existed more on paper than in actual stage performances. Meanwhile, amateur troupes (*zhishi ban*) enriched the scene, and by the end of the 1910s all-female troupes conquered the stage. Theaters were to follow strict regulations, and the ban against mixed companies was not lifted in Hong Kong and Guangzhou before 1933 and 1936 respectively (93). Ng’s examples illustrate moral issues, gang violence, and even murder, while pointing out that opera politics in Guangzhou were quite different from those in colonial Hong Kong. The latter provided a relatively stable environment, with concern for public order but no rigorous censorship policy, whereas in Guangzhou Chinese officials saw the commercial theater as a source of revenue, and imposed a system of multiple taxes and strict censorship on commercial theater (124).

Part III, “Local Theater, Transnational Arena,” explores the global spread of Cantonese opera, the extraordinary mobility of opera actors, and the importance of networks, as well as organizational and financial challenges. Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Singapore were the main centers and hubs of Cantonese opera activities, cooperating closely with Chinese merchants and their opera business houses in San Francisco, New York, and Vancouver. Already in October 1852, an acting company of 123 members arrived in San Francisco; in 1868 the first permanent theater house was built in San Francisco’s Chinatown (131–133). Ng provides novel details of this transnational theater business, which reached its peak during the 1920s and early 1930s. The activities of business tycoon Eu Tong Sen from Singapore serve as an apt example to explain how capital and business connections promoted and successfully contributed to the popularity of Cantonese opera in the Nanyang (Southeast Asian) area.

The opera boom was also felt in the U.S. and Canada, where star performers equally engaged in a rotating system to serve the different Chinese communities. It was a highly competitive system, and since the companies’ survival “depended on the ability to deliver newness on

stage" (148) many resources were spent on scouting potential talents both in China and overseas. The transnational aspect of the opera business is explicitly dealt with in the last chapter, where Ng makes extensive use of the archival records of two *xiban gongsi* operating in Vancouver. In this context, Ng reminds us that theater houses in Chinatown were also important public spaces of social activity, fundraising, (political) debates, and fun, delivering "a hometown entertainment to assuage the homesickness and lift the spirits of a sojourning population" (188).

The Rise of the Cantonese Opera is a well-crafted and convincingly argued study that places Cantonese opera in its historical and cultural context. It stresses the opera's increasing contribution to local identity while revealing its constant interaction with politics, business, and transnational migration. Ng's emphasis is on the structural organization of opera entertainment, and many agents and actors are mentioned, yet occasionally one would like him to have said more about opera repertoire and content, musical and aesthetic aspects, as well as about the impact of female troupes, and genre transformation in general.

Since the book touches upon a variety of topics, anybody with an interest in modern Chinese history, Chinese opera, South China (especially Guangzhou and Hong Kong), transnational migration, and Chinatowns will surely benefit from reading it.

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MARK THOMAS McNALLY. *Like No Other: Exceptionalism and Nativism in Early Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 287. \$67.00.

This book grows out of Mark Thomas McNally's 2005 study of Kokugaku, *Proving the Way: Conflict and Practice in the History of Japanese Nativism*, and his concern about "how to define, in a precise and meaningful way, just what Kokugaku was" (xiii). This is not an idle concern, since the word *kokugaku* (国学), literally "national learning" or "national studies," has been used in Japanese scholarship to refer to a broad range of topics, stretching from Japanese studies generally to efforts to identify a distinctively Japanese essence or Way. Indeed, some of the leading Kokugaku figures (*kokugakusha* 国学者) whom McNally studied in his 2005 monograph, especially Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), eschewed the term *kokugaku* to refer to their own scholarship, preferring instead terms like *Wagaku* (Japanese studies) or simply *gakumon* 学問 (scholarship), as if it should be evident that scholarship undertaken in Japan by Japanese scholars is, unless otherwise stated, scholarship about Japan. McNally uses Kenneth L. Pike's binary of emics and etics (*Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* [1967]) to problematize the discrepancy between how Kokugakusha who are associated with these more or less ideological exercises in Japanese studies self-identified, and how they have in turn been identified by others.

There are two books that McNally identifies as principally responsible for making the word *nativism* "the domi-

nant classification for Edo Kokugaku" (27), one being Harry D. Harootunian's 1988 *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, and the other my 1990 *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. In a *mea culpa* acknowledging that he previously used *nativism* "too loosely" (31–32), McNally lays out his case against the equation of nativism and Kokugaku by comparing the understandings of nativism articulated by Ray Allen Billington, especially his 1938 *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*; Ralph Linton, especially his 1943 "Nativistic Movements" (Linton and A. Irving Hallowell, *American Anthropologist* 45, no. 2); and John Higham, especially his 1955 *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*. McNally believes Higham's "observations, insights and historiographical analyses" to be particularly "useful for scholars working in contexts other than the American one" (46), and in a chart (table 1, 62) McNally evaluates Billington, Linton, and Higham's "nativisms" in terms of eight criteria, suggesting that an essentialized Kokugaku position comes closest to Higham's sense of the term. My only issue with McNally's argument here is his claim that "the assertion, articulation, and praise of what was native was more critical to the Kokugaku ideology than was the description, denigration and condemnation of what was not native" (4). The xenophobic and patriotic strands in Kokugaku cannot be so surgically disentangled and are better understood as different sides of the same coin. McNally then argues that a better example of anthropological nativism in Japan was the *sonnō-jōi* (尊皇攘夷) reverence the monarch, expel the barbarian) movement that inspired anti-Bakufu activists throughout the 1860s.

So, if Kokugaku—an ambiguous term in Japanese—is not nativism, then what is it? McNally argues in the book's strongest chapter (chap. 5) that Kokugaku is best understood as "subjective-evidential Exceptionalism," which differs from its "objective" counterpart in its assertion of superiority (107). In the following chapter, based entirely on secondary sources, McNally then examines seventeenth-century Japanese antecedents of this exceptionalism, especially in Japan's position in the rapidly changing East Asian international order, and in the writings of Yamazaki Ansai (1619–1682), Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691).

One wonders who McNally's intended audience is. His effort to distinguish anthropological nativism from American/historical nativism (chap. 1) and his deconstruction of exceptionalism (chap. 3) seem to be written for Americanists; his application of *nativism* to the *sonnō-jōi* movement (chap. 2) and his survey of Japanese exceptionalism (chaps. 4 and 5) are the bread and butter of Japanese intellectual historians, but since these chapters are based on secondary sources, they are of limited value to specialists, whom McNally repeatedly and, one senses, disparagingly styles "Japanologists."

There is a related quality of grandiosity in this book. McNally writes of how he "could not simply undermine the identification of nativism with Kokugaku without offering a new interpretation in its place; following Thomas

Kuhn, I knew that dismantling one paradigm could only be achieved by creating a new one" (xiv). McNally returns to this invocation of Kuhn in his conclusion (209–212) and epilogue (224), where he writes of his own effort to change the paradigm. McNally believes that in this book he challenges "the exceptionalist assumptions that are at the heart, it seems to me, of Japanese studies itself" (xv), and in the book's final paragraph, he further likens his effort to that of Sakuma Shōzan (1811–1864), who fatally sought to "[incorporate] Japan into the larger world" (225). That historians of Japan have often worked in relative isolation from their colleagues in post-secondary history departments simply does not justify McNally's implied sense of the uniqueness of his effort at comparative analysis. That is to say, changing the terminology falls well short of shifting a paradigm.

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CATHERINE L. PHIPPS. *Empires on the Waterfront: Japan's Ports and Power, 1858–1899*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 292. \$39.95.

NOELL WILSON. *Defensive Positions: The Politics of Maritime Security in Tokugawa Japan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 244. \$39.95.

Both Noell Wilson's *Defensive Positions: The Politics of Maritime Security in Tokugawa Japan* and Catherine L. Phipps's *Empires on the Waterfront: Japan's Ports and Power, 1858–1899* use highly localized starting points—in this case, two ports located on Japan's southwestern island of Kyushu—to reexamine the history of Japan's foreign relations in the early modern and modern eras. Especially when taken together, these studies offer refreshing perspectives on some of the most persistent issues in Japanese history, particularly the Tokugawa shogunate's inability to cope with the new security challenges posed by imperialism (Wilson's book) and Meiji Japan's subsequent attempt to rise from that failure to become a full-fledged member of the Great Power club (Phipps's work). That the authors refer to one another cordially in their acknowledgments only reinforces the complementarity of these studies. Although different in scope and thematic focus, Wilson's and Phipps's books are essential reading for early modern and modern Japan historians, as well as for scholars interested in foreign relations or maritime history.

Wilson's *Defensive Positions* treats Japan's coastal defense policies during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), with a particular focus on the port of Nagasaki. She begins with an evocative image: a seventeenth-century woodblock print (the *Nagasaki dai ezu*) that magnified the commercial and cosmopolitan character of the port while minimizing the fortifications that represented its military side—precisely the mistake, according to Wilson, that past scholarship has made.

Wilson presents early modern Nagasaki as a city of contradictions: it was Japan's most open port, as well as its

most heavily fortified; and it was administered directly by the shogunate—at least notionally—but Tokugawa authorities entrusted its security to military forces supplied by the nearby domains of Saga and Fukuoka. Although the assignment of these two domains to defend Nagasaki was of singular significance, such assignments were by no means unique in character. The vast majority of the archipelago's military manpower rested with regional domains, which pledged to fulfill military obligations to the shogun in exchange for a relatively high degree of sovereignty over their own affairs.

Defensive Positions argues that the assignments entrusted to Saga and Fukuoka led to a gradual increase in their military autonomy. Then, as other domains secured similar privileges in the face of new pressures, they came to challenge the military hegemony of the shogunate itself (3). As Wilson sees it, the fall of the Tokugawa was not a consequence of its inability to navigate the narrow middle path between imperialism and domestic dysfunction, but "the specific outcome of a military culture in which domains, over multiple centuries, had been increasingly encouraged to cultivate their own defensive capabilities" (16). On one level, this point is evidently true: a coalition of domain militaries did bring down the Tokugawa in 1868. Here, Wilson probably overstates the connection between domains' expanding autonomy over coastal defense and their ability—not to mention their inclination—to challenge the shogunate politically and militarily.

Wilson premises her analysis on the contention that the military dimension of Tokugawa foreign affairs is ripe for reevaluation. Her subsidiary arguments, which bring new perspective to a wide range of issues, bear that out. For instance, she observes that nineteenth-century coastal defense initiatives "were not a new or reflexive response to Western pressure," but "the culmination of two hundred years of deliberate strategies for securing the Tokugawa realm, beginning in Nagasaki" (4). This argument complements recent studies that emphasize the shogunate's character as a fundamentally martial polity (see, for example, David Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* [2005], Constantine Vaporis, *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* [2008], and Anne Walthall, "Do Guns Have Gender? Technology and Status in Early Modern Japan," in Sabine Fruhstuck and Anne Walthall, eds., *Recreating Japanese Men* [2011], 25–47). Similarly, Wilson argues convincingly that the shogunate understood the concept of maritime territory in ways that differed fundamentally from the understandings held by the archipelago's earlier rulers (6). Another crucial point—which should receive more emphasis than it does—is Wilson's criticism of historians' overreliance on the works of Tokugawa-period intellectuals like Hayashi Shihei and Aizawa Seishisai, who wrote extensively on coastal defense yet had little connection to it in practice.

Similarly perceptive points appear throughout the largely chronological narrative offered by *Defensive Positions*, which consists of two main sections. Part I is a close analysis of what Wilson calls the "Nagasaki system," which she categorizes as a "shorthand [used] to represent the

military arrangements in Nagasaki built on a fluid political relationship between shogunate, magistrate, and domains" (14). This section explores the complex arrangements used to manage Nagasaki's security from the seventeenth century through the early decades of the nineteenth century. Wilson uses the broad chronological sweep of this section to great effect, demonstrating how the Nagasaki system developed as potential threats shifted from European attacks to Chinese smuggling and back to European attacks. With each shift, authorities from Saga and Fukuoka sought to pry more authority away from Edo, even as they occasionally sparred with each other. Part II demonstrates how the Nagasaki system served as a model for the shogunate as it confronted the challenge of imperialism in the mid-nineteenth century. In this section, Wilson shows how the shogunate re-created the Nagasaki model (with different domains) as it constructed the defensive arrangements for Edo bay and treaty ports like Yokohama and Hakodate.

Overall, *Defensive Positions* is an impressive work of scholarship. Wilson draws on a wide array of local primary sources, including shogunal records, compendia of documents from the Saga and Fukuoka domains, and the translated diaries of Dutch traders. She also demonstrates a thorough knowledge of relevant scholarship in both Japanese and English. Wilson's book is a major addition to the scholarly literature on Tokugawa-era foreign relations and defense policy. Historians in these fields are the book's most likely audience; although the prose is fluid and approachable, *Defensive Positions* does presume familiarity with the major issues in Tokugawa foreign relations. And for those scholars it is essential reading. Wilson's account of the Nagasaki system and its attendant—not to mention constant—tug-of-war between domain and shogunal authorities provides valuable perspective on Tokugawa governance, and the context she provides for the history of coastal defense policies is vital to understanding how the shogunate attempted to cope with the new pressures of the mid-nineteenth century.

Phipps's *Empires on the Waterfront* begins in the 1850s, precisely when *Defensive Positions* ends. Like Wilson, Phipps pays great attention to a particular port city: the northern Kyushu town of Moji. But whereas Wilson's book is largely a political history, Phipps focuses on economic concerns, using the port of Moji to reconsider both Meiji Japan's place in the global economy and the global economy's place in Meiji Japan.

Moji makes for a fascinating starting point. Unlike Nagasaki, it was not open to foreign trade during the Tokugawa period; nor did it become one of the treaty ports opened to Western nations in the 1850s. Rather, it belonged to the "special trading ports," a group of twenty-odd ports at which the Meiji government permitted limited foreign trade—on its own terms. Phipps characterizes the special trading ports as "a kind of foil to the overarching system [of treaty ports], allowing Japan to establish its own foreign trade" (4). While trade at the treaty ports was governed by the "unequal treaties" of the 1850s, the Meiji government controlled the licenses of special trading ports, allowing it to construct a separate trade network under its control.

Phipps argues that the special trading ports were essential to Meiji Japan's march to capitalist economic development and also helped lay the foundations for the subsequent construction of its Asian empire. But at the same time, the success of these ports was dependent on the existence of the treaty-port network. As Phipps puts it, the special trading ports were "sprouts" that grew on the "durable mesh" of a treaty-port system that was itself an integral part of the global economy (10). Thus, by the time the Meiji government secured revision of the unequal treaties at the turn of the century—and became a beneficiary of the treaty port system—it had already built an extensive Asian trade network of its own. In this way, "the treaty ports and special trading ports embodied the layers of sovereignty and power at work in East Asia, and the perils and opportunities located therein" (14).

Rather than pursue this topic in strictly top-down fashion, Phipps presents a "nested" history of "transmarine East Asia" (15). Part I of *Empires at the Waterfront* begins with an overview of the global and regional frameworks in which late-nineteenth-century Japan's trade system was embedded. Then, Phipps shifts the focus to Moji as she explains how the special trading ports fit into Meiji plans for economic and military development (part II) and how local actors shaped those efforts (part III). Despite the geographical organization of the book, the narrative also progresses more or less chronologically, making for a history that is both sophisticated and eminently readable.

The book's first chapter, which is designed to provide context for the development of the special-trading-port system, also serves as a superb and up-to-date account of Japan's "opening" to trade from the 1850s through the early twentieth century. Phipps offers a detailed accounting of the Japanese ports that participated in international trade, including the special trading ports opened after Japan's 1895 conquest of Taiwan. The next chapter focuses more narrowly on the Meiji government's "slow but progressive trade liberalization" (61), providing impressively detailed backing to Phipps's portrayal of the special trading ports as cornerstones of Meiji economic policy. As the subsequent chapters turn to the story of Moji's development, Phipps shifts into local-history mode, offering a richly detailed and complex account of how various local actors—including coal-mining and railroad companies, politicians, journalists, and even stevedores—contributed to Moji's rise, all while negotiating the tensions inherent in the "nested" networks of international trade in East Asia.

Empires on the Waterfront is an ambitious and well-executed piece of scholarship. Phipps's arguments speak to concerns relevant to all scholars of modern Japanese history and will surely interest any historians whose work concerns maritime trade in East Asia. Phipps marshals a truly impressive assortment of local primary sources, ranging from government and company records to Moji's local newspaper, which she supplements with a near-encyclopedic engagement with relevant scholarship in both Japanese and English. Fluid prose and the regular inclusion of rich vignettes also make *Empires on the Waterfront* a highly pleasant read.

Despite their differences in approach and chronological focus, *Defensive Positions* and *Empires on the Waterfront* complement one another as valuable reappraisals of Japan's foreign connections in the nineteenth century. Wilson's and Phipps's books are essential contributions to what has become a vibrant set of subfields.

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WENDY MATSUMURA. *The Limits of Okinawa: Japanese Capitalism, Living Labor, and Theorizations of Community*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 273. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.

Wendy Matsumura has crafted a well-documented, theory-heavy account of labor and identity along the colonial periphery of imperial Japan. *The Limits of Okinawa: Japanese Capitalism, Living Labor, and Theorizations of Community* examines the simultaneous processes of co-option, exploitation, and subversion experienced by Okinawans living and working within the sugar production system that emerged alongside Japanese modernity. Matsumura refocuses the history of industrialization, modernization, and colonialism through the lens of Okinawa's "inclusion in the Japanese nation-state qua empire . . . in a manner that established it as a periphery—simultaneously inside and outside the Japanese nation-state—in political, economic, and cultural terms" (24).

Matsumura interrogates the Marxist transformation problem (the process by which the value of a commodity as determined by its social necessity is transformed by marketplace competition) through the very intriguing argument that "the emergence of a singular Okinawan difference from mainland Japan by the early 1930s was inextricably linked to multiple confrontations between dead labor and living labor after the prefecture was violently incorporated into the empire by the Meiji state" (186).

Matsumura identifies a varied array of individual actors and social groups, paying close attention to claims by local (and regional) elites who asserted that they represented a true "Okinawan" position in regard to the capital investment and developmental policies being imposed upon the Okinawan periphery by the Japanese mainland. She argues that smallholding sugar producers did not immediately accept the terms of the community identity presented, and often elected to address on their own the limits imposed by capital and the state.

While the Japanese state imposed draconian policies requiring Okinawans to abandon some native customs (such as hand tattooing) and accept specific linguistic and cultural practices of the mainland, Matsumura digs deep into extant historical records of the social base in order to locate further forms of resistance. Especially laudable are her examinations of women weavers who defied imposed regulations on their craft, and of small sugar producers who persisted in the production of brown sugar, which was thought by modern industrial capitalists to be too crude for the marketplaces of the imperial metropole.

Matsumura details the excruciating process by which lo-

cal sugar production in Okinawa was transformed by the infusion of industrial capital while being integrated into the administrative apparatus of the emerging Japanese Empire. While the industrializing center of Japan required cheaper Okinawan sugar, the nineteenth-century expropriation of Okinawa by the brand new government of the Meiji oligarchs was also predicated on a mission of cultural assimilation. To these ends Okinawa's regional plantation economy was built upon the formation of a cultural community, a kind of Okinawa-ism (an *Okinawa-shugi*) that simultaneously asserted Okinawa's distinction from the Japanese nation-state.

Okinawa's role as the national source of sugar combined with local policies aimed to preserve an "Okinawan" cultural community put significant economic and cultural pressures on smallholder farmers. Matsumura explains that during this process, "cultivators became more integrated into the market economy but were prohibited from selling their products because of the continuation of the kingdom-era requirement that taxes be submitted communally" and subjected to other integration policies under which smallholder sugar producers "who bore the brunt of these burdens grew impatient for change by the mid-1880s" (53).

In reconstructing this narrative, Matsumura demonstrates how "the organic community—whose interests local industrialists were so desperate to protect—lacked a constituency that was invested in its own defense" (117). The simultaneous contradictions of industrial sugar development alongside the propagation of Okinawa "as a classless, timeless organic community . . . failed to provide comfort to the cultivating peasantry and workers of northern Okinawa, who by the beginning of the 1930s were equipped with a language that enabled them to envision an alternative version of the relationships among themselves, the state, and capital in which they had the power to make decisions that affected their own lives" (180–181).

Matsumura argues that conflicts between small producers of brown sugar and local capitalists seeking to expand industrialized sugar operations were exemplified by the rejection of "efforts of local bourgeoisie . . . to formulate industrial policies based on their belief that reorganizing Okinawa into a capitalist *gemeinschaft* would enable the ideal condition of Okinawans benevolently exploiting their fellow Okinawans" (186). In this, Matsumura's book engages with the realities of the economic base far more deeply than do most theory-heavy studies, and for that reason this volume presents an inspiring use of theory to render well-marshaled sources into a cogent narrative laden with economic meaning.

Matsumura uses sources that include personal memoirs, bureaucratic reports, and intellectual diatribe, but the persuasiveness of the book is somewhat weakened by an underuse of statistical and economic data. While I am impressed by the intensity of theoretical application, I would have liked to see more numbers that directly reflected the social and economic demography that underpinned this book's analysis of cultural and intellectual sources.

The Limits of Okinawa demonstrates the multivalence of the Japanese colonial periphery, and provides a timely expansion of scholarship on labor and empire that until now has been best represented by Ken C. Kawashima's *The Proletarian Gamble: Korean Workers in Interwar Japan* (2009) and Elyssa Faison's *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (2007). Indeed, *The Limits of Okinawa* is a must-read for anyone interested in the co-production of industrialization and colonialism, in Japan and the world.

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SAMUEL HIDEO YAMASHITA. *Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940–1945*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. xi, 238. \$29.95.

Daily Life in Wartime Japan, 1940–1945 is a valuable addition to the small field of scholarly literature that covers the Japanese populace during the Asia-Pacific War (1937–1945). Samuel Hideo Yamashita had two purposes in writing this book: one was to show that the Japanese citizenry was loyal to the government and willing to make sacrifices for the war effort, even if there were minor grumblings and various forms of resistance; the other was to challenge the misconception that the Japanese citizenry was fanatical, backward, or misled by its government. In achieving these ends, Yamashita creates an intimate picture of the wartime Japanese, who, according to the book's dust jacket, have remained "a largely faceless enemy to most Americans."

The book is divided into three parts, with a total of eight chapters and an introduction. Part I examines the home front, namely, the degree to which the Japanese internalized mobilization and were sacrificed for the war. Yamashita finds that most Japanese built the war into their daily routines because of their loyalty to the government. Part II covers the experiences of 1.3 million schoolchildren who were evacuated from urban centers to protect them from strategic bombing (61). This section focuses on the indoctrination of the students to make them into "splendid little citizens," the efforts of families and teachers to monitor the children, and the responses of the children to food shortages. Parts I and II illustrate that food shortages were more serious in the larger cities than in the countryside, but that things became increasingly difficult for all people when Allied bombing began in earnest in November 1944 (56).

Part III is a hodgepodge of chapters that focus largely on the last year of the war. These chapters include an examination of the training program for the special attack pilots (*kamikaze*), a survey of the different types of resistance undertaken by ordinary citizens that show that they were neither servile nor victims, and a review of people's reactions to Hirohito's surrender proclamation. The book lacks a proper conclusion or afterword that ties the work together. The average reader will appreciate that the writing is largely narrative and devoid of theoretical discourse. There are passing references to Michel Foucault, Edward

Said, and Maruyama Masao, but not to the degree that it detracts from the subject matter.

The book's greatest strength (and purpose) is that the author, through frequent quotes, allows the diarists to speak for themselves. Yamashita bases his research for this study on 160 diaries and numerous letters of average Japanese citizens. The result is a book full of fascinating anecdotes. For example, in the chapter on the training of the special attack pilots, the author spends over ten pages discussing Tsuchida Shōji, a pilot training for a suicide mission. The diaries also communicate the centrality of the neighborhood associations (*tonarigumi*) in the government's mobilization efforts (13–14). These neighborhood associations, comprised of ten to twenty households, were the contact point between the state and citizen, which makes them critical to understanding wartime Japan.

The book has a couple of minor flaws. On page 35, the author states that "approximately two million Japanese" served in the armed forces and that 1.74 million of them were killed, with "hundreds of thousands" more wounded; the implication is that nearly all servicemen in the military died or were wounded during the war. In actuality, at war's end, the army and navy had bloated to over eight million soldiers and sailors. Another quibble is that Yamashita shows that the war impacted people in the city and in the lower classes more adversely than it did the rural farmers and upper classes; however, he misses an opportunity to go more deeply into either the rural/urban divide or how social class affected the degree to which people were affected by wartime shortages. This book focuses quite narrowly on a handful of issues, largely out of necessity due to the vastness of the subject. With this said, I encourage Yamashita to follow up with another volume that addresses issues such as the bullying and abuse of the evacuated children, the public's opinion of the special attack forces, and the aforementioned rural/urban and social class divides.

This work will be useful for educators seeking a solid work that offers insight into how the Asia-Pacific War impacted the life of average Japanese citizens. I highly recommend that interested readers use Theodore Failer Cook and Haruko Taya Cook's *Japan at War: An Oral History* (1992) and Sheldon Garon's *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (1997) as companions to this book. *Japan at War*, at 479 pages, addresses a wider spectrum of issues and has longer quotes, while *Molding Japanese Minds* explores the relationship between the Japanese government and its people.

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YOSHIKI YOSHIMI. *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*. Translated and annotated by ETHAN MARK. (Weatherhead Books on Asia.) New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. Pp. vi, 347. \$45.00.

Yoshiaki Yoshimi's *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, first published in Japan in 1987, makes its overdue appearance in English via this fine translation by Ethan Mark. The main concerns of

Yoshimi's book are twofold: an exploration of the mentalities that enabled the people of Japan to support aggressive overseas expansion during World War II (here, 1937–1945), and an explanation of how the wartime experiences of Japanese society facilitated the emergence of a pacifist democracy—but not necessarily a contrite one—during the postwar era. *Grassroots Fascism* marks a key moment in the evolution of the school of “People's History” (*minshūshi*) in Japan during the late twentieth century and a turning point in historical scholarship about Japanese society's engagement with total war. Whether the fact is acknowledged or not, ever since its initial appearance Yoshimi's book has influenced scholars both inside and outside of Japan to seek out and showcase the people's voices when investigating Japanese experiences during and after World War II. *Grassroots Fascism* is a path-breaking study of great consequence not only for the field of modern Japanese history, but also for scholarship on World War II writ large. This English-language edition of Yoshimi's work skillfully overcomes what Mark calls the “triple barrier of language, unfamiliarity, and Eurocentrism” (9) with regard to Japanese scholarship on the war years, and is a valuable resource for persons interested in surveying global varieties of fascism.

Historians of Japan have confronted and wrestled with the idea of Japanese fascism for decades, as shown by a now-extensive historiography featuring academic studies of many sorts. In a process akin to classifying an elephant through tactile examination of its diverse physical features, scholars continue to debate whether wartime Japanese society was mainly fascist or militarist in disposition, or perhaps some peculiar hybrid of the two. Yoshimi clearly falls within the fascist camp, so to speak, and presents his interpretation of fascism in Japan by categorizing it as an “imperial fascism” (93) that emerged out of a confluence of popular desires for a robust overseas empire and state-led plans for promoting empire via military expansion and national mobilization campaigns. This synergistic characterization frames Yoshimi's approach to assessing wartime experiences, but readers seeking a theoretical perspective on the concept of “imperial fascism” may leave *Grassroots Fascism* feeling somewhat unsatisfied. The argument is there, but this is not a book focused on theory. Instead, Yoshimi uses thick description of the experiences of ordinary imperial subjects to assert that diverse hopes and desires, frustrations and fears found at the popular level of Japanese society emboldened a nationalistic mindset that supported belligerent imperial expansion; this public mood often took direction from the state, but was too multifaceted and pervasive to be a creation of official actors alone.

In certain ways, *Grassroots Fascism* resembles a genre of essay writing in Japan known as *zuihitsu*, which literally means “following the brush” and features contemplative observations interwoven with anecdotal and telling details. Chronologically and geographically arranged, the book's four chapters carry readers from the outbreak of war in China to the early postwar period, making connections between the activities of Japanese nationals in overseas terri-

tories and the coalescence of “imperial fascism” on the home front. Yoshimi's agile analysis appears throughout the text, but the experiences of mobilized soldiers, housewives and businessmen, and other everyday Japanese occupy most of the book's passages. This is far from being a fault, as the luxuriously dense detail found within the thoughts and actions of these empire builders illustrates the complexity of popular mentalities that existed within wartime Japanese society. What Yoshimi does particularly well is pinpoint the cross-cutting nature of actions and beliefs; he writes, for example, that “Ōnishi [Katsumi, a mobilized soldier fighting in China] sensed a profound contradiction between the good cause for which Japan claimed to be fighting and the behavior of the Japanese army in China, but he sought to reconcile himself with it as a reality he could do nothing about” (206). Yoshimi charts and contextualizes the thinking of the men and women whom he introduces, but he allows these common people to articulate the underlying concerns of a society involved in a rapacious imperial war.

Yoshimi determines that popular support for “imperial fascism” eroded following a series of momentous routs and setbacks: the death of Combined Fleet Commander-in-Chief Isoroku Yamamoto in April 1943, the annihilation of the Imperial Japanese Army garrison on Attu in May 1943, the fall of Saipan in July 1944, and the commencement in November 1944 of the aerial bombardment of Japan. But, it was not until the crossing of “a great psychological wall” (229) via the broadcasting of the imperial declaration of surrender on August 15, 1945, an act that soothed people hoping for the conclusion of an apparent war-without-end and shocked the war's most stalwart advocates, that widespread abandonment of an “imperial fascist” mentality became possible. However, an “‘imperial’ consciousness continued to persist” (241) that suppressed the urge in postwar Japan to examine war responsibility at the grassroots level. Still, the brutality of the fighting overseas led Japan's people to embrace a pacifist mentality, which Yoshimi argues can be traced back to wartime observations that reveal a subjective disquietude created by the war.

During the thirty years since the debut of *Grassroots Fascism*, Yoshimi's conclusions have become more firmly established within scholarship on wartime Japanese society, with his methods influencing many historians of Japan at war. Specialists and non-specialists alike will benefit from Mark's careful translation of Yoshimi's book—comparing the original Japanese text (*Kusa no ne no fashizumu—Nihon minshū no sensō taiken* [1987]) to this deftly wrought English-language version shows Mark's meticulous attention to nuance and his crafty adherence to the spirit of Yoshimi's words. Moreover, Mark's insightful and extensive introductory remarks, as well as his helpful annotations, bring additional clarity to Yoshimi's points. Taken together, Mark's translation of Yoshimi's mindful exploration of wartime Japanese experiences constitutes a major achievement in the study of popular mentalities during the era of World War II.

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JESSAMYN R. ABEL. *The International Minimum: Creativity and Contradiction in Japan's Global Engagement, 1933–1964*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 331. \$54.00.

Many questions remain about mid-twentieth-century internationalism. What was the relationship between internationalism and national and imperial interests before World War II? What happened to internationalist thinking during the war? Finally, how did the system redevelop internationalist structures so quickly and effectively in the postwar period? Jessamyn R. Abel's *The International Minimum: Creativity and Contradiction in Japan's Global Engagement, 1933–1964* seeks to answer these questions and to reframe Japanese internationalism away from the notion that it was a weak afterthought, toward the idea that it shaped Japanese history as a major continuity over the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods. To do this, Abel must successfully redefine internationalism and navigate the dangerous shoals of Japanese nationalism. The result is an intriguing big-idea book; but it is also an uneven study. The volume has many strengths: a spotlight on previously neglected Japanese internationalism, an interesting focus on Japan's role in the League of Nations and the country's Olympic bids, and an excellent section on the concept of a Greater Asian Community. At the same time, the book's flaws include a definitional conundrum, organizational issues, interpretive difficulties, and sometimes too little evidence.

The International Minimum lays out the intellectual framework of the book in its introduction, redefining internationalism as a "soft, flexible concept" that encompasses imperialism and nationalism (8). But Abel does not adequately explain why it would be better to view internationalism as imperialist or nationalist rather than seeing imperialism or nationalism as containing an international dimension. Her reformulation also erodes the more positive meaning of internationalism as mutual understanding that she utilizes later in the book.

Abel organizes her monograph thematically instead of chronologically, and it leads to some gaps of time that are unaccounted for. The first section studies Japan leaving the League of Nations in the wake of the League's condemnation of its invasion of Manchuria in 1932. Even after Japan's dramatic departure from the League, the government continued to send officials to represent Japan on various League committees until 1938, when Premier Kono Fumimaro made the break final. The League has become a source for several recent synthetic studies, and while Abel's work contributes to this trend, I wanted more information about Japan's role in the League. Then Abel jumps to postwar Japanese interest in the new United Nations, motivated by the involvement of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. A solid chapter with strong research, this chapter nonetheless leaps over World War II, leaving open the question of the war's impact on Japanese internationalism.

In its second section, the book shines a light on Japanese cultural diplomacy—the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (KBS), or the Society for International Cultural Relations,

and Japan's Olympic bids in the 1930s and 1950s. The KBS, formed in response to Japan's departure from the League, attempted to burnish Japan's reputation abroad by using its culture. But Japan's goal of influencing other nations' views, contrary to its own constant refrain of "mutual understanding," was not reciprocal. American intellectuals experienced the same disjunction between the rhetoric of mutual understanding and the reality of propaganda from the 1930s to the 1940s. The U.S. government eventually abandoned cultural exchange for one-way influence during World War II, but not before an impassioned debate over whether it should be a two-way cultural exchange. Japanese internationalists, on the other hand, under the watchful eye of their military-dominated government, rarely attempted to make the case for reciprocal exchange, possibly because of political pressure.

Abel argues that damage to official relations stemming from the Manchurian Incident pushed diplomacy toward private endeavors, including the KBS (she later notes that the KBS was in fact semi-public, not private). But research on Japanese private cultural diplomacy shows it weakening, not strengthening, in the 1930s. In a foreshadowing of Japan's move to a one-party political system in 1940, the Foreign Ministry "invited" the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (JCIPR) to merge with the Japanese League of Nations Association and moved both under its aegis in 1935. The JCIPR went willingly in the mistaken belief that its new association with the centers of power would give it a greater voice. In fact, both bodies were forced to follow the government's line ever more closely. This evidence runs against Abel's interpretation of internationalism's importance. In addition, the Japanese Foreign Ministry lost diplomatic influence to the Japanese military in the 1930s, further damaging Japan's internationalist voice.

Abel's analysis of Japan's Olympic bids is a creative approach with which to delve into Japanese internationalism, and her research is denser here. Her conclusion is unsurprising but significant: Japanese Olympic internationalism was mostly shaped by Japan's national interests, as was the case for most nations. Here the organizational structure of the book becomes problematic once again. Abel sees similarities in the rhetoric of the 1930s and the 1950s Olympic bids, but, of course, World War II warped the context of internationalism. In the next section Abel finally addresses the war. In the strongest discussion of the book, the author examines Japanese intellectuals' endorsement of a Greater Asian Community. Abel's research and analysis is excellent here. Some Japanese intellectuals embraced the Japanese military's invasion of Asia as a pathway to build a Greater Asian Community, while others were more skeptical. I only wish this chapter had come sooner.

Abel ends by studying the 1943 Greater East Asia Conference in Tokyo, the Japanese government's attempt to gain the confidence of the leaders of Japanese-occupied territories and spur them to greater exertions in its flagging war efforts. She then links that conference to the Bandung Conference of 1955, in which the Japanese participated in only a limited manner. This time the interven-

ing context—in this case, the American occupation—is ignored completely. Japanese economic ideas, significantly influenced during the occupation by the American consultant William Edwards Deming, were the only area of Japanese influence in the resulting Bandung Declaration.

The International Minimum pursues a promising line of research on Japanese internationalism. The cumulative effect of the book is less powerful than it might have been, but even with its failings, it will generate many new research questions and push scholars forward.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

PAUL B. MOYER. *The Public Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson and Religious Enthusiasm in Revolutionary America*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 264. \$27.95.

In 1776 Jemima Wilkinson, a twenty-three-year-old woman from Cumberland, Rhode Island, woke up from a severe illness and claimed to have been transformed into the Public Universal Friend, a genderless spirit sent by God. According to the Friend (as she/he now insisted on being called), Wilkinson's soul had ascended to heaven, but her body had been left behind as a holy tabernacle for the spirit to inhabit. Leaving home to travel across southern New England and Pennsylvania, the Friend preached a gospel of repentance and salvation, eventually attracting around three hundred followers. The Society of Universal Friends eventually founded a community in Penn Yan, New York, where they fought bitterly over money and property, and where several of Wilkinson's converts ultimately rejected her claim to divine inspiration. The community dissolved after the Friend's death in 1819.

In *The Public Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson and Religious Enthusiasm in Revolutionary America*, Paul B. Moyer uses Wilkinson's fascinating story to explore gender and "religious enthusiasm" in revolutionary America. Moyer begins his book with Wilkinson's illness in 1776 and then examines several themes in the Friend's ministry, particularly gender, religious leadership, millennialism, and community building. The book is based on an impressive number of sources, including Wilkinson's papers, the diaries of her/his followers, church records, tax assessments, and newspapers.

Moyer makes three main arguments. First, he argues that Wilkinson's story reveals that the Revolution was "truly revolutionary" in terms of its populism and its spirit of experimentation (4). This is Moyer's most compelling argument, and his book reminds us that the Revolution had a profound effect on the way that Americans viewed their place in history. It was not an accident that the Public Universal Friend appeared in 1776, or that he/she warned that an apocalypse might be looming.

Second, Moyer contends that historians have exaggerated the decline of religion during the revolutionary era. As he explains, Wilkinson's story "confirms that the years between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries

represent an unbroken era of religious ferment" (5). Though he never defines "religious enthusiasm," he suggests that the experiential religion of the First Great Awakening persisted into the late eighteenth century. Moyer's argument is confirmed by several other important books, including Stephen A. Marini's *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (1982) and Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (1998). Yet Moyer does not discuss books like Amanda Porterfield's *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (2012), which traces the deep currents of skepticism in the new United States. In order to make a persuasive case that Wilkinson and the Society of Universal Friends should be seen as representative of larger religious trends, Moyer would have had to do more work to situate them in their historical context.

Third, Moyer claims that Wilkinson's ministry should be understood as emancipatory because it "ended up carving out a larger space for female agency" (7). In contrast to my *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (1998) and Susan Juster's *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (2003), Moyer argues that Wilkinson posed a "radical challenge to the status quo" (200). Though Moyer makes a persuasive case that Wilkinson "called into question the very distinctions between man and woman by taking on a masculine or mixed-gender identity after her rebirth as the Universal Friend" (200), some readers may be skeptical of his insistence on her radicalism. A small number of Wilkinson's most devoted female followers occasionally transgressed the gendered division of labor, but neither Wilkinson nor the Universal Society of Friends ever demanded women's political, economic, or legal equality to men. The Society also did not claim that women (other than the genderless Friend) should be allowed to become ministers. Although Moyer acknowledges that the Friend's ministry should not be understood as "a self-conscious effort to upend the social order," he claims that it "provided a space for a renegotiation of what it meant to be a man and a woman" (199–200). The question that remains, however, is whether anyone other than a handful of Wilkinson's female followers ever used that "space." The Society never numbered more than a few hundred people, and Wilkinson's public influence seems to have been limited.

Moyer uses Wilkinson to present an evocative portrait of "religious enthusiasm" in revolutionary America. Despite the strengths of his book, however, he writes relatively little about Wilkinson's sense of self or gender identity. In his words, "In the final calculation, nailing down the exact nature of the Public Universal Friend's gender identity is not essential, for the key to unlocking the meaning of the Friend's ministry does not lie in divining the prophet's sense of self but understanding how others interpreted and acted on the heavenly messenger's creed" (9). Because Moyer does not want to "implicitly give the impression that Wilkinson was a fake" (9), he alternates between using the pronouns "he" and "she," and he also uses several nouns interchangeably, including "the prophet," "the spirit," and "this messenger from God" (2). His choice of language, however, raises profound ques-

tions about Wilkinson's personal identity. It is not clear whether Wilkinson thought it was important that the "Public Universal Friend" had chosen to inhabit a female body. Nor is it clear whether Wilkinson saw herself/himself as a "prophet" or as a "spirit," which are two very different religious categories. Though Wilkinson used the phrase "Spirit of Life," Moyer does not analyze this term in depth.

The Public Universal Friend is the first full-length biography of Wilkinson since Herbert A. Wisbey Jr.'s *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (1964). Moyer's study, based on excellent archival research, should encourage a new generation of scholars to consider what Wilkinson's story can reveal about religion and gender in revolutionary America.

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PAUL A. GILJE. *To Swear like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 390. \$34.99.

With its "heartland" now identified as an amalgam of landlocked states, it is easy to forget that the United States was once, as Paul A. Gilje reminds us, a maritime nation (6), its culture, he argues, a maritime one. In his wide-ranging and comprehensive book *To Swear like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750–1850*, Gilje attempts to reconstruct what that maritime culture looked like at sea and on land. It is an exhaustive study, with chapters moving from maritime language and logbooks to yarns, songs, visual images, and sailors' reading habits (favored books included both *The Pirates Own Book* [1837] and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* [1740]—and one logbook recorded among a sailor's prized possessions, Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* [1755]!). While some of the book's discussion covers familiar territory—such as the shift in the figure of the sailor in popular culture from comic foil to sentimental object—both the breadth of materials assembled and the attention to the U.S. adoption and transformation of elements of British maritime culture distinguish this study. Students of maritime culture will find here a trove of source material, from references to a vast collection of logbooks found in archives throughout the Eastern Seaboard to broadsheets, newspapers, pantomimes, and political cartoons from both the United States and Great Britain. Gilje handily navigates this huge sweep of material. He ponders big-picture observations, such as the linear temporality that logbooks present, a temporality different from the cyclical regime of the farmer, and the tensions between representing the technical nitty-gritty realities of life at sea and the increasing aestheticization of that life. More compelling, however, are his historically focused analyses, as in his examination of the Federalists' use of British-style cartoon caricatures in broadsides designed to critique Republicans' proposal of a "draconian bill" (227) against the then-common practice of British impressment of U.S. sailors in 1806.

As depictions of sailors sentimentalized them during and after the second half of the eighteenth century, a pe-

culiarly American spin elevated that sentimental mariner figure. Popular representations portrayed sailors as heroes propelling—and sacrificing themselves for—the American Revolution. Subsequently central to the commerce, and success, of the United States of the 1780s and 1790s (especially when the 1793 war between Great Britain and France made U.S. ships the only neutral carriers), as well as being the bulwark of U.S. interests in battles with France, Great Britain, and the Barbary Coast (49), "Jack Tar" became a consistently central player in the rhetoric of U.S. independence and triumph. By the time Andrew Jackson's doctrine celebrating the "common man" emerged, Gilje argues, the sailor was situated to stand, alongside the farmer, as one form of that archetypal figure—although Gilje does not pursue the challenges that these propertyless laborers, unmoored from the land and cosmopolitan in their global experiences, might have posed to Jackson's nationalist inflection of the topoi of the common man.

Gilje's rendering of "maritime culture" is a capacious one, including not only popular land-based representations of maritime life and mariners, but also the beliefs, practices, writing, and art of often far-flung mariners themselves. The discussion of sentiment and nautical life, for instance, becomes especially interesting when it moves from songs, engravings, and operettas sentimentalizing for readers and viewers on land the figure of the sailor pining for his family and sweetheart or bravely dying for his country, to the sentimental practices of sailors themselves. As Gilje's book makes clear, if in popular representations sailors were sentimental objects—to be felt for by readers and viewers—sailors saw themselves as the feeling ones, not sentimental objects but subjects. In assembling evidence of that sentimental sense of self, from the mawkish poems some seamen scribbled in their logbooks to the unabashedly domestic items sailors crafted aboard ship from whale bone—pie crimpers, clothes pins, even busks (decorated whalebone inserted into ladies corsets)—Gilje documents how sailors imagined themselves as feeling subjects. In doing so, he might have entered into productive conversation with Gillian Russell's analysis in *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815* (1995). While Gilje's book certainly amplifies Russell's claims regarding the turn-of-the-century sentimentalization of Jack Tar in dramatic performances, it also complicates them by pursuing mariners' own participation in that moral economy. As one sailor's ownership of Johnson's *Dictionary* suggests, and as numerous interventions in the republic of print in Standard English from various "Jack Tars" confirm, the salty sea talk that, oddly, helped make sailors sentimental objects might have been a kind of performance. Sailors could strategically choose when and where to use such language, when and where to be sentimental object or subject.

Gilje's book is at its strongest when it describes the material maritime cultures his extensive research has unearthed. Whether the tattered logbook, dryly recording weather conditions and sail positions yet nonetheless cherished as it is passed down through generations, or the printed song that slyly uses technical language for its

bawdy double entendres (*An Excellent New Song, Entitled a Hot Engagement between a French Privateer and an English Fire-Ship*), the artifacts Gilje has amassed provide ample materials for tracing connections “between land-based and sea-based culture” (142). In his analysis of these objects, Gilje reveals the complexity of those relations, with landlubber readers and viewers, for instance, consuming layered images of mariners as at once sentimental heroes and tough-talking, sexually coarse rogues. Less successful are the author’s sometimes fanciful speculations regarding spoken language. Gilje builds a hypothetical narrative regarding the trajectory of transmission of language from sailors to the British criminal underworld on the rather slender basis of an imaginative etymology for the expression “yarn spinning.” The transported criminal “Vaux . . . and his flash cohorts had probably borrowed yarn spinning from the maritime world” (108), Gilje argues. Setting aside the complexity of the notion of “flash” culture in the period—a gentleman’s term for a supposedly criminal underworld those same gentleman playfully imitated—Gilje indulges a few too many “probably” and “most likely” qualifications to inspire confidence. To be sure, criminal and mariner were sometimes one and the same. Tracking the origins and movement of their spoken language, however, is an elusive task, and Gilje need not chase that chimera. Figuring the historian as necromancer (36), Gilje has assembled a wealth of materials through which to begin to animate maritime pasts on slightly surer footing, despite all that has been lost at sea.

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KEVIN BUTTERFIELD. *The Making of Tocqueville’s America: Law and Association in the Early United States*. (American Beginnings, 1500–1900.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 311. \$40.00.

The proliferation of membership-based associations in the U.S. during the early republic has long intrigued historians, sociologists, and political theorists. In *The Making of Tocqueville’s America: Law and Association in the Early United States*, Kevin Butterfield builds on the work of William J. Novak, Christopher Tomlins, Albrecht Koschnik, and Johann N. Neem to explore the role of the law as a “paradigmatic discourse” (63) that helped to “define and to defend the rights, the duties, and the very meanings of voluntary membership” (85). Not why but how Americans joined the associations that have come to be lauded as voluntary is his primary concern. How was law experienced? How could groups cohere without compromising individual liberty? In a world in which traditional social bonds had lost their efficacy, rule-making became a “virtual necessity in order for strangers to act collectively” (97). The legal framework shaped both practice and expectations: “The bonds of voluntary membership were governed and shaped by superintending authority, and, more important, many Americans came to believe that they *ought* to be so superintended” (75). And, in particular, it structured how associations conducted their internal affairs: “The story of an emerging American law of membership reveals a re-

markable degree of penetration by certain common law norms, even within the private and internal actions of a corporation or other voluntary association” (75).

Four kinds of associations are the focus of Butterfield’s attention: fraternal clubs, business corporations, religious societies, and labor unions. Municipalities fall outside of his ambit, as do professional organizations such as medical societies. Though Alexis de Tocqueville graces Butterfield’s title, Butterfield has relatively little to say about Tocqueville’s well-known reflections on the significance of voluntary associations in American life. His theme, rather, is the values that Americans affirmed when they decided to join together to pursue common goals.

Not all of these associations were, strictly speaking, voluntary. Labor unions constrained the ability of their members to negotiate in the workplace, and by the 1820s, temperance associations would come to impose commitments on their members that many derided as coercive.

No brief review can do justice to the many topics that Butterfield explores. He has fresh things to say about the “technology” of association, female reading societies, Thomas Jefferson’s critique of the Society of the Cincinnati, often forgotten similarities “between participation in private corporations and other forms of voluntary association” (117), the emergence of the profit motive as a “little recognized attribute of the corporate form” (149), and well-known legal cases such as *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* and *Commonwealth v. Hunt*.

For Butterfield, the legal framework for associations in the half century between 1790 and 1840 went through three main phases. In the first phase, Americans rejected friendship-based associations in favor of associations based on impersonal criteria. In the second phase, litigants helped to define the boundary between majority rule and minority rights by using writs of mandamus to obtain readmission to associations from which they had been expelled. Much emphasis is placed on a landmark 1810 case involving the Philadelphia journalists William Duane and John Binns. By reinstating Binns in the St. Patrick Benevolent Society after the association’s membership had voted to expel him by a vote of seventy to one, the courts affirmed the rise of the “autonomous individual” (8) and helped to “ease the transition toward a recognizably plural society” (7) in which individuals possessed rights that no association could infringe. In the third phase, the popularization of a new kind of bond, the pledge—a “deeply personal yet fully public profession of faith in a shared cause” (8)—acquired a profound emotional and “even spiritual significance” (241) that would come to define membership in associations committed to Sabbatarianism, temperance, and abolition. The efficacy of pledging astonished Tocqueville and was derided by thoughtful contemporaries such as Francis Wayland and William Ellery Channing. By obliging thousands of Americans to make “an internalized, emotional, but public commitment,” it exerted a kind of coercive authority that “some Americans would have difficulty believing was anything but a danger and a threat” (236).

Over time, as the number of associations proliferated, the post-revolutionary associational landscape became

“recognizably pluralistic” (85). Pluralism, of course, has been explained in many ways. For Butterfield, a “vital component” of its rise has gone unexamined: “In the early republic, the view that all associations shared the same elemental unit—the rights-bearing individual—grew through contests large and small” (7). By 1840, this transformation was complete. By treating associational decision-making as purely contractual, the “active hand of the state had begun to pull away, and a nation of joiners had come into being” (91).

Butterfield’s monograph is a legal and cultural, rather than a social and institutional, history. The focus is on leading cases that are presumed to stand in for larger trends. The law of membership is in certain ways a limited topic. Yet Butterfield has imaginatively explored its ramifications in a well-written monograph that is a model of clarity. All in all, *The Making of Tocqueville’s America* is a distinguished contribution to the University of Chicago Press’s prestigious “American Beginnings” series, and it should prove useful not only to specialists, but also to historians of pluralism, reform, and the creation of a civil society “unlike any in the world” (8).

RICHARD R. JOHN
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GREGORY D. SMITHERS. *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity*. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. 358. \$40.00.

In this remarkable study, Gregory D. Smithers tackles the formidable topic of examining Cherokee diaspora. He frankly considers the intersecting concepts of Cherokee migration and resettlement, memory, and identity with the “aim of peeling back the layers of Cherokee history and revealing an even deeper, more complex, and richer past” (7). Smithers accomplishes exactly this in his treatment of Cherokee movements, voluntary and forced, from the 1760s to the 1940s.

Smithers divides *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* into two parts, “Origins” and “Diaspora.” He organizes the first part into four chapters that address Cherokee origins and colonialism, the formation of a distinct Cherokee identity, the forced removal of the largest segment of the Cherokee population to the trans-Mississippi West, and the antebellum era. The weakest link in the flow of this otherwise strong study is Smithers’s cursory treatment of Cherokee movements in the colonial era. He pays little attention to the loss of their entire southeastern Lower Towns region, which resulted from their struggle to maintain individual town sovereignty and regional solidarity in the wake of epidemics, warfare, and colonial land cessions. Smithers does acknowledge that many of these displaced Cherokees found homes in other regions or soon became part of a movement to establish a new Lower Town region of five towns from which to conduct an armed resistance against intruding white settlements. Again, the author’s treatment of this incredibly important event is surprisingly not given more weight. The loss of an entire region (along with one

of the Cherokee dialects) and the later establishment of another region deserve more consideration, particularly with respect to Cherokee identity, since the label the resistance took, the Chickamauga, was as new as the region itself.

Smithers, however, does set the stage for further discussions of Cherokee diasporas through his introduction of voluntary migrations of Cherokees, who became known as the Texas Cherokee and the Old Settlers, near the turn of the nineteenth century. In addition, he explores how religion, literacy, interracial marriage, and intercultural exchange contributed to the shaping of Cherokee identity while influencing the formation of a centralized government to challenge the changing federal Indian policy from one seeking to “civilize” and assimilate to demanding the western relocation of tribal groups. Smithers follows the Cherokees to Indian Territory and traces their efforts at reunification. Within his larger discussion, he also addresses the movements of the Texas Cherokee who rejoined their relatives in Indian Territory after the nascent Republic of Texas ejected them.

In the second part of his study, “Diaspora,” Smithers considers how the American Civil War fractured the delicately forged Cherokee unity cobbled together post-removal. Ultimately, this led to more displacements as multitudes of Cherokee refugees sought safety from the war’s internecine violence. His postwar coverage of the crisis of the Cherokee freedmen examines the layered tiers of Cherokee identity. With the 1866 treaty that reestablished the relationship between the U.S. and the Cherokees, and as the Cherokee Nation sought to restrict outsiders, the question of citizenship for ex-slaves arose. Compounding matters, Smithers argues, federal Indian policy shifted in the subsequent period of 1887 to 1934. The U.S. government pursued allotment programs with the goal to obliterate communally held tribal lands. He notes that many Cherokees living in diaspora lost their Cherokee citizenship due to the new politically imposed identity criteria.

The author’s investigation concludes by observing just how far the Cherokee diaspora reached, noting how Cherokee participation in the far-off California gold rush was merely the beginning. Smithers’s analysis documents Cherokees in Cuba or even as far away as Australia, all the while upholding their Cherokee identities in the mid-twentieth century. Of course, the world wars vastly contributed to the diaspora as Cherokees served as soldiers and sailors traveling within the larger world.

Astonished to have found an application for permanent residency status in the National Archives of Australia, Smithers uses this pearl to begin his quest to explore this larger topic of Cherokee diaspora and how it affected memory and identity. Not only does his analysis cover the larger Cherokee Nation’s history, but the author effectively integrates the resilient story of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) who remained in their homeland in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina after having successfully avoided multiple removal attempts. Acknowledging their unique history as a direct comparison to the larger Cherokee population only confirms that the layers of this people’s history are indeed particularly

complex. Smithers convincingly contends that the EBCI's very existence in the ancient homeland provides a baseline for Cherokee identity for all those affected by diaspora.

The Cherokee Diaspora is not just another scholarly examination of a movement of a particular group of people. Smithers journeys much deeper in his scrutiny of how these various diasporic groups dealt with displacement and how they rebuilt in new locales as they shaped or changed their identity as Cherokee people and as Cherokee citizens. In this regard, Smithers appositely argues that memory becomes a particularly efficacious vehicle for connecting past identities with those forged in their new homes. *Cherokee Diaspora* is an important contribution to Cherokee scholarship and diasporic studies.

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ROBERT LAWRENCE GUNN. *Ethnology and Empire: Languages, Literature, and the Making of the North American Borderlands*. (America and the Long 19th Century.) New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 241. Cloth \$89.00, paper \$28.00.

In *Ethnology and Empire: Languages, Literature, and the Making of the North American Borderlands*, Robert Lawrence Gunn examines how nineteenth-century Americans attempted to understand and codify Indigenous languages across North America. In doing so, he draws connections between the practice of linguistic collection, the traffic of ideas about words, and the racialization of Indigenous people as primitive. Yet, Gunn's work moves well beyond a critique of the Eurocentric interpretations of translators and the misunderstandings of early linguistic scholars. Instead, Gunn argues "that relays between developing theories of Native American languages, works of fiction, travel and captivity narratives, and the political and communication networks of Native peoples gave imaginative shape to U.S. expansionist activity" (4-5).

Gunn begins his ambitious study with an examination of the American Philosophical Society and the work of Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, whose study of comparative grammar influenced anthropological research, government expeditions, and literary conventions throughout much of the early nineteenth century. While previous attempts to understand Indigenous languages rested on the assumption that words could be directly translated, Du Ponceau sought to understand the underlying structures of grammar, as well as the similarities and differences between European and Indigenous languages. The debates between Du Ponceau and his contemporaries stemmed from a larger ethnological preoccupation with the racial differences between Europeans and Native Americans and whether or not humans derived from the same ancestors. Du Ponceau's "philologies of race," as Gunn labels it, promised to answer larger questions about the origins of all people. Gunn further demonstrates how philological thoughts about language and race were expressed in popular literature, particularly James Fenimore Cooper's *The Leatherstocking Tales*. Taken together, Cooper and Du

Ponceau represent larger agreements about philological methods, as nineteenth-century Americans believed that "oral languages do provide a reliable field of evidence for inquiring into questions of human origins" (51).

Beyond anthropology and literature, Gunn contends that philology informed government expeditions and policies throughout the nineteenth century. As such, the aims of the War Department and the linguists of the American Philosophical Society coincided. Many of Gunn's assertions about these shared goals rest on an examination of how American agents understood (and misunderstood) Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL). He suggests that "Indian linguistics is haunted by Indian sign language both as a matter of linguistic classification and in the performative scenarios of social and scientific encounter in the western borderlands" (57). By placing performative language at the center of his study, Gunn provides a provocative reading of early expansionist ideology driven by thoughts about primitivism and the extent of empire. PISL sparked debates about notions of primitivism (was it a less complicated form of communication?) and advanced systems of communication (could it be a universal language?). Overall, Gunn illustrates how ideas about Native people that derived from the study of Indigenous languages influenced literature, informed Indian Removal policy, shaped American thoughts about the Southwest border, and provided fodder for early ethnologists, linguists, and anthropologists alike.

For historians, particularly those who work on Native American history and linguistics, some of Gunn's conclusions might raise questions. In an attempt to emphasize the influence of PISL in the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley, for example, Gunn contends that Shawnee people must have employed sign language: "Although it has not been acknowledged previously to my knowledge, the weight of evidence very strongly suggests that Tecumseh knew sign language and employed elements of it in his oratory" (101). To support this claim, Gunn cites a conversation with a historian rather than a particular document or previous study. Likewise, he further suggests that Tecumseh deployed sign language at various moments in his exchanges with William Henry Harrison. Shawnee people who are currently working on projects related to the Shawnee language might proffer alternate perspectives for this and other anecdotal or apocryphal sources related to their ancestors, but Gunn does not approach them. In fact, Gunn could have benefited from conversations with many other Native people who are currently engaged in Indigenous language projects across the Americas—many of whom have conducted extensive published and unpublished research on Indigenous languages. This oversight speaks to failures in academia to acknowledge community-based research as much as it does to Gunn's particular work. Regardless, *Ethnology and Empire* contributes to our larger conversation about the history of Indigenous languages and constructions of Indian identity (both internal and external) that are necessary to understand a shared American past.

JAMES JOSEPH BUSS
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JOSHUA L. REID. *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, an Indigenous Borderlands People*. (The Henry Roe Cloud Series on American Indians and Modernity.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 400. \$40.00.

In *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, an Indigenous Borderlands People*, Joshua L. Reid opens with an account of the Makah community's successful 1999 whale hunt off the northernmost shores of Washington State. In the hands of a less insightful scholar, the event might have been used to simply cap off the increasingly familiar historical narrative of Indigenous cultural resistance alongside tribal economic and political adaptability. But Reid does something far more interesting.

In setting up his community-engaged ethnohistorical study, and in making the argument that the Makah people are best understood as a distinctively maritime borderlands people, Reid also sheds fresh light on the inner workings of American settler colonialism. Illustrative of the latent violence that continues to inform settler colonial attitudes in America, Reid quotes a letter to the editor of the *Seattle Times* wherein a prominent television and film producer, upset by the whale hunt, states, "I am anxious to know where I might apply for a license to kill Indians" (3). Reid's comprehensive history of the two centuries leading up to the 1999 whale hunt reveals the way in which discursive settler colonial strategies built upon old canards (and used by groups as diverse as liberal environmentalists, on the one hand, and what are typically described as rednecks, on the other) continue to be mobilized to undermine Indigenous rights and sovereignty.

During their treaty negotiations with Governor Isaac Stevens in 1855, the Makah's Indigenous neighbors (like most other Native American communities across North America) highlighted the importance of protecting land, coastal shoreline, and riverine spaces and resources. As a result, they soon after found themselves struggling to deal with what Reid describes as the cutting edge of "terrestrial extractive industries" (12), economic ventures such as those associated with mining, timber, and agriculture. But this was not the case with the Makah. Rather, during their treaty talks they emphasized the ocean; as one Makah leader explained to Stevens, "the sea is my home" (3). And this tidewater orientation, Reid argues, placed the Makah in a distinct (if not unique) position from which they were better able than their neighbors and relatives to negotiate the vagaries of settler colonialism.

To build his case, Reid first provides us with a fresh ethnohistorical overview of the Makah (and their Nuu-chah-nulth relatives on Vancouver Island) that highlights the workings of the "contested and shared, overlapping trade and kinship networks" (51) that defined the Makah's Indigenous waterscape home. Regarded through this lens, the well-known story of the late-eighteenth-century maritime sea otter trade between the Makah and various American and British maritime traders assumes a different hue. Both the intermittent violence and the deft economic negotiations that characterized this trade become

newly intelligible when considered within the cultural contexts that shaped the strategies and tactics of Indigenous and British/American actors working (often at cross-purposes) to assert economic and military power.

Reid posits that the aquatic orientation of the Makah meant that unlike most other Indigenous North Americas, who were struggling to retain some form of control over, or at least access to, their land-based resources, they were putting their knowledge of the sea to work so they could benefit from the opportunities created by the expansion of an increasingly global capitalist economy. Their skill as whalers, sealers, and fishers meant that the Makah were able to sell their labor to representatives of the new economy on terms that allowed them to accumulate sufficient capital to purchase their own schooners. Once in control of their own ships, and possessing their specialized pelagic skills, the Makah were able to compete successfully against the colonists in nearly all aspects of the maritime economy from northern California to Alaska at least until the early to mid-twentieth century, when international agreements, federal legislation, and declining stocks forced them back onto the land and into poverty.

For his theoretical framework, Reid draws on John Sutton Lutz's 2008 seminal study of the history of Indigenous wage labor in neighboring British Columbia (*Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*) and, in particular, on Lutz's concept of a "moditonal economy" (one that was part *modern* and part *traditional*). For the Makah, Reid argues, "success in the moditonal economy . . . relied on their ability to bring benefits and gains to their people while abiding by Makah cultural expectations" (202). He clarifies that "by asserting their marine identity and engaging in a moditonal economy, Makahs articulated culturally specific alternatives that combined customary practices, characteristics of their identity, and new opportunities presented by settler-colonialism" (206).

Central to Lutz's definition of moditonal is the notion that each part of the "mode" of the economy depends to some degree on the other. Into the colonial settlement era, the maintenance of Indigenous people's distinct subsistence and prestige economies depended, in Lutz's view, on engaging the capitalist economy (just as the success of the capitalist economy initially depended upon Indigenous labor). But in selling their labor and participating in the colonial economy, Lutz argues, Indigenous people were necessarily engaging in a process that would economically displace them and marginalize them through the process of "peaceable subordination." The challenge facing Indigenous people has been to find means to prevent subordination from becoming complete subjugation.

Within the pages of *The Sea Is My Country* we are provided with the story of how the Makah sought ways to not only avoid subjugation, but also roll back the clock on subordination. As such, Reid contributes meaningfully to a growing body of community-engaged ethnohistorical scholarship that argues that the historical outcome of settler colonialism has not been universally the same, but rather, has created a world in which the other has found new ways to be different. And for the Makah, as Reid ex-

plains, this has meant envisioning a “traditional future” (278).

KEITH THOR CARLSON
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COREY M. BROOKS. *Liberty Power: Antislavery Third Parties and the Transformation of American Politics*. (American Beginnings, 1500–1900.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. Pp. 302. \$45.00.

In *Liberty Power: Antislavery Third Parties and the Transformation of American Politics*, Corey M. Brooks offers an excellent update on the old argument that the transformation of American politics in the three decades before the Civil War was largely the work of a small but savvy group of political abolitionists. In his hands, the men and women who cast their lot with the Liberty Party and then the Free Soil Party were anything but naïve idealists or political lightweights. Although members of a radical social movement and deeply moralistic, they were also realistic. They knew that to transform the national political system, which had long been in the hands of the nation’s major slaveholders, they had to become astute students of how the country’s political institutions worked—and that they did. They found the weak spots and thus had a far larger voice in national and state affairs than their numbers warranted. They also pioneered the argument that the two major parties of Andrew Jackson’s day had been constructed to serve a monstrous Slave Power, composed of southern slave masters and their northern allies, that not only kept blacks in chains, but also endangered the rights and future prospects of ordinary northern whites.

In making his case, Brooks takes the reader through all the well-known events, including the petition campaign of the 1830s, the fight over the gag rule, the battle over the annexation of Texas, the Wilmot Proviso, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He also goes over familiar ground in explaining how the Slave Power argument gained steam, how more and more northerners embraced it, and how it became a standard theme in Liberty Party, Free Soil Party, and Republican Party rhetoric.

More interesting, however, is what he has to say about aspects of antebellum politics that historians have generally ignored. In most of the New England states, for example, candidates had to receive a majority of the votes cast to be elected to office. Even a handsome plurality of 10 to 15 percent would not do. As a result, about a quarter of all elections were decided in run-offs, requiring in one case eight ballots to elect a House member. In virtually all these cases, the spoilers were antislavery candidates, and, as Brooks explains clearly, they made the most of it, forcing the top vote getters to pay attention to them and their followers and to honor some of their wishes.

In the same manner, Brooks also analyzes in depth five Speaker elections in the House of Representatives. These are not part of chapters. They are set off as “Interludes,” and in my mind they are the best part of the book. As many historians have long known, antebellum speakers had tremendous power. They appointed the chairs of the major House committees, controlled the agenda, and

were almost always major slaveholders. Up until 1839, a northern House member could vote for these men without his constituents ever knowing about it. The vote was by secret ballot, but then came the change to voice voting. Now how a congressman voted was public knowledge, and from the beginning, political abolitionists made the most of it. In districts where antislavery voters were a sizable minority, legislators soon learned that there was a price to be paid for voting for a speaker who represented the Slave Power. Electing a speaker thus became a major task, and by 1849 it took 63 ballots. Furthermore, from 1855 to 1856, it took 133 ballots, but in 1856 political abolitionists finally succeeded in getting the man they wanted, Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts. He was not perfect, to be sure. He had one foot in the Know-Nothing camp and one in the Free Soil camp. But he was not a tool of the Slave Power.

In sum, then, Brooks’s study of the triumph of antislavery third parties is most welcome. It should be beneficial not only for antislavery historians, but also for those who have a deep interest in third party movements, the collapse of the American second party system, and the coming of the Civil War.

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JASMINE NICHOLE COBB. *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*. (America and the Long 19th Century.) New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 264. Cloth \$89.00, paper \$27.00.

Much of what we know about nineteenth-century black experience comes from scholarship on slavery and slaveholders. Those topics, when expressed visually for white audiences, included caricatures of minstrelsy, prints and photographs cataloguing distinctive features of black bodies, drawings of shackles, and diagrams of slave ships. Jasmine Nichole Cobb focuses on the visually expressed experience of free blacks before 1850, particularly in Philadelphia. She describes her work as “a study in Black feminist visual theory” in which “free Black women’s bodies are not simply passive victims of dominant scopic regimes but are also disruptive vessels that Black women manipulated to evidence a female gaze.” Her particular focus is visuality, “the act of picturing as a tactile reference to diminished visual encounters” (8). Instead of concentrating on the pictured individual as the object of others’ gaze, she emphasizes “the ways in which the racialized object, in fact, has eyes, casts a gaze, and consciously constructs a way of being visible” (9). *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*, though at times densely packed with the specialized language of visual analysis theory, illuminates a previously obscure area of nineteenth-century American culture.

When culture deems art subversive, it conventionally credits the artist. However, Cobb demonstrates how the *subject* of art holds the power of subversion in her hands in sketches, daguerreotypes, and painted portraits. Images of slave coffles and dancing slaves created “hypervisibility”

of slave bodies but also “depended upon the suppression of a Black gaze” (36). Slavery, described in chapter 1, was “a peculiarly ‘ocular’ institution,” but its visible message varied widely. Slave owners controlled public images of escaped slaves with detailed descriptions of their bodies in runaway slave advertisements. The condition of fugitivity, “a state of rootlessness and of illegality, haunted all free performances of Blackness,” according to Cobb (52). The complicated status of the *Amistad* captives during their temporary incarceration in the U.S. is visible in their portrait sketches made by William H. Townsend, a white artist from Connecticut. He captured the nuances of gaze expressed by these captives who insisted, eventually with success, that they were free.

Cobb turns her attention to the private sphere of black women in chapter 2, where she examines four friendship albums produced by free black women in Philadelphia to illustrate a “personal space for free people in the slave era” (96). Working within the American art convention of using flowers to represent the female body, these black women placed drawings in each other’s albums that showed their awareness of “enslaved women’s constructed hypersexuality and free women’s awareness of the fetishization of black female bodies” (71). In this environment they carved out an “optics of respectability.” This practice subverted the ubiquitous racist caricatures circulating throughout northern cities. Free blacks, as well as slaves, were able to speak to each other in coded messages.

This complicated world where slavery and freedom existed simultaneously also affected whites, toward whom Cobb turns her attention in chapter 3, “Look! A Negress!” She examines the emergence of free blacks into public spaces and describes the work of the caricaturist Edward Williams Clay in his collection of prints, “Life in Philadelphia,” operating at “the intersection of racial mimicry as an idea, and minstrelsy as a form of popular culture” (137). These mocking images, intended for a white audience and accessible even to less affluent whites, prepared them for the impending possibility of the end of slavery, Cobb asserts. Jittery whites could reassure themselves that blacks were so ignorant and racially deficient that they would never encroach on white privilege.

The races meet in chapter 4, “Racial Iconography,” via the apparently sympathetic attitudes of abolitionists and the overt antagonisms of everyone else. Abolitionists were actually uncomfortable with the reality of black bodies, particularly female bodies. They managed to objectify the people they purported to liberate and “diminished the visibility of Black abolitionists who actively worked to create socially acceptable public appearances” (192). Meanwhile, anti-abolitionist artists imagined interracial meetings in white abolitionist parlors as orgies of lust between black men and white women, thus defiling that locale of middle-class respectability. The visual impact of these images was reinforced by bits of dialogue, rendered in outrageous mimicry of black speech, suggesting that even well-to-do blacks were incapable of reproducing civilized white decorum.

Cobb takes the enterprise of caricature abroad in chapter 5, detailing how British and French artists adapted and

modified Clay’s “Life in Philadelphia” series. In this context, blacks became African Americans, “igniting a trajectory of the transatlantic export of Black representation and cultural production as an ‘exceptionally’ U.S. commodity” (206). A French artist took some of the central images from the “Life in Philadelphia” print series, softened them somewhat, transformed them into painted images “reimagined for a message about U.S. democracy in Jacksonian America,” and mass-produced them on an epic scale on panoramic wallpaper titled “Vues d’Amerique du Nord” (216–217).

A crowning irony of this processing of black imagery by less than sympathetic white American and European eyes is the fact, briefly noted by Cobb in her epilogue, that First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy installed the “Vues d’Amerique du Nord” wallpaper in the parlor-like space of the White House Diplomatic Reception Room during her 1961 redecoration project. It remains there today and provided a backdrop for President Barack Obama’s formal statements on foreign policy. The actual black president standing in front of the imagined nineteenth-century scenes created “a homegrown idea of the United States as an advanced arbiter of multiculturalism,” Cobb asserts, “without regard for how Black visibility corresponds to the lives of Black people, both historically and contemporaneously” (223).

This research and analysis provides an important window into the lives of free blacks in the North during the early nineteenth century. It deserves a wider audience than the one that will be able to navigate the densely packed theoretical introduction and would benefit from the more inclusive approach of the conclusion of chapter 5 and the epilogue. It could also benefit from contextualization of Philadelphia and the abolitionist community early on, since they play such an important role in the study; the present volume drops vital nuggets of historical information here and there, but they deserve more prominence. The volume is most accessible for specialists, but it provides much food for thought for all students of nineteenth-century American history.

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BARTON A. MYERS. *Rebels against the Confederacy: North Carolina’s Unionists*. (Cambridge Studies on the American South.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xv, 277. \$90.00.

In the last couple of decades, Unionism in the South and resistance to the Confederacy have made their way into the spotlight of Civil War history and seeped into popular culture. Excellent works of history such as those by Victoria Bynum—*Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (1992) and *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi’s Longest Civil War* (2001)—as well as works of fiction such as Charles Frazier’s award-winning *Cold Mountain: A Novel* (1997) have not only helped to bring previously unseen characters into view and helped to shape a new historical narrative of the Civil War, but inspired the production of major motion pictures that have

reached a wide audience. Building on the momentum created by these pathbreaking books, Barton A. Myers's *Rebels against the Confederacy: North Carolina's Unionists* provides a systematic, statewide study of Unionism. Myers's self-stated goal is to return these Unionists to the story of the Civil War in order to, among other things, "provide a small dose—and long-needed inoculation—against [the Lost Cause] myth as it relates to the state of North Carolina" (5).

The organization of *Rebels against the Confederacy* offers a very successful approach to the evolution of Unionism during the Civil War era. With each chapter focusing on one stage of the pro-Union experience—secession, Confederate control, resistance, irregular wars, and Reconstruction—Myers uses the analytical tools of social, political, and military history to create a more colorful and complex picture of these forgotten southerners and their actions. In the end, the reader sees a Unionist not as a singular archetype, but as a person with a wide variety of characteristics—male and female, white and black, wealthy and poor, slaveholder and slave—who supported the Union to one degree or another, for one reason or another.

Myers's book is the result of uncommonly broad and methodical research. *Rebels against the Confederacy* is built on the deep investigation of one large and detailed primary source collection: the records of the Southern Claims Commission (SCC). Taking a careful, thoughtful approach to the potentially unwieldy and problematic record collection, Myers plumbs the depths of this source to learn as much as possible about the Unionists of North Carolina. The SCC records yield insightful testimony about the wartime experience of those making claims and useful data that helps to reveal who these people were. For instance, the very useful appendixes provide a breakdown of occupations and show that 64 percent of Unionists were farmers, while 3 percent of those identified in the SCC claims were slaves. Myers integrates into his research of the SCC records a range of other sources such as post-war recollections, census records, military records, and newspaper accounts that flesh out his narrative.

Of special interest to this reviewer is Myers's handling of the guerrilla conflict in North Carolina. The major contributions of this part of the book are twofold: first, it demonstrates that the various guerrilla conflicts were important to the struggles and ultimately the failure to enforce Confederate policies in North Carolina; and second, it shows that these local conflicts varied in character, taking on different forms depending mostly on where they took place. The Union Army and Unionists raided western North Carolina from Tennessee, Unionist guerrillas waged people's uprisings in the central part of the state, and Confederate partisans fought against Unionist counterinsurgents along the East Coast. Given the scope of his book, Myers does an admirable job of analyzing these guerrilla wars, which make up only one part of the story he set out to tell.

Myers's coverage of the guerrilla conflict does suggest one shortcoming of this book. While it is no doubt a natural by-product of the breadth of the history being pre-

sented in *Rebels against the Confederacy*, at times the author tries to hit too many targets at once. This scattershot approach does allow Myers to move through many sub-topics—scores of them, even—and he often hits his mark, but at times opportunities for deeper, more focused analysis are missed. For instance, in the chapter examining the varied forms of resistance to the Confederacy, the author introduces a new subsection titled "Unionists Absconding to Safety: Escapees, Deserters, and Refugees," which are all topics worthy of their own chapters entirely, if not books, but Myers moves on after only three pages of text (91–94). Each approach to history has its strengths and its weaknesses, and for each one of the few times that Myers misses his mark, he hits a dozen others, a score that anyone should be proud to own.

In total, *Rebels against the Confederacy* is an important book. It should be considered a touchstone for the study of Unionism in the South (and a highly citable one at that). While the stories told here by Myers may not by themselves cure Civil War history of the ills of the Lost Cause's so-called alternative facts, when all is said and done we will be better for having read them and be better equipped to see the American experience of the past as we see it in the present: complex, beautiful, fearful, and challenging, but always hopeful.

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CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS. *The Rivers Ran Backward: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Middle Border*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 505. \$34.95.

Several historians have produced extensive accounts of the military operations and guerrilla wars in the Civil War's western theater—that is, the region from the Appalachian Mountains to the states along the Mississippi River. Few, though, have seriously considered the war's long-term impact on the area. Christopher Phillips, a leading scholar of the nineteenth-century border states, seeks to fill this void in *The Rivers Ran Backward: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Middle Border*. Starting with the goal of understanding "how Americans living in this space felt the war as it happened," Phillips provides a much broader work that shows how "nearly a full century of passions spilled over from that war, changing the area into new and different places" (5).

Too often, Phillips observes, historians presume that the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers marked a sharp cultural divide separating the antebellum West's free states and slave states. Instead, shared patterns of migration from the Middle Atlantic states, racial antipathy toward blacks, cross-river kinship networks, and preoccupation with economic development laid the foundation for a consensus on slavery and race across the region that Phillips calls the "middle border"—Kentucky, Missouri, and the southern halves of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Notwithstanding the 1787 Northwest Ordinance's prohibition, slavery in some form persisted north of the Ohio well into the nineteenth century, with white hostility and stringent Black Codes

keeping most western African Americans living “as outright or de facto slaves” (30). Mixed commercial farming rather than plantation agriculture prevailed in Missouri and Kentucky, and both of these slave states experienced manufacturing growth, foreign immigration, and urban development comparable to those of their northern neighbors. National political arguments over slavery’s expansion in the 1850s shook but did not break the consensus. Few in the middle border espoused abolitionism, and despite widespread arguments over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Abraham Lincoln’s election in 1860 “hardened calls for moderation into demands for restraint” (107). The secession crisis, “if anything[,] . . . strengthened the western consensus by weakening Republican support” (108).

The experience of war, Phillips contends, quickly transformed the West’s “spectrum of political understanding” into “exclusivist identities, northern and southern, under new, war-born definitions” (120). In Missouri and Kentucky, slaveholders and southern sympathizers initially professed a moderate proslavery Unionism under the guise of neutrality. Unionists, though, denounced neutrality as “disloyalty by another name” (127), and federal repression of dissent through oaths, martial law, and violence imposed virtual military occupation even though these states had not seceded. Eventually, emancipation and the enlistment of black soldiers forced residents to declare their allegiance either to the North or to a “disloyal South” (231). Unfortunately for the Confederacy, the southern armies’ rough treatment of civilians during military operations in these states diminished support for secession, but as the front moved farther south, the Union Army’s persistent firm hand fueled guerrilla and partisan warfare as well as a culture of dissent that increasingly identified with a southern culture determined to preserve slavery.

North of the Ohio, westerners lined up in support of the Union. Despite the presence of Peace Democrats, Copperheads, and Confederate sympathizers, “free state dissent lacked the tangible economic and social threat posed by the eradication of slavery” (268). Racial hostility persisted, but slavery became the symbol of disunion, even though “war triumphalism” (303) constructed the image of a “Loyal West” (309) that fought only to suppress the rebellion, not to promote emancipation or black citizenship. After the war, race could no longer unite the West: whereas free state whites expressed “racial aversion,” “racial hatred” (291) prevailed in the former slave states. Northwesterners likewise came to see themselves as part of a larger progressive North—Republican, well-educated, committed to law and order, and offering widespread economic opportunity—that contrasted itself with a Democratic, uneducated, “backward,” and “uncivilized” South (332).

Previous historians have explored the violence and internal fighting in the West, especially in Missouri, but few have provided as detailed an account of the war’s effects on the region or considered as carefully its cultural legacy. In the book, Phillips refines or challenges some current historiographical understandings. For instance, Phillips demonstrates that the Union Army’s “hard-line war” against civilians suspected of disloyalty began in earnest—

with President Lincoln’s approval—before the end of 1861, well before emancipation and contradicting assumptions that Lincoln initially sought to appease Kentucky’s and Missouri’s proslavery Unionists. The author acknowledges that the war offered opportunities for local rivals to settle personal scores; nevertheless, he shows that resentments toward military repression, rather than longstanding social animosities, proved the “driving engine” (158) behind the new political identities. Significantly, too, Phillips finds little to support the recent emphasis on a post-war national reconciliation based on celebrating the common experience of war. Reconciliation “did not extend to the nation’s westernmost, and most irreconcilable, war border” (320), he concludes; veterans and civic leaders avoided or denounced intersectional reunions, while commemorations and monuments reinforced the memories and identities associated with wartime hostilities.

Perhaps Phillips could have addressed more carefully the motivations of whites who dissented from the middle border’s antebellum consensus, in particular the region’s handful of abolitionists and immediate secessionists. The sectional explosion produced by the Kansas-Nebraska Act could use better explanation, and political historians may find unsatisfying his downplaying of the Whig and Democratic conflict, especially since antebellum party allegiance probably explains Democratic persistence in the Northwest. Nevertheless, Phillips’s thoroughly researched and well-argued account presents an original and persuasive interpretation that deserves wide attention. *The Rivers Ran Backward* should become a standard work on the trans-Appalachian West.

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LAURA E. FREE. *Suffrage Reconstructed: Gender, Race, and Voting Rights in the Civil War Era*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015. Pp. 235. \$39.95.

In *Suffrage Reconstructed: Gender, Race, and Voting Rights in the Civil War Era*, Laura E. Free seeks to answer two central questions: Why was the word “male” used in the Fourteenth Amendment, and why did some key woman suffrage activists embrace race, rather than gender, as a political tool? In addressing these questions, she examined six decades of debates on voting rights that took place in various public forums during the Civil War era, including in constitutional conventions, in state legislatures, in Congress, and in activists’ public conventions and meetings. The result is a comprehensive study of the political decision-making process.

We like to think that our nation was founded on principles of democracy. And indeed, the U.S. Constitution, written in 1787, begins with a declaration of inclusiveness: “We, the people of the United States.” But, as Free notes, despite this inclusive language, virtually the only people who were eligible to vote were white male property owners over the age of twenty-one years. Poor men, women, African Americans, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups were excluded from the franchise and the governmental process.

The tolerance of slavery was embodied in the Constitution, which counted a slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of apportionment of the House of Representatives, prohibited Congress from abolishing the slave trade prior to the year 1808, and provided for the return of fugitive slaves to their owners. Slavery was abolished by adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 following the Civil War, and was the result of decades of African American activism, abolitionist agitation, and women's petitioning. Black men did not get the universal right to vote until ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. Whites argued that black enfranchisement would lead to the overthrow of white men's control of the economy and the political process. They also claimed that giving black men the vote would lead to miscegenation, and black men would seek sexual control over white women through violence. They also brushed aside the Declaration of Independence, which stated "that all men are created equal." And after the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment and the end of Reconstruction, the right of black men to vote was essentially abolished by southern states, which adopted a litany of disfranchising measures, including literacy tests, the good character clause, poll taxes, all-white primaries, and property ownership and onerous durational residency requirements. It took decades of litigation and passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to remove these disfranchising measures. Women did not get the general right to vote until the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. American Indians did not get a comparable right to vote until passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, although they continued to be denied that right by some western states. And eighteen-year-olds did not get the federally protected right to vote until passage of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment in 1971.

As Free writes in her book, nowhere in the Constitution of 1787 do the words "men" or "man" appear to refer to the population of the nation, although there were a few male pronouns used to identify members of Congress and the president. For the next seventy-nine years, except for these limited exceptions, the language of the Constitution remained genderless. However, in 1866 the gender neutrality of the Constitution was eliminated with the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which used the term "male" three times in its second section. While the second section provided that "representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers," it also provided that if the right to vote "is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State . . . the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state." Thus, although women had the right to be counted for purposes of representation, they were not regarded as legitimate voters. According to Free, the gender-specific language that Congress "chose to define legitimate voters was unprecedented in American constitutional history" (5). However, it was a reflection of the fact that members of Congress envisioned the political community "as a collection of male family members—fathers, sons, brothers—using gender to define postwar political

actors" (7). She further concludes that congressmen added the gender-specific language of the Fourteenth Amendment "to prevent the inadvertent enfranchisement of women" (7). Indeed, as of 1855, twenty-seven of the thirty-one states defined voters explicitly as male. And after 1860, many women's rights activists devoted their energies to the anti-slavery cause, which had the effect of pushing the cause of women's rights from the national debate. As Wendell Phillips, the newly elected president of the American Anti-Slavery Society, put it at their annual meeting in 1865, "this hour belongs to the negroes" (53). Activists feared that linking the enfranchisement of women with the enfranchisement of African American men would ensure that black men would be denied the ballot. Still others expressed the oft-stated view that enfranchising women would be the end of American society. In any event, the Fourteenth Amendment's definition of voters as adult male citizens contributed to or caused the exclusion of women from American politics until 1920.

In the conclusion of her book, Free acknowledges that "today there remain substantial groups with limited or no access to the mechanics of democracy" (166). Although a discussion of these groups is not within the scope of her analysis of voting rights in the Civil War era, it could have significantly enhanced her book. Some words about the decision of the Supreme Court to invalidate a major provision of the Voting Rights Act in *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder* (2013) and the substantial increase in voter suppression measures enacted by a number of states would have demonstrated that vote denial and dilution are not relics of the past but remain with us today.

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MARK A. LAUSE. *Free Spirits: Spiritualism, Republicanism, and Radicalism in the Civil War Era*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 223. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$30.00.

Mark A. Lause has written an original and expertly researched examination of the high point of the spiritualist movement. Characterizing the spiritualist movement is difficult because it established no churches and, despite becoming a popular obsession before the Civil War, faded after it. The spiritualist movement claimed as many as six million adherents before the Civil War. Lause's *Free Spirits: Spiritualism, Republicanism, and Radicalism in the Civil War Era* dissects the numbers and shows that truly committed adherents at the height of the movement probably numbered around three quarters of a million—still an impressive number. Spiritualism had much in common with the current New Age Movement. Many modern Americans discuss Feng Shui, or practice yoga or nontraditional medicine, or have a crystal or a dreamcatcher, just as antebellum Americans might have attended a public demonstration by a medium, gone to a séance, recorded a prophetic dream, or sensed communion with the dead, especially with the children and soldiers who died in droves during the Civil War. But did such activity make all such

Americans spiritualists? Probably not, according to Lause, because they usually remained traditional Christians. Lause, however, is versed enough in current religious theory to know that this question is not as important as the reality of such a broad cultural impulse and the many possibilities it offered for transforming identity and worldview. He also shows that spiritualism's most active and ardent believers did center their identities around spiritualism and tried to remake the world in its image. Belief in radical equality and rapid progress, both material and moral, drove their dreams and reforms. Their theory was that in the land of the dead all shared the same status, and they hoped that as this world became more connected with the spirit world, the radical equality of death would bring universal brotherhood to future society.

Lause's book works on several different levels: as an institutional narrative history, as an exploration of popular religion and culture, and as a political and social analysis. Far from a fad or fringe movement, spiritualism helped shape mainstream political and reform movements throughout the entire Civil War, including the under-researched Reconstruction Era. Lause's groundbreaking attention to Reconstruction alone would make this a valuable monograph, but the book is also rich in other new insights. Lause connects the antebellum spiritualists to the New Democratic Party as well as to the birth of the Republican Party. He also documents spiritualists' close connections to utopian, abolitionist, and socialist movements—a familiar story given wider scope and richer detail in Lause's hands. Spiritualism also contributed directly to the meaning of the Civil War itself. The popular and crucial bond of unionism expressed itself in spiritualist terms as a mystical connection between the living and the spirits of the founding generation. This ideology was central to the war effort and to Lincoln's rhetoric. Not surprisingly, spiritualism was concentrated in the North and West and garnered few followers in the South.

Lause's exhaustive chapter on Abraham Lincoln is his most controversial, enjoyable, and unreliable. Spiritualist accounts written well after Lincoln's death certainly claim that Lincoln was one of their own. Lause brings some balance and skepticism to these sources, but he relies on Nettie Colburn Maynard's 1917 memoir *Was Lincoln a Spiritualist?* a little too much. His plea that "there simply exists no substantive reason to dismiss entirely these sources" (77) is illustrative. Historians can certainly dismiss almost all of it. As Lause points out, though, Lincoln was a man of his era. He likely rubbed elbows with spiritualists or dabbled in séances and spirit communication, especially after the loss of his son Willie in 1862. There is also clear evidence of Mary Todd Lincoln's spiritualist interest. Lincoln may have been one of the millions of Americans of the era who entertained spiritualist ideas and engaged in spiritualist activities, but he cannot be said to have been a member of the movement.

The breadth of the spiritualist impulse is easier to document than its depth, but Lause brilliantly uncovers the movement's vital importance to American intellectual and cultural history. Lause's meticulous research reveals that its serious adherents were numerous and central to all

forms of radicalism in the Civil War era. Spiritualists anticipated evolutionary ideas and, paradoxically, were rationalists, technologists, and freethinkers. They looked toward transformative progress and new social relations and scientific insights. Communication with the spirit world was a rational possibility in a future bright with social and spiritual transformations and the discovery and creation of new worlds. For example, almost all the followers of Charles Fourier's socialism in America were spiritualists as well. This quest to transform the world made spiritualists the most radical of Republicans during Reconstruction and helped push the rhetoric of a reborn South and Union as a land of justice and equality for all—women and Native Americans, as well as African Americans.

Lause's original research is impressive. Spiritualists left behind a wealth of publications and a clear institutional history of their conventions. All the organizations and individuals in the movement make for a crowded book, and the monograph can get disjointed as it moves quickly from one subject to the next. The rich and varied analysis, however, never gets muddled. *Free Spirits* is an essential work.

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MATTHEW HARPER. *The End of Days: African American Religion and Politics in the Age of Emancipation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 211. \$29.95.

Focusing primarily on the writings and speeches of African American Protestant leaders in North Carolina from the Civil War to the end of the nineteenth century, Matthew Harper maintains that eschatology—considerations of end times—bound together black religion, politics, and economics. By end times, Harper means not only the end of time, but also the ends, or purposes, of the time. As African Americans experienced and defined emancipation and as they pushed for political rights during Reconstruction, their considerations of the Bible, the second coming of Jesus, God's final judgments, and the "millennium" of Revelations shaped their political choices and economic decisions. *The End of Days: African American Religion and Politics in the Age of Emancipation* is an important addition to the literatures of Reconstruction, the intersections of African American religion and politics, and society in the late-nineteenth-century South.

Harper begins near the end of the Civil War. Then, black Protestants in North Carolina understood the age of emancipation as a biblical one. They wrote themselves into the Jewish story of Exodus and found support for antiracist politics in the New Testament's admonition that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." Black pastors found a special place for African Americans in prophecy in the book of Psalms when it read, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God." With emancipation and the end of the war, religious independence symbolized the new age. As an expression of their new freedom, African Americans fought for the rights to their churches, congregations, and autonomy.

During Reconstruction and its aftermath, the subjects of chapters 2 and 3, African Americans battled for political rights, to maintain them, and to hold on to hope in the face of violence and loss. Time and again, Harper focuses on the political utility of biblical concepts of end times. African American preachers and editors based their political aspirations for legal rights, their claims to landownership, and the protection of their bodies in biblical prophetic mandates of justice and equality. In the final chapters, which push from the end of Reconstruction to the end of the nineteenth century, Harper demonstrates how African Americans increasingly turned to the death of Jesus. Mourning and sorrow rose, although many black Protestants heralded emancipation as the grand intervention of God. Emancipation constituted the spiritual hope that made enduring the era of Jim and Jane Crow possible.

By emphasizing the place of religion in the lives of nineteenth-century African Americans, Harper joins generations of historians who have done so. Understandably, he begins with an epigraph from W. E. B. Du Bois, who repeatedly drew attention to the powerful importance of Christianity in the lives of freedpeople. Du Bois not only crafted important historical work on the era, he also lived and worked through it personally. After Du Bois, scholars like Albert Raboteau, Gayraud Wilmore, Reginald Hildebrand, Daniel Stowell, and Laurie Maffly-Kipp linked religion to the lives and times of black southerners during the age. In fact, historians, other artists, and people during the nineteenth century have paid so much attention to the role of religion in black lives that scholar Curtis J. Evans suggested in *The Burden of Black Religion* (2008) that black religion has been “the chief bearer of meaning for the nature and place of blacks in America” (Evans, 4).

By directly connecting black Protestantism to political and economic perspectives, Harper calls into question the neglect of religion by scholars in those fields. Steven Hahn and Eric Foner use quotations from African Americans replete with religious language. Both historians employ prophetic language in their own writing. But neither pays much attention to the place of religion. Neither considers religious concepts motivational or causal.

The End of Days shows that Protestant organizations, leaders, and ideas had clear ties to political culture and behavior. This book has the ability to ask historians of the U.S. an important question: When a body of literature has shown so powerfully the importance of a topic, in this case religion, why has another body of literature ignored it so obviously and for so long, in this case Reconstruction? Put another way, what does it mean that a generation of scholars of religion challenged Eric Foner’s *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988) by pointing out the vital importance of Protestantism to Reconstruction, only to have Steven Hahn and Mark Wahlgren Summers not factor religion into their historical imaginations? If the equivalent were gender, some might wonder about problems of misogyny. If the equivalent were race, then some might wonder about privilege. What is it about religion that allows it to be an ignorable category?

Thanks to *The End of Days*, scholars of nineteenth-cen-

tury religion in the U.S. have another monograph to point to when asked about the relevancy of religion. The Bible, theology, and Protestant organizations influenced political and economic arguments and behaviors. The New South was different because of religious concepts.

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EMILY SUZANNE CLARK. *A Luminous Brotherhood: Afro-Creole Spiritualism in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 265. \$34.95.

In *A Luminous Brotherhood: Afro-Creole Spiritualism in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*, Emily Suzanne Clark describes the work of the Cercle Harmonique (Harmonic Circle), a group of Reconstruction Era Afro-Creole spiritualists that conducted séances in New Orleans. Clark argues that the Cercle, “part of a politically active community in New Orleans that sought self-determination,” created a religious community that incorporated “political activism, social reform, and a moral vision for a more egalitarian United States” (4). The Cercle’s spirit guides, such as Abraham Lincoln, John Brown, Voltaire, and Jefferson Davis, communicated from the grave images of an idealized afterlife that advocated a “republican ideology to combat politically destructive” (5) pushback from redeemers during Reconstruction. According to Clark, participation in the séances of the Cercle, in which members copied messages from the spirits of Catholic priests, national heroes, and French philosophers relayed to them by a medium, provided “Afro-Creoles a forum for airing their political grievances and for imagining a more equitable world” (4).

Clark asserts that unlike other projects on American spiritualists that provide overviews of the practice and examine esoteric elements of white northeastern Protestant iterations, *A Luminous Brotherhood* adds to the historiography by detailing the work of this black New Orleanian Catholic circle. Clark seeks to illuminate the impact of racial identity and local politics on the Cercle. These spiritualists believed that death released the spirit from its “raced body” or “envelope” and that “race was a category devoid of real meaning” (11). The spirits that visited this Afro-Creole community levied critiques of the “white supremacist, southern, slaveholding oligarchy” (12), frequently in the language of the French Revolution, in which, due to their education and cultural orientation, the Cercle’s members were conversant.

Clark organizes the chapters of her monograph as “a series of concentric circles extending out” from her subjects. Chapter 1 covers the members of the group and the spirits with whom they communicated. They frequently met in groups of seven, twice a week, including local Afro-Creole scholars, poets, business owners, veterans, and politicians. Chapter 2 situates the Cercle in local politics, covering the spirits’ critique of New Orleans’s vices of prostitution, violence, gambling, corruption, and inequality. Clark’s history is at its most engaging as she describes the 1866 Mechanics’ Institute Riot and the 1874 Battle of Liberty

Place. The Cercle identified the day of the riot, “30 July [1866,] as Louisiana’s Fourth of July” (19). The spirits regarded the Republican victims of these conflicts as “martyrs” for the “Idea” of equality, harmony, and brotherhood. Clark’s thesis is most strongly illustrated in this kind of charged language that directly quotes from the séance records, which explicitly mention race and the perception that the victims’ “only crime was being black” (59). Chapter 3 deals with the Cercle’s use of Catholic ideas and visits from Catholic spirits such as St. Vincent de Paul “even as they defined themselves sharply against the Catholic institution” (83) through a series of anticlerical messages critiquing its despotism, exploitation, materialism, and corruption. Clark reads many of these messages as an attempt to release members from the “yoke” of institutional “tyranny” and undeserved religious authority. Chapter 4 moves out to the broader U.S., illuminating the Cercle’s apotheosis of republicanism and disdain for slavery, the Confederacy, and the white supremacy of the “southern oligarchy.” Still more broadly, chapter 5 situates the Cercle intellectually in the larger Atlantic world using French revolutionary ideas to express their political affinities. The Cercle’s messages were apparently “loaded with revolutionary rhetoric” expressing hopes that the post-Confederate U.S. would bloodlessly mimic the overthrow of the “French ancien régime” (15). The conclusion covers the cessation of the Cercle’s activities, coinciding with the end of Reconstruction and the failure of Louisiana to realize the egalitarian vision of the spirits.

A Luminous Brotherhood is strongest when Clark is able to depict both the unique theological perspective of the Cercle and the tumultuous political circumstances of Reconstruction Era New Orleans that informed it. Segments of the Cercle’s register books, spanning twenty years, translated from the French, from which Clark draws her most enthralling material, suggest that they believed that “Tyrannical leaders, corrupt power, and white supremacy worked against the Idea” (5). This Idea “required Afro-Creole Spiritualists to work during their material lives” to improve the world. The dead who lived closest to these ideals “enjoyed a ‘luminous appearance’” in the spirit world, while the spirits of the corrupt underwent a “purgatory-like period” called “retribution” (48). Clark focuses on the messages from the spirits encouraging spiritualists to replicate the idealized spirit world supporting movements for “abolition, women’s rights, health reform, and labor reform” (10).

The author is convincing when in the later chapters she quotes from the séance books at length, most effectively meeting her stated goal of sitting the reader “at the séance table.” Earlier quotations read as fragmented and comparatively general. For example, a spirit says, “In the spirit world, he worked to ‘inspire many to faith against prejudices.’” Clark then explains that this spirit “promised that one day *racial prejudice* no longer would be a problem” (60). These kinds of constructions force the reader to ask if the Cercle might find the qualifier “racial” limiting, viewing the push toward the Idea as a struggle for human equality more generally. Mentions of race directly quoted from the séance records seem focused specifically on cri-

tiques of slavery and the Confederacy. More general quotations on equality perhaps speak to Afro-Creoles’ expansive view of human rights, informed by their self-image as a cultural group rather than a racial community. In a footnote, Clark quotes Rodolphe Desdunes: “The Latin Negro differs radically from the Anglo-Saxon in aspiration and in method . . . One forgets he is a Negro in order to think that he is a man; the other will forget that he is a man in order to think that he is a Negro” (197). This is a framework that might suggest a missed opportunity for Clark to make a statement about how the Cercle Harmonique’s unique position informed their investment not only in civil rights, but in “égalité” more broadly. Nonetheless, Clark’s project is a good contribution to the historiography.

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ROBERT J. GORDON. *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The U.S. Standard of Living since the Civil War*. (The Princeton Economic History of the Western World.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 762. \$39.95.

Robert J. Gordon’s *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The U.S. Standard of Living since the Civil War* is the story of an economic revolution, rather than a political one, that stretched over a century, from 1870 to 1970, and that transformed the U.S. into a dominant global power—the richest the world had ever seen. It is one of several new books by economists that are grand in ambition and combine historical narrative with abundant quantitative analysis to explore problems of capitalism. In this way it is like Kenneth S. Rogoff and Carmen M. Reinhart’s *This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly* (2009), which focuses on the recurrence of crises and panic, and Thomas Piketty’s blockbuster *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014), which analyzes the growing concentration of wealth, especially inherited wealth, in a few hands. Like those books, too, it brings together a vast body of existing literature in a new way. Gordon acknowledges, for instance, the many efforts to make sense of American growth, but seeks to find “a comprehensive and unified explanation” (ix) of the reasons why productivity rose rapidly, especially after 1920, and why it did so more slowly after 1970.

For Gordon, the “special century” was unique in human history, a time of unprecedented innovation in providing shelter, safe water, nutritional food, health care, and rapid and reliable transportation. New inventions, Gordon points out, changed daily life. They kept people warm and fed and provided light instead of darkness. Gordon writes of specific innovations small and big, including the Mason jar, canned food, frozen vegetables, ready-made clothing, department stores, and mail order delivery. He emphasizes the role of General Purpose Technology (GPT), notably electricity and the internal combustion engine, and the many “subinventions” that these technologies enabled—refrigerators, clothes dryers, aero engines, and air conditioners, for instance. The story is not only of invention,

but of its commercialization and distribution and, hence, of inventor-entrepreneurs like Thomas Edison and Henry Ford. Gordon argues that the inventions of the second industrial revolution created the most rapid period of growth in labor productivity in history, bringing about changes in nearly every aspect of human life. Unimaginable goods became common and, often, inexpensive. Ford's Model T, for instance, dropped in price from \$950 in 1908 to \$269 in 1923 (11).

By the 1970s, Gordon writes, the benefits of the second industrial revolution had leveled out and productivity growth had slowed. That decade proved devastating for U.S. manufacturing in automobiles, electronics, and other key industries. From the mid-1970s to 1980, when the price of oil rose sharply, sales of fuel-efficient imported cars rose significantly. For Gordon, the areas of innovation of the third industrial revolution (in entertainment, communication, and information technology) have been too narrow and have not had the same effects on the standard of living. Gordon uses total factor productivity (TFP) as a measure of innovation and technical progress. He notes that after 1970, TFP grew at only a third of the rate between 1920 and 1970. Gordon narrates other undesirable changes after the 1970s, including rising income disparity in the postwar decades and the emergence of the Rust Belt as the population dropped sharply in Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, and other manufacturing cities. He points out other "headwinds" that are likely to dampen future growth in U.S. productivity, including declining education standards and growing government debt.

The Rise and Fall of American Growth is a great achievement of synthesis and presents a fascinating and provocative thesis. The book is packed with wonderful details throughout its approximately 650 pages of text. Still, there are other parts of the story to explore. While the book does mention corporations, the internal dynamics of corporate decision-making are not described. There is little, for instance, on the executives who developed the colossal corporations that grew so quickly in the early twentieth century—executives like Alfred P. Sloan Jr., who pioneered the multidivisional form at the General Motors Corporation starting in the 1920s. Nor is there much attention to those who, decades later, focused instead on shareholder return and began to dispose of, and acquire, operating units based on profitability. Under Jack Welch at the General Electric Company, the number of employees dropped from 411,000 in 1980 to 299,000 in 1985 (see Jack Welch, *Jack: Straight from the Gut* [2001], 129). The historian Alfred Chandler, looking at a similar period, saw the story as one that featured changing, and ultimately diminished, managerial competencies (see "The Competitive Performance of U.S. Industrial Enterprises since the Second World War," *Business History Review* 68, no. 1 [1994]: 1–72).

Moreover, by focusing on domestic growth, the book underplays the ways multinational firms, including manufacturing companies, financial services firms, and utilities, were changing the world. These enterprises spread key innovations, not only from the U.S., but also from Western Europe and Japan. Books by Mira Wilkins

and Geoffrey Jones on the emergence of multinational enterprise tell this story. Wilkins's volume, co-authored with William J. Hausman and Peter Hertner, analyzes the spread of one of Gordon's GPT's, electricity, around the world (*Global Electrification: Multinational Enterprise and International Finance in the History of Light and Power, 1878–2007* [2008]). The story of the U.S. should be told in a global perspective, one that includes the rapid economic growth in China since the late 1970s and in India since the early 1990s. In the decades since the 1970s, more countries around the world have become centers of innovation.

Finally, the most provocative part of the book—the unrepeatable nature of the improvements to daily life brought by the "special century"—remains merely a forecast. Who knows what the world will be like in faraway 2070? It is worth recalling that near the beginning of Gordon's century of epic progress, Andrew Carnegie's *Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic* (1886) enumerated the unprecedented achievements of another period of rapid growth in America. "The old nations of the earth creep on at a snail's pace; the Republic thunders past with the rush of the express" (1), he wrote. Little did he know what was yet to come.

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LISA M. F. ANDERSEN. *The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869–1933*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. x, 317. \$110.00.

Lisa M. F. Andersen's primary challenge is most starkly presented in the appendix to her *The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869–1933*; namely that her subject—the Prohibition Party—never received over 2.25 percent of the national vote, even at the pinnacle of its power in 1892. How does one make the case that a minor footnote to history actually matters? Answer: by relating it either to the larger history of American alcohol prohibition or to the literature on small parties in American political development. Andersen does a much better job at the former than the latter.

The Politics of Prohibition investigates the rise and fall of the Prohibition Party, "led by temperance advocates, women, and former abolitionists—and how its members harnessed moral aspirations to politics and partisan strategies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (2). The "big-P" Prohibitionists viewed both the Democrats and the Republicans as hopelessly corrupted by liquor interests that stymied any attempts at true reform. While cognizant of the entrenched two-party duopoly, Prohibitionists believed their incorruptibility, purity, and ambition would allow them to become the "new Republicans" within that system. Well before the passage of a suffrage amendment, the Prohibitionists became the first American political party to welcome women into their ranks, affording them new opportunities, but also opening fissures within the party. They confronted challenges to small parties, such as state ballot laws and registration procedures, and lost support to a non-partisan pressure

group—the Anti-Saloon League of America (ASLA)—which is ultimately credited with pushing through the Eighteenth Amendment. In the end, a worn-out Prohibition Party leadership even bitterly refused to endorse the campaign for the national prohibition amendment. Ultimately, “Prohibitionists’ fears about the implications of Democratic and Republican dominance over the party system failed to rouse many of their fellow Americans to action; most voters continued to vote for the same parties that they had supported for decades and therefore did not sense a loss in their political agency when minor parties struggled” (5).

This is not a juicy, Daniel Okrent-style pop history of American prohibition. It is a necessarily drier, more exhaustive archival investigation of the temperance and prohibition movements of the late nineteenth century—usually overlooked by conventional prohibition histories intent on getting to the flappers, speakeasies, gangsters, and larger-than-life personalities of the 1920s. Andersen begins by tracing the links between the nascent temperance and suffragist movements in abolitionism, which had also drawn upon religious traditions and resources to help bring about the end of slavery. Indeed, the Prohibition Party was founded in 1869, just one year after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. Abolitionist-cum-temperance activists wanted to liberate individuals from enslavement to a predatory liquor industry, which provided the single largest source of federal revenue. This dependence on revenues made the federal government complicit in a deplorable trade, and the resulting patronage made Democrats and Republicans reluctant to curb the traffic’s excesses.

Unlike later pressure groups, Prohibitionists believed that the party system was the most appropriate, most democratic means of influencing policy. The primary goal of the early Prohibition Party was to disrupt the political influence of the liquor industry by uniting uncorrupted “dry” Democrats and Republicans within their party, forcing the pro-liquor leftovers into an anti-Prohibition Party. Wanting to emulate the major parties while being separate from them led Prohibitionists to welcome women as “peers in every respect” (62)—as activists, party members, delegates, and shapers of the party agenda—although they were ineligible to vote. Prohibitionists’ aggressive pursuit of equal suffrage won many adherents and an alliance with the influential Women’s Christian Temperance Union.

With 1884 came the narrow election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democratic president since the Civil War. Disgruntled Republicans blamed “Prohibition cranks” for playing the spoiler—siphoning off votes that would have ensured Republican victory—egging and intimidating Prohibitionist voters, and burning Prohibition leaders in effigy. As the major parties sought to delegitimize small-party voters, ever-higher ballot qualification requirements squeezed the limited resources and influence of small parties.

By the turn of the century, frustrated Prohibitionists lamented the party’s lack of growth—especially amid an uneasy coexistence with a growing Anti-Saloon League that siphoned Prohibitionist membership. The ASLA threw its organizational weight behind any candidate—Democrat

or Republican—willing to back prohibition, which struck partisan Prohibitionists as inherently undemocratic. Ironically, the Prohibition Party opposed the ASLA’s campaign for the Eighteenth Amendment as “an undemocratic experiment advanced by an undemocratic organization” (257): such a policy could never be enforced if the public did not first have a chance to vote on prohibition. Even without a referendum, the victory of the prohibition amendment was the death-knell of the Prohibition Party itself.

Despite frequently conflating liquor with the liquor traffic as the focus of organized temperance’s ire, *The Politics of Prohibition* is a satisfying academic account that is a necessary corrective to conventional, overdetermined narratives of a steady, unceasing temperance march toward national prohibition. Andersen shows that the movement toward prohibition not only began far earlier than most accounts suggest, but also was far more halting, contingent, and contentious.

Less convincing are the attempts to integrate the Prohibition Party experience with the plight of small parties, largely ignoring the voluminous literature on electoral systems and third parties. Duverger’s Law, for instance, suggests that two-party monopolies are a consequence of a single member district plurality (SMDP) electoral system, which, unlike proportional-representation systems, inhibit rather than encourage small parties. Yet the electoral system and other standard institutional factors are never mentioned. Another consequence of this oversight is that *The Politics of Prohibition* spends a tremendous amount of space needlessly reinventing the wheel: introducing basic and widely studied concepts like third-party spoilers, deliberative democracy, and republican democracy that are widely studied and have their own voluminous literatures.

By providing the first detailed investigation of the Prohibition Party, Andersen makes an important contribution to the scholarship on alcohol prohibition in the United States. It will not be as widely read as more mainstream prohibition histories, but it will become essential reading for any professional wanting a more than superficial reading of this vital era in American political history.

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MARK PAUL RICHARD. *Not a Catholic Nation: The Ku Klux Klan Confronts New England in the 1920s*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 259. \$28.95.

What motivated them to mobilize? Was it economic displacement? Was it a reaction to disdain for social elites? Was it an attempt to reinvigorate their struggling communities with a strong sense of civic activism? Was it a simple concern about status dislocation? Or was it old-fashioned white supremacy and bigotry toward people of color, immigrants, and those who did not share their religious views? The relevance of these questions should resonate with anyone engaged in the “postmortem” analysis of the 2016 presidential election. Yet for decades, these same queries have driven scholarly analysis of the Ku Klux Klan’s rise.

Not a Catholic Nation: The Ku Klux Klan Confronts New England in the 1920s pushes back against studies beginning with Leonard J. Moore's *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928* (1991), and continuing with scholars including Shawn Lay and Kathleen Blee, whose research has problematized the assumption that racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice were the primary motivations for joining the Klan by subsuming these into broader concepts ranging from civic activism to mundane populism. Richard hopes to bring racial, ethnic, and religious bigotry back to the center of Klan studies as his book documents time and again the centrality of anti-Catholicism and hostility toward French Canadian and Irish immigrants whose numbers threatened the political power of white New England Protestants and Republicans in the 1920s.

Beginning in 1921, the Klan rose rapidly in New England (and it would fall just as quickly by the decade's end), though in contrast to southern states, its roots grew in Republican rather than Democratic circles. Mark Paul Richard begins by chronicling the phases of Klan development in chapter 1, highlighting the propaganda efforts of Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler in transforming the Klan from a largely southern organization to a national one. Ironically, the negative publicity triggered by their aggressive public relations campaign actually drew participants to the organization instead of repelling them. D. W. Griffith's 1915 film *Birth of a Nation* (an adaptation of Thomas Dixon Jr.'s *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*) also laid the foundations for the movement's growth. In New England, the rapid rise of French Canadian immigration and the power of Irish Catholics in Massachusetts captured the Klan's attention more than African Americans and Jews did.

Richard explores each New England state in isolation, beginning with Maine and concluding with Connecticut, and this contributes to a sense of repetitiveness. But each state had its own political dynamics, so the choice is understandable. While French Canadian immigrants were the Klan's prime targets in northern New England and Rhode Island, the Irish bore the brunt of Massachusetts's Klan activity, while Connecticut's more evenly distributed immigration patterns resulted in Roman Catholicism as a whole being credited as the prime threat. In each state, immigrant Catholics challenged the political hegemony that Anglo-Saxon Protestants had enjoyed until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In states such as Maine, the political imprimatur of Republican governors in the 1920s nurtured the organization until late in that decade, when the shady management of funds coupled with criminal acts helped turn the tide of public opinion against the Klan. Division over the question of whether being a native-born white Protestant was a prerequisite for Klan membership or whether they could align with foreign-born Anglo-Saxon Protestants created rifts. These rifts grew as Canadian Protestants, who had also immigrated in large numbers to New England, and whose role in the Klan has been largely ignored in the literature (88), were vital to the group's growth, as were Swedes in places like Worcester, Massachusetts, where

they made up half of the city's Klan membership while only constituting a tenth of its population. In fact, the Knights of Columbus in Worcester "came to view the local Klan as a Swedish society" (94). This conflict over welcoming the foreign-born to their cause not only led to fragmentation, but also contributed to the downfall of the Klan's most effective recruiter in New England, Eugene Farnsworth, who gladly initiated non-native born white Protestants into the fold prior to his death in 1926, to the dismay of many. Internal corruption and public exposure for acts of terrorism and petty crime stifled the Klan's growth.

Notably, Richard makes clear that active resistance also played a vital role in the Klan's downfall by the decade's end. French Canadian Catholics in Maine were vocal and organized in their opposition to the White Knights. Violent attacks on Klan members were not uncommon in states such as Vermont and Massachusetts, and by Richard's reckoning, meeting force with force effectively broke the organization's will at times. More commonly, organized political resistance in states such as Rhode Island put pressure on Republican politicians to turn against the organization and deny them political cover.

Richard closes his book with an interesting look at the protean nature of the Klan by showing that the New England Klan's short-lived resurrection in the 1970s and early 1980s was often led by white Catholic descendants of French Canadians and other European immigrant groups who had been the Klan's targets half a century earlier. By the 1970s, the New England Klan's focus shifted primarily to blacks.

Grounded in newspaper sources, including multiple French-language papers and Catholic diocesan publications, Richard succeeds in disabusing his readers of the notion that the most salient objective of the New England Klan was anything other than stirring up hatred and resistance to the growing power of immigrants and Roman Catholics. Citizens had opportunities to join multiple civic organizations aimed at improving communities and empowering people in difficult economic times. And even among Republican Protestants there were loud voices in opposition to the movement. Those who joined the Klan were attracted to it precisely because it trafficked in intimidation and open hostility toward Catholics, Jews, people of color, and immigrants of all non-Anglo-Saxon stripes. Richard makes clear that pretending these features were nothing more than an unfortunate by-product of the Klan's activities rather than its core distorts the history of its activity in this country.

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LIONEL KIMBLE JR. *A New Deal for Bronzeville: Housing, Employment, and Civil Rights in Black Chicago, 1935–1955*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 200. \$35.00.

Lionel Kimble Jr.'s *A New Deal for Bronzeville: Housing, Employment, and Civil Rights in Black Chicago, 1935–1955* is a well-grounded, straightforward work of archive-based

history. Kimble delves into the local records to tell stories of black Chicagoans fighting for fair access to quality housing and for good jobs during the Great Depression, for housing for black workers in World War II–related industries, and for good housing and jobs for returning black veterans and their neighbors after the war. He argues that such struggles were inspired by black Chicagoans' rising expectations, by their recognition that they had new allies in new unions and the New Deal state, and by their disappointment with the lack of progress during the New Deal and World War II. He concludes that such efforts "helped establish a foundation for a larger civil rights movement in Chicago and throughout the urban North" (5). Along the way, Kimble nods to the now well-established significance of interracial alliances in labor, civil rights, and electoral organizing, as well as to the ways class conflict within black institutions and communities could hinder organizing efforts. He further substantiates—with case studies of a wide range of activists, many of whom have not been at the center of other works—conclusions that other historians have reached with similar kinds of evidence. The 1930s, for example, proved particularly fertile ground as Communist Party activists, organizers for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and New Deal agencies worked together to provide new opportunities to build public housing. World War II emerges here as a time of official government efforts to counter discrimination and of real economic opportunity for black workers, but also as an experience that ultimately disappointed local people's hopes for even more gains in the housing and labor markets. And he confirms other historians' findings that the post-war generation engaged in persistent interracial and cross-class political organizing to push for increased housing and job opportunities, thus energizing the "fledgling civil rights movement in Chicago" (11).

Born out of his interest in his family's experiences in Chicago, Kimble's curiosity carried him deep into the archives of local black labor, urban, and social movement history between 1935 and 1955. This is an insider's view of black Chicago's history, and *A New Deal for Bronzeville* joins an ongoing conversation that encompasses the works on black Chicago by black Chicagoans. Though such an "insider's view" has not determined a homogeneous historical outlook, Kimble has clearly been deeply engaged in the profound and longstanding conversations among local archivists and historians (both academic and community-based) that thrives in the history community in Chicago. The substance of those conversations manifests in the insistence that black Chicago's story is important not just as a laboratory for scholars interested in testing models of political, social, and cultural exploitation, reform, and resistance; black Chicago's history is important in itself. Kimble's depiction of black Chicago draws inspiration from his grandmother, whose narrative was not rooted in the Jim Crow South, but was a "narrative . . . of a city girl who witnessed the diversity and dynamism of African Americans in the city where she was born" (ix). Kimble's goal is the classic goal of the new labor history historiography he draws upon to contextualize his archival research: to recover the history of a place "from the bot-

tom up," and thereby show how previously unsung actors through their daily struggles helped forge a place for themselves in a difficult urban environment.

Though experts in black labor, civil rights, and urban history will find much that is familiar here, they will also happily find narratives of previously unheralded figures who worked to overcome unfair treatment in the real estate market, in tenant organizing, and in the taxicab industry. Kimble perhaps overstates his case when he argues that he will "illuminate the important wartime story of black Chicago that is still being overlooked by historians of African American labor" (12). And he misrepresents the facts when he states that "the years between World War I and World War II marked the largest internal migration in American history" (8). Such comments seem to grow out of an effort to convince the reader of the importance of this story, which is unfortunate because the evidence Kimble has brought together stands on its own. Although Kimble does not make this argument, *A New Deal for Bronzeville* adds further substance to the idea that black urban freedom struggles have been constant, yet they are so rooted in particular spatial and historical contexts as to be difficult to frame in terms of one "long civil rights movement."

Kimble suggestively concludes that "the collapse of the New Deal coalition between African Americans and their allies" during the reign of Mayor Richard J. Daley's political machine in the late 1950s and 1960s did not silence black militancy (151). And he leaves us with a tantalizing image of activists in the 1960s organizing beyond "the prying eyes of racially conservative elements within city government, in the press, union halls, pulpits, and living rooms throughout Bronzeville and other emerging black enclaves in Chicago" (152). Given Kimble's personal history in Bronzeville, the reader wishes he had more thoroughly explained the significance of New Deal-era activism for that later period. This is especially so because there is still so much to learn about the often-hidden dynamics of discontent, organizing, and striving that must be understood in order to comprehend our own moment in which the ascendancy of Barack and Michelle Obama has coincided with the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement. How, one wonders, would Kimble explain the historical continuities and discontinuities between the dynamism in mid-century Bronzeville—what he describes as the hidden militancy of the 1960s and 1970s—and the sources of the recent surge of black organizing and militancy that has come as a surprise to so many outsiders over the last couple of years?

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BARBARA MILLER LANE. *Houses for a New World: Builders and Buyers in American Suburbs, 1945–1965*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 305. \$49.95.

The residential sphere has long attracted the attention of architectural historians, though ordinary suburban houses have received relatively little scholarly scrutiny. Studying

these houses can pose particular challenges for historians not only because they are so numerous, but also because the typical sorts of documents upon which architectural historians rely may be either scattered or poorly preserved.

Barbara Miller Lane's *Houses for a New World: Builders and Buyers in American Suburbs, 1945–1965* will thus please readers who want to learn more about the formal evolution of specific suburban developments and suburban house forms around Los Angeles and Orange County, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. Lane's examination of the "builders" in her subtitle is the book's clear strength. Readers looking for a book that rigorously analyzes these developments and houses in a broader historical context—one that includes an analysis of race, gender, and their intersections as they relate to the residential realm—or who are primarily interested in the "buyers" of her subtitle will likely be disappointed. Her archival research derived from developers' records and architectural drawings is careful and detailed, thus constituting an important contribution to that aspect of a growing area of the field. Yet the book suffers from the author's lack of attention to the critical frameworks and recently published scholarship—particularly the numerous published works examining the social history of housing—that provide the crucial historical context for her subject.

In six chapters, Lane presents readers with a history of U.S. builders and a selection of developments, asking about their formal character and their attraction for inhabitants. The first chapter offers an introduction and overview, with subsequent chapters focusing on developments in particular regions. The final two chapters address buyers and provide a conclusion. The strength of this book is its provision of information on some little-known suburban developments, as well as fresh biographical information about the developers themselves. Lane excels when she presents formal analyses of specific house plans. As such, her book can serve as a helpful complement to some recently published and valuable architectural histories of U.S. housing such as James A. Jacobs's *Detached America: Building Houses in Postwar Suburbia* (2015) and Thomas C. Hubka's *Houses without Names: Architectural Nomenclature and the Classification of America's Common Houses* (2013), as well as the somewhat more specialized work by Richard Harris, *Building a Market: The Rise of the Home Improvement Industry, 1914–1960* (2012) and my own *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America* (2013).

What it fails to do is something Lane promises in the prologue: the book does not provide a rigorously formulated history of the buyers of these houses, and it fails to do so on at least two fronts. First, Lane persistently turns away from analyzing the exclusionary practices that made the developments she studied largely available to whites alone. Her opening claim—that in the U.S. in the 1940s and 1950s, "homeownership for (practically) everyone who wanted it" (3) was available—is simply incorrect. Her parenthetical treatment of the word "practically" is key here. Lane is clearly aware of the literature that articulates the ways the federal government, real estate agents, developers, builders, the media, and ordinary citizens worked

to create a highly segregated residential landscape. However, although she includes such works in her bibliography, her text ignores the practices that led to the racially segregated domestic landscape that characterizes the U.S., and in which buyers participated. In a country torn apart by the structural racism that is most markedly apparent in the segregated housing landscape, such a lacuna in any history of suburban housing is noteworthy and deserves further explanation.

Second, on the few occasions when the subjects of race and ethnicity do appear, they are treated with oversimplifications that are troubling. For example, when describing an interview in which homeowners attributed a decline in property values to an influx of African American residents in their neighborhood, Lane asserts, "I did not find that racist motives in buying a new house were obvious among the people I interviewed . . . These comments seem to have more to do with protecting property values than with racism per se" (201). Yet an abundance of scholarship now exists that clearly demonstrates the ways in which precisely these notions of property value declines were and are deeply embedded in racist ideologies rather than in any reality related to housing occupancy. In an earlier passage, she asserts that Americans "mingled together freely" in their new suburbs, and that "this experience may have helped Americans to become more accepting of diversity" (29), yet she fails to acknowledge that racial diversity did not exist in the many all-white suburbs she studies.

Methodological flaws and numerous unsupported assertions also mar the text. In the fifth chapter—which focuses on an analysis of buyers' choices, preferences, and backgrounds—Lane conducted interviews with just twelve families, who, furthermore, represent an ethnographic sample that she herself acknowledges is flawed, yet she uses these few interviews to justify interpretations that negate scholarship based on much more rigorously developed research. She asserts, for example, that postwar homebuyers did not represent members of the "consumers' republic" (200), contradicting the findings so masterfully assembled in Elizabeth Cohen's definitive study of the same title (*A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* [2003]). Lane also insists repeatedly that popular and shelter magazines had little influence on merchant builders, developers, or homebuyers when numerous studies, not to mention circulation statistics and reader surveys, indicate that they actually had a profound influence. Such troubling aspects are intensified by the author's lack of attention to providing citations for some of her claims, many of which are again in error or stand in contradiction to well-documented studies that precede her own. The twelve interviews are welcome contributions to a much-needed archive of suburban oral histories, but they are far too limited to be used as broader evidence of buyer preferences, choices, and backgrounds.

Thus, Lane's book is most useful for readers in any field who are interested in learning about postwar suburban house form and in the developers who helped shape the suburban landscape.

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AARON COWAN. *A Nice Place to Visit: Tourism and Urban Revitalization in the Postwar Rustbelt*. (Urban Life, Landscape, and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 221. \$29.95.

In *A Nice Place to Visit: Tourism and Urban Revitalization in the Postwar Rustbelt*, Aaron Cowan focuses on hotel openings in Cincinnati, Ohio, convention center development in St. Louis, Missouri, stadium construction in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and harbor renovation in Baltimore, Maryland, to reveal “how tourism gained a central role in the post–World War II American city and how tourism development reshaped cities and altered their meaning and function” (vii). These particular revitalization efforts drew national attention and, more importantly, inspired copycat schemes nationwide. Cowan’s concentration on Rust Belt cities reveals how industrial powerhouses transformed themselves as racial rioting, white flight, and deindustrialization threatened their economic viability. Tourism offered positive branding as well as essential tax revenue and jobs.

A few cities, such as New Orleans, Los Angeles, and New York, pioneered tourism as an economic pillar during the early twentieth century. Rust Belt cities, however, crafted tourism industries from “whole cloth” during the mid-twentieth century as they struggled to sustain their industrial base (viii). Cowan’s vignettes are skillfully situated within the broader context of urban American trends. Through the prolific use of federal government subsidies dedicated to urban renewal projects, business and political leaders increasingly utilized private-public partnerships, in conjunction with the power of eminent domain, to push tourism-friendly projects. In 1943, Richard King Mellon of the Mellon financial empire created the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, based in Pittsburgh. It provided a “model for corporate-led renewal” (23). The Greater Baltimore Committee’s proposal during the 1960s to reinvent the Inner Harbor epitomized tourist development in postwar cities by mixing office, retail, and residential complexes. President Richard Nixon’s New Federalism supplied federal block grants to local governments. This galvanized tourism-focused projects, especially after enactment of the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act in 1972. Though Cowan does not explore this, the extent to which Rust Belt cities copied Sun Belt cities, which often pioneered tourism ventures even while stealing some industries from the Rust Belt, deserves some attention.

Cowan starts by exploring the role of hotels and convention centers in Cincinnati and St. Louis, respectively. He astutely critiques the decline of older fashionable hotels built before the Second World War. Establishments like Cincinnati’s Gibson Hotel, opened in 1912, catered to locals as much as travelers. Their “luxurious lobbies and posh dining rooms served as the negotiating arenas for political deals and business ventures” (47). Postwar hotels such as the Terrace Plaza, which opened in Cincinnati in 1948, abandoned the elegance of their forebears. These hotels emphasized efficiency by eliminating frills, providing conference rooms, and adding modern conveniences

such as air conditioning and parking garages. Conventioners were these new hoteliers’ mainstay. Older hotels could not accommodate large gatherings, new technologies like projectors, and hundreds of automobiles. The Kennedy administration’s 1962 tax crackdown on “nonjustifiable expenditures” (52) within corporate accounts caused businesses to curb spending on meals, bellhops, and laundry services; profits at older hotels sharply declined. Hotel chains, beginning with Sheraton, purchased struggling older establishments. They used nostalgia and extensive refurbishments to win back customers. Within a few decades, however, these older structures were jettisoned for new buildings designed to maximize profits from business travelers. Cowan notes that “the more ornate a hotel’s décor, the greater the potential for neglect in cleaning or maintenance” (59). Architects designed new hotels to exclude urban residents. Skywalks connected lodgers to enclosed malls and convention centers because, in the thinking of urban boosters, “protecting visitors from the ugly underside of these renewed cities just made good business sense” (63). Corporate and government leaders thus “financially subsidized the replacement of significant community landmarks with the relatively bland and locally insignificant infrastructure of the convention industry” (64).

Rust Belt cities invented attractions like the Gateway Arch in St. Louis to assist in their rebranding as tourist destinations. The “dual themes of the threat of urban decay and the promise of prosperity—fear and greed—drove nearly all public rhetoric” in regard to tourism-oriented projects (77). By selectively incorporating the black middle class through promises of hiring quotas and contracts, white business leaders and allied politicians divided the black vote and gained electoral support for tourism-related bond issues, even if they were detrimental to black working-class neighborhoods. Massive windowless convention centers with adjacent parking garages became “perfect walling buildings to fence downtowns in from poor or dilapidated residential areas” (88).

Cowan then demonstrates how cities after the late 1960s counteracted racial fears of crime-ridden downtowns. He concentrates on the construction of Three Rivers Stadium in Pittsburgh and the Inner Harbor in Baltimore. Both places represented efforts to tap the “middle-class-family consumer market” (97). Simultaneously, the “perceived role of city government moved from . . . a managerial role . . . to an entrepreneurial role” (98). Attracting investment capital and ensuring economic growth trumped the provision of services and facilities for residents. Rust Belt cities—much like Sun Belt upstarts—used new stadiums to showcase a “fascination with technology and modernity,” thereby highlighting their economic adaptability (115). Furthermore, nationally televised victories by professional teams advertised urban communities and bolstered local pride. The “massive, round concrete stadiums” reflected a “philosophy of safety and control” designed to reassure white middle-class suburbanites attending downtown arenas (117). Similarly, grand retail projects such as Baltimore’s Harborplace provided a “carefully scripted” presentation of the city through a fo-

cus on unique shops, food vendors, and festivities, though national chains slowly integrated into the offerings over time (128).

Cowan, in clear prose, details the transformation of American cities into tourism-oriented meccas. Through exhaustive research in periodicals, business journals, municipal records, and manuscript collections, he recounts the actions of political and business leaders as well as the reaction of poor blacks, those most often affected by urban renewal schemes. He thereby illustrates the postwar redesign of the urban landscape. He also notes the unintended outcomes of tourism development, as when Harborplace became Baltimore's hip-hop epicenter during the 1980s. Cowan's analysis is balanced, exposing the positives and negatives of the "good community" sought by tourism boosters (158). This book is more than a tale of four cities; it is a compelling story of modern America.

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ROGER HOROWITZ. *Kosher USA: How Coke Became Kosher and Other Tales of Modern Food*. (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.) New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. Pp. 303. Cloth \$35.00, e-book \$34.99.

In the era of artisanal beer, grass-fed beef, and vegan diets, we recognize the power of food as a form of self-expression and self-definition. In *Kosher USA: How Coke Became Kosher and Other Tales of Modern Food*, Roger Horowitz trains his lens as a food historian on the development of kosher food supervision in the U.S., and in so doing deepens our understanding of the role of food in both shaping and signaling the acculturation of Jews in twentieth-century America.

Recounting the growth in the first half of the century of chain supermarkets and large food companies, mass production and standardization of food products, and the concomitant marketing that increased consumer demand for a variety of food items, Horowitz relates that when most Americans bought their food in family-owned local shops that sold fresh or cured food items, Jews could easily buy kosher food from trusted proprietors. As larger supermarkets began to attract the American consumer, American Jews wanted to patronize them, but were not sure how to gauge the kosher status of their products. Some Jews responded by relaxing their observance of kosher laws, while many others determined the permissibility of food items by reading labels. But the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (OU) and other organizations saw an opportunity to supervise those foods that could be produced according to Jewish law.

Horowitz masterfully traces the evolution of kosher certification through the lens of products such as Coca-Cola, Jell-O, Manischewitz wine, and meat. As the industrialization of food production became the norm, rabbis eventually acknowledged that, to properly decide the kosher status of modern foods, they would need to master not only age-old Jewish legal precedents, but also food chemistry, processing techniques, and the intricacies of bottling, can-

ning, packaging, and transporting. They then strove to aggressively enhance their supervisory purview with the goal of establishing an expectation that consumers could only buy prepared foods that bore the label of a trusted supervisory agency. We learn about competing certification agencies and the differing approaches not only to Jewish law, but also to the ideal relationship between Jews and modernity that they represent.

A growing number of companies eagerly accommodated the requirements imposed by supervisory agencies because large numbers of Gentile customers preferred kosher-certified food, believing it to be a safer, cleaner, higher-quality product. Thus by mid-century, many companies encoded Jewish religious requirements into routine plant operations, despite the fact that Jews never made up more than 3 percent of the population.

Horowitz explains how supervision became a battleground for intra-Jewish hegemony in America and how Orthodox domination of kashruth supervision catalyzed the efflorescence of Orthodoxy in America. First, antipathy to the then-popular Conservative denomination and fear of rampant assimilation led Orthodox rabbis to deliberately choose the more restrictive interpretation of the kashruth status of ingredients such as glycerin, gelatin, and rennet. Such impulses led them to do so even when—like the "glatt" kosher standard—they adopted a centuries-old minority interpretation that had heretofore been observed only by a small segment of the Jewish population. Government agencies, hotels, and institutions adopted this, thus codifying restrictive interpretations in a way unprecedented in Jewish history. Second, the funds generated by companies contracting with the OU to provide kosher certification produced profits that were funneled to its youth division to strengthen modern Orthodoxy in the future. This finding sheds new light on the ascendancy of Modern Orthodoxy in the 1980s and 1990s, which has generally been attributed to its superior ideology or corresponding deficiencies in the Conservative approach rather than to disproportionate amounts of money available for outreach. In this way, kosher standards served to sharpen boundaries not only between Jew and Gentile, but also between Orthodox and other Jews. The prevalence of Orthodox certification on thousands of food items not only validated Jews and Judaism in the eyes of the American public, but also resulted in privileging the Orthodox stream of Judaism over all others.

By juxtaposing personal stories of family loyalty, differing perspectives on Jewish acculturation, and intergenerational strife, Horowitz injects an intimate perspective into his findings that underscores the power of food to embody a people's most deeply held values, practices, and loyalties. And despite the quotidian nature of food and the wealth of detail about the minutiae of chemical processes and industrial practices, Horowitz has produced an engaging page turner. He weaves in suspenseful anecdotes from his own family's experiences navigating kosher laws, such as whether their Yom Kippur breakfast meal would be ruined because of the disputed kosher status of the sturgeon on the table. Similarly, he recounts the dramatic saga of rabbis racing to make it to a truck stranded in a

blizzard to wash the meat within the mandated seventy-two-hour window to ensure its continued kosher status. For readers like me whose childhood was informed by the controversy over the kosher status of Jell-O and who finally savored a kosher Oreo after years of childhood deprivation, Horowitz's findings are both illuminating and entertaining. Why did Nabisco finally obtain kosher certification for Oreos? Ice cream manufacturers demanded it because they wanted to produce a desirable Oreos-brand cookies and cream ice cream flavor on the same production line as their other kosher-certified ice creams. Why was Manischewitz wine so popular? African Americans loved it, for it resembled the sweet wine their mothers and grandmothers had made in the South.

As he nears the contemporary period, Horowitz illuminates new challenges facing kashruth supervision. The adoption of increasingly stringent kashruth standards that are less easily adaptable to industrial food production has contributed to the gradual marginalization of the kosher food industry into Jewish businesses, a process that threatens to restrict the reach of kosher certification in years to come. He also explores issues such as the inevitable corruption that arises from using the state to enforce one interpretation of Jewish law over another, the persistent antisemitic overtones of many animal rights charges against kashruth, and the insistence by some Jews in the wake of the 2006 agriprocessor scandal that kosher certification also guarantee ethical practices such as humane treatment of both animals and workers.

As good food often does, Horowitz's book leaves the reader deeply satisfied—but hoping for a few more morsels.

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MICHAEL N. BARNETT. *The Stars and the Stripes: A History of the Foreign Policies of American Jews*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 348. \$35.00.

The Stars and the Stripes: A History of the Foreign Policies of American Jews raises a hard question: Do American Jews have a set of foreign policies? Despite the book's subtitle, Michael N. Barnett himself equivocates. He writes in the introduction, "Although there is no such thing as a Jewish foreign policy, a central point of debate within and between Jewish communities is: how should Jews best protect their interests and promote their values in the world?" (15). Later, however, he contends that American Jews constitute a political community and that all political communities possess "the basic elements of a foreign policy: a collective identity, a set of interests, and institutions that attempt to protect it from dangers posed by the outside world" (37).

As it turns out, much of the narrative arc of the book—from American Jews' efforts to make themselves acceptable citizens of the U.S. to their attempts to expand the possibilities of American citizenship so that its protections would extend beyond the individual—does not hinge upon answering whether American Jews can enact their own foreign policy. Instead, Barnett focuses much of his attention on measuring Jewish identity through its shifting

attraction between universalism (he uses the term "cosmopolitanism") and particularism (or tribalism). He suggests that Jewish identity is calculable and relatively cohesive, even as its movements are dynamic depending on the historical context. This is the method that characterizes much of American-Jewish history and ethnic history more broadly, especially the large swath of fields concerned with "identity" as their central subject.

Nonetheless, in proposing, albeit somewhat tentatively, that American Jews have possessed the ideology and instruments of foreign policy, the author implies that they have also functioned as a nation *and* a state. That is, they are not simply a nation—or, in twentieth-century parlance, a peoplehood—they are also state-like in their exercise of power. Even as American Jews sought to fit into the contours of the American state, they also developed institutions that paralleled and, at times, rivaled the American state. This face of Barnett's argument may help move the field beyond the historical empiricism that has marked identity studies. It could suggest a mapping of Jewishness through institutions, infrastructure, and channels of power that is less concerned with isolating exactly where a cohesive Jewish identity is located on the spectrum from universalism to particularism and, instead, be more attentive to the multiple modes through which Jews enact themselves, their desires, and their interests.

Moving chronologically from the early republic through the present, Barnett depicts American Jews as exercising state-like impulses. Whether in the letters they wrote to President George Washington, the money they raised for war-torn Europe in the early twentieth century, or their politicking on behalf of Soviet Jews in the 1970s and 1980s, American Jews functioned as a state within a state. At times, he acknowledges the deficit of this approach, which flattens the diversity of Jewish political views, but the book is strongest when Barnett sheds his concern with describing Jewish identity and instead looks toward the acts of state-like power in which some Jews participated.

For example, a subtheme throughout the book is the emergence of the international human rights movement and the role that Jews played in developing its infrastructure. Although Barnett filters this discussion through calculations of the movement's relationship to Jewish cosmopolitanism versus tribalism, his secondary interpretation focuses on rights and power as modern discourses that justify and challenge nation-states. He writes, "If American Jews no longer relied on the language of rights, it was partly because they now enjoyed something much more effective: power" (191). As scholars such as James Loeffler have explained, American Jews played a pivotal role in the formulation of human rights principles near the end of World War II, yet Barnett suggests that rights-based language did not serve those Jewish political goals tied to statehood. Human rights language flouted the exigencies of statecraft, even as it protected nations or peoplehoods within states. As Israel—a state engaged in statecraft—became the center of American Jewish foreign policy, according to Barnett's analysis, human rights discourse no longer offered the same promise it once had to stateless American Jews.

Barnett rehearses the familiar narrative that the military events in Israel in 1967 stoked American Jews' Zionism and bolstered their Holocaust consciousness, all within the context of rising identity politics in the U.S. The reader may notice that the line between American Jewish foreign policy, the subject of the book, and identity politics has become indistinct by this point. In the final chapters of the book, Barnett classifies identity acts as themselves statements of foreign policy and vice versa. Whereas earlier chapters were more specific in their elucidation of the infrastructure that American Jews used to enact foreign policies, the post-1967 chapters are less attuned to infrastructure and tend more toward generalizations about Jewish identity as a proxy for discussions of policy.

Barnett closes his book with the same questions that many other scholars today are asking about how American Jews' relationship with the state of Israel has changed and if that change is indicative of the enfeeblement of American Jewish identity. He concludes that American Jews have pulled away from their tribalism, which surged post-1967, and have re-embraced earlier visions of cosmopolitanism. But he warns against interpreting this shift as necessarily damaging to the strength of American Jews or Israel. This is a normative conclusion, and, I would argue, a fair one, grounded in his effort to measure a cohesive Jewish identity across time. I am more persuaded, however, by the moments in the book when Jewishness defies such efforts to be calculated. In these moments, one catches a glimpse of a different mode for thinking about Jewish history that cannot be plotted on actuarial tables or binary spectrums, but instead extends into multiple realms of behavior, desire, policy, and power that demand analytical sophistication.

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A. NAOMI PAIK. *Rightlessness: Testimony and Redress in U.S. Prison Camps since World War II*. (Studies in United States Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xvi, 313. \$29.95.

A. Naomi Paik's comparative analysis of three camps used by the U.S. government to hold people in a state of rightlessness is provocative and raises many crucial issues in understanding state authority within a rights-based framework. Rightlessness is not just the absence of rights. It is a useful tool that the state has created and perpetuates to deal with populations considered to be problematic. From Japanese "enemy aliens" and their families during World War II, to asylum seekers from Haiti, to "enemy combatants" in the war on terrorism following September 11, 2001, camps were used to exclude individuals from rights and to isolate them from having any official way to protest their rightlessness. The isolation and symbolic violence of being denied rights, in addition to the overt violence of forcible capture or removal, transport, and in some cases beatings, abuse, or "enhanced interrogation," inflicted trauma on rightless persons that created a need for personal testimonies of resistance. The creative and brave efforts individuals made to be heard, or to have a voice in

some way, are one of the key sources of analysis the author uses in *Rightlessness: Testimony and Redress in U.S. Prison Camps since World War II* to explore the meaning of rights and the traumatic effects of rightlessness.

The theoretical basis for this book is impressive and could be used to frame additional case studies that could build on Paik's overriding thesis, which is important and sound despite some of the criticisms identified toward the end of this review. For example, the author uses Michel Foucault's subjugated knowledge as a central theoretical framework for analyzing rightless testimony. Personal testimonies of abuse were based on contextualized knowledge. The subjects' experiences, however, were difficult to prove. The strongest example of this was the testimonies of those who engaged in a hunger strike at the Guantánamo Bay detention camp to protest their lack of hearings as accused enemy combatants in the war on terrorism. The prison guards used violence in force-feeding the prisoners, adding to their pain, suffering, and humiliation. While the specific acts of violence were not documented officially, the personal testimonies of the prisoners both displayed a high level of authenticity and, at the same time, lacked the credibility necessary for their abuse to be challenged effectively in court or through any other official channels.

Paik's analysis provides some very interesting ways of connecting Japanese American history and redress to the use of Guantánamo as an important site of confinement for the maintenance of state authority over marginal groups. The book is original and provocative in this way. It would be useful to anyone who is looking for ways to frame the absence of rights as an active state of being, as an active relationship between state power and the individual. It incorporates the relevant literature and theoretical works quite well.

The real strength of the book is the excellent parallel between the Haitian asylum seekers and the later use of Guantánamo to imprison and interrogate "enemy combatants." These two cases work well together as they involve individuals held beyond normal legal protections and beyond national boundaries in a state of rightlessness that was enhanced by spatial separation and isolation from American courts and the U.S. Constitution. Their methods of constructing personal narratives of resistance also work well together and create rich opportunities to analyze the authenticity of personal narratives in the absence of official rights.

The choice of redress and other narratives created after the war, particularly by those who did not experience wartime confinement firsthand, do not quite match the other two case studies. It is absolutely true, as the author argues, that redress shaped the way in which the camps were understood well into the 1980s and early 1990s, but this was true in ways that were more complex than the evidence selected for this study would indicate. Redress opened up opportunities for individuals to share stories of resistance and narratives that did not fit neatly within a patriotic framework, which does not quite contradict nor does it neatly fit within Paik's analysis of the restrictive, unintended effects of redress. Important to the book's thesis is

the dual-edged sword of redress. Paik writes, "The achievement of redress has at once undoubtedly magnified the importance of internment and yet simultaneously worked to obscure historical and contemporary racisms," adding that "the CWRIC [Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians] acknowledge removal and exclusion, but only in ways that further consolidated the authority of the state" (30). In other words, the extraordinary nature of "internment" was used to further isolate it as a unique experience that had no precedent and could not be repeated. This is an interesting way of examining the unintended consequences of redress that could be strengthened with a more systematic and thorough examination of redress testimony. Too few testimonies were selected for analysis to provide any reliable conclusions. Furthermore, the author's analysis of Rea Tajiri's documentary (*History and Memory* [1991]) about her family's wartime history seems oddly out of place since it provides the perspective of an individual who did not experience rightlessness firsthand. The chapters on Japanese American wartime confinement and redress also contain some weaknesses in terms of citations and evidence. Several references that the author makes to the actions and efforts of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) have no corresponding sources to support these claims. A better choice than redress narratives might have been the experiences of so-called troublemakers in the stockade at the Tule Lake Segregation Center, who had lost their rights first through their own incarceration in a War Relocation Authority camp, then through their segregation into the isolation facility of Tule Lake, and then even more so through their solitary confinement and abuse in the brigade. In addition to the brigade, there were those who out of desperation renounced their citizenship and requested repatriation to Japan, which would have paralleled the final two cases much more closely in terms of rightless testimony.

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GEOFFREY M. WHITE. *Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 340. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$26.95.

The USS *Arizona* Memorial in Pearl Harbor occupies a special place in American life. The *Arizona*, which lies in shallow water on the floor of the harbor, is a burial site for most of the battleship's 1,177 sailors and marines who died there on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked Hawai'i. But the *Arizona* is also a tourist destination, drawing 1.8 million visitors a year.

In the aftermath of World War II, the *Arizona*, with its entombed dead, became the equivalent of a naval shrine. However, in 1958, President Dwight D. Eisenhower transformed the *Arizona* forever when he signed the legislation that in 1962 turned the sunken ship into a memorial that visitors could view from a platform above it.

Then in 2010 an even bigger change took place. The *Arizona* was made part of the World War II Valor in the Pa-

cific National Monument, a new entity in the National Park Service system. The *Arizona* now officially belongs to a Pearl Harbor complex that includes the USS *Bowfin* Submarine Museum and Park, the Battleship *Missouri* Memorial, and the Pacific Aviation Museum Pearl Harbor.

The change has been one in both scale and meaning, as the long and awkward title of the 2010 monument suggests. The creation of the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument opened up questions about World War II and the role of Pearl Harbor in American life that go far beyond the sinking of the *Arizona*. These questions lie at the center of Geoffrey M. White's insightful new book, *Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance*. White has traced how, over the years, a memorial that focused on those who died on the *Arizona* was subsumed by a monument in which the *Arizona* and its dead became one of a number of important elements.

A professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of Hawai'i, White is the ideal writer for such an undertaking. White acknowledges that "after attending the symposium organized to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack, in 1991, I began doing fieldwork at the memorial" (12) and subsequently participated in discussions convened by the National Park Service in Honolulu on what to include in the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument. White even took most of the pictures that illustrate his book.

With fewer and fewer survivors of the Pearl Harbor attack alive in 2010, it became easier, White argues, for the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument to address issues that the original *Arizona* Memorial ignored. The new monument was now speaking to generations with historical concerns that went beyond World War II, and for these generations, two questions in particular resonated: Why was the American fleet in Pearl Harbor? And what happened to Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor?

Both of these questions were uncomfortable ones for World War II-generation Americans to deal with. The image they held up was one of a deeply flawed democracy. They showed a country that acted as an imperial power as well as a nation that discriminated against its own citizens.

For much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Hawai'i was an American island colony. It was the value of Pearl Harbor (a name that displaced the Native Hawaiian one for the harbor, Pu'u'uloa) as a naval base that first attracted Americans to Hawai'i and that, with the support of American businessmen and plantation owners on the island, led to the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty on free trade between Hawai'i and America and the treaty's extension in 1887, which gave America exclusive naval rights to Pearl Harbor. From this point on, it was a short step to deposing—with the support of U.S. Marines—Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893 and annexing Hawai'i in 1898.

A similarly disquieting series of events followed Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. The attack brought on four years of martial law in Hawai'i, the internment of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i as well as on the U.S. mainland, and

the establishment of military areas in which Executive Order 9066 permitted the exclusion of “any or all persons” deemed a danger to American security.

White pursues these issues with great care in *Memorializing Pearl Harbor*, and in doing so captures how the original *Arizona* Memorial avoided dealing with issues important to Hawaiians, especially Hawaiians with Japanese roots. White’s approach to public memory and contested history is reminiscent of that taken by such memorial historians as James E. Young in *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (1993) and Jay Winter in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (1995). The approach serves White well. It allows him to ask whether the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument can in the future make peace and reconciliation a crucial part of its mission.

White is cautiously hopeful in this regard—and with good reason. There are grounds for being hopeful about such a transformation. During World War II, “Remember Pearl Harbor—Keep ‘em Dying,” was a Marine rallying cry, but by war’s end and the formal surrender of Japan on the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945, General Douglas MacArthur, whom President Harry Truman had appointed Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, had no appetite for waving the bloody shirt. “It is my earnest hope,” he declared, in words that anticipated his successful postwar rule of Japan, “that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past.”

NICOLAUS MILLS

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TIMOTHY BARNEY. *Mapping the Cold War: Cartography and the Framing of America’s International Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 322. \$29.95.

In recent years the collective understanding of the Cold War has advanced exponentially. Scholars have expanded their perspective to encompass all regions affected by the conflict, and in the process have emphasized the ways in which the Cold War was decidedly hot. They have also substantially rethought the role of culture. Whereas twenty years or so ago scholarly discussion of Cold War culture was most often limited to the red scare and the injustices heaped on left-wing filmmakers, there is now a keen appreciation for the role of culture in shaping and even driving the fundamentals of the conflict. We now have a lively historiography of Cold War propaganda and public diplomacy, some contributions to which even manage to mount comparative examination of key themes as addressed by both Moscow and Washington, D.C. A recent example of this kind of work is Margaret E. Peacock’s excellent book *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (2014). Although a single-country study, Timothy Barney’s fascinating book *Mapping the Cold War: Cartography and the Framing of America’s International Power* is a terrific new edition to this discourse. It deserves a place on every Cold War reading list and a place of prominence for those probing Cold War culture and propaganda.

Barney’s approach is deceptively simple but elegant in its execution. He examines the strategic thinking of the U.S. through the window of its maps. In the process he exposes a number of key Cold War themes, including issues of perception of the self and the enemy and cultures of surveillance and domination. Borrowing from Matthew Sparke’s work on Canada, he outlines the recursive process by which maps shaped the Cold War world, which in turn shaped the maps.

Barney builds his study around particular mapmakers and cartographic moments. His point of entry is Richard Edes Harrison, the house cartographer for *Fortune* magazine and consultant for *Life*, whose visions of geographical space during the late 1930s and 1940s laid the foundation for American imagining of a globe shrunk and rendered both malleable and vulnerable by air travel. Barney goes on to examine the career of Samuel Whittemore Boggs, the State Department geographer who sounded the alarm against what he called “cartohypnosis”: distortion of strategic perception that followed from reductive and distorted renderings of geopolitical complexity. Boggs argued for new projections of global space to challenge the misleading elements of those (like the so-called Van der Grinten projection favored by *National Geographic*) which enlarged northern latitudes and produced a swollen, super-menacing representation of the Soviet Union. Boggs’s valiant efforts notwithstanding, distortions remained. Barney shows how maps became an essential part of Cold War rhetoric, blending with cartoons into a potent hybrid rhetorical form. He notes the prominence afforded to a particular map detailing the locations of Soviet Gulags in anti-Soviet propaganda at home and abroad, and, more subtly, how maps bolstered the emerging concept of a “Third World” and became part of the agenda of Cold War development aid. Sometimes development and destruction blended. Geographic data collected about Vietnam was used alternately to develop and to destroy. The final phase of the Cold War saw dueling Soviet and American maps, each purporting to display the evil agenda of the other, and the deconstruction of Cold War agendas in a series of maps by the geographer and anti-nuclear campaigner William Bunge that showed the absurdity of the world of mutually assured destruction. One memorable map by Bunge reproduced on page 207 in Barney’s book illustrates a post-nuclear war “New Chicago,” complete with concentric zones for burns, death, and insanity, and routes out of the city for “Marauding ‘Zombies.’” His conclusion looks at post-Cold War maps such as ones created by Thomas P. M. Barnett in 2003 and suggests how the processes of imagination, selective representation, and distortion continue to shape American foreign policy.

Barney writes with authority and an eclectic knowledge of relevant scholarship across a wide range of disciplines, including history, geography, and international relations, as well as his home discipline of communication/rhetorical studies. The drawbacks are few. The book is well illustrated for a text of this kind, but there are images described in the early chapters that are not represented and will require diligent readers to do legwork of their own to get the full picture. One other flaw is the author’s reliance

on printed sources. It is strange to read about the maps of the World War II era without discussion of the animated maps that featured so prominently in official propaganda films like the *Why We Fight* series (1942–1945). Similarly, it would be helpful to know more about maps that featured in Cold War documentary film and television at home and abroad. But such concerns are small when set against the author's achievement. Barney blazes an original trail and thereby opens a fresh perspective on a compelling episode in the American—and global—experience of the twentieth century.

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GARETH DAVIES and JULIAN E. ZELIZER, editors. *America at the Ballot Box: Elections and Political History*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 341. \$49.95.

MARGARET O'MARA. *Pivotal Tuesdays: Four Elections That Shaped the Twentieth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. x, 246. \$34.95.

In August 2015, Fredrik Logevall and Kenneth Osgood took to the pages of the *New York Times*, where they lamented the academic decline of U.S. political history. "Fewer scholars build careers on studying the political process," they noted, "in part because few universities make space for them. Fewer courses are available, and fewer students are exposed to it. What was once a central part of the historical profession, a vital part of this country's continuing democratic discussion, is disappearing."

America at the Ballot Box: Elections and Political History and *Pivotal Tuesdays: Four Elections That Shaped the Twentieth Century*, the two books under review, provide reminders of what the field will lose as it redefines political history out of the study of U.S. history. Both works are well-researched, offering fresh interpretations of past elections and providing important, if indirect, insights to understand the new political environment in which we operate in the aftermath of the 2016 elections.

America at the Ballot Box, edited by Gareth Davies and Julian E. Zelizer, would be useful in offerings ranging from introductory U.S. survey courses to orals preparation for Ph.D. students. The edited volume features profiles of twelve important presidential elections, as well as thematic essays examining the intersection between foreign policy and presidential elections, the role of Anglophobia in nineteenth-century U.S. political culture, and the changing manner through which presidential candidates understood voter preferences.

Profiled elections include the contests of 1800, 1844, 1860, 1884, 1916, 1924, 1940, 1952, 1964, and 1980—an interesting cross-section of differing types of elections. Few books of this type, for instance, would include an essay such as Bruce Schulman's fascinating chapter on the election of 1924, which argues that the race (despite Calvin Coolidge's overwhelming victory) was a key transition point into the "mass-mediated politics of interests that emerged in force by the Great Depression" (139). Schul-

man perceptively notes that despite the seeming inevitability of Coolidge's victory, at the time, based on the poor GOP performance in the 1922 midterm elections and the unpredictable effects of Robert La Follette's third-party candidacy, the outcome seemed far less certain. Coolidge established his dominance, Schulman contends, through a carefully orchestrated campaign to reach out to the media and critical interest groups. The goal was to detach "the candidate from his partisan affiliation," previewing longer-term trends in presidential politics (147).

Meg Jacobs's chapter on the 1980 election, meanwhile, focuses on the uncertainty of Ronald Reagan's mandate. Jacobs notes that despite their overwhelming win, Reagan's advisors worried about the lack of a solid congressional majority and the emergence of a gender gap. They struggled to develop ways to appeal to women voters as they tried to appease or sidetrack House Speaker Tip O'Neill. The Republican setback in the 1982 midterm elections, when Democrats gained twenty-six House seats (and might well have captured the Senate but for fundraising difficulties in key races), focused advisors' attention on the gender gap. Jacobs notes that the issue of compassion and fairness especially divided the genders, with women giving Reagan a much lower score than men. With Elizabeth Dole playing an important advisory role, the administration focused on job growth as a way to win back independent women. The Jacobs and Schulman chapters typify the high quality of the book's sections on individual elections.

Three thematic essays in *America at the Ballot Box* are particularly strong. Jay Sexton examines the relationship between Anglophobia and nineteenth-century political contests. He argues that while the era's anti-British culture helped to shape elections, elections also "played a key role in entrenching Anglophobia in American political culture" (98). In this respect, Sexton contends, Anglophobia became a critical part of both congressional culture and the nineteenth-century American diplomatic mindset. This Anglophobia manifested itself in different ways. In 1828, for example, both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson hoped to position themselves as strongly anti-British candidates. As the new party system emerged, however, Democrats had the advantage—they could trace their origins to Thomas Jefferson, and imply that the Whigs harbored secret pro-British sympathies. Even in the run-up to the Civil War, Anglophobia continued to affect American political discourse. Sexton observes that northern abolitionists portrayed southern Slave Power as "an alien infiltration of British aristocracy," while southern slaveholders "equated the new Republican party to George III and the imagined British tyranny of 1776" (102–103). Anglophobia persisted throughout the century, often—as in the debate over the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—badly complicating U.S. diplomacy.

Andrew Preston correctly challenges the tendency of realignment theorists to perpetuate "the notion that foreign policy is uniquely consensual and thus irrelevant to the outcome of elections" (221). And surely, he concedes, there were elections, such as the 1992 contest, in which foreign policy played a minimal role. But, Preston con-

tends, even in races where foreign policy did not form the overpowering issue (as it did in 1900, 1916, 1960, or 1980), it could be “the most important structural factor because it set the very context within which campaigns unfolded and elections occurred” (225). He cites the 1940, 1952, and 1968 presidential elections as examples. In the essay’s most interesting section, Preston applies his analysis to congressional elections, explaining how foreign policy matters (Cold War concerns, the Vietnam War) shaped the midterm elections of 1946, 1950, and 1968.

Brian Balogh, meanwhile, does not examine the expected topic (how candidates explain their positions to the voters) but instead how “candidates *discern* the preferences of voters” (238). Balogh focuses on the period between 1960 and 2000, in which political parties, who once served as the “middlemen” between voters and officeholders, increasingly saw their role displaced. Polling, for instance, allowed the preferences of voters to be measured more directly, and also supplied politicians with reams of data about how individual groups of voters saw the world. Direct mail amplified the trend of a data “arms race,” causing strategists to recognize that “tactical flights to the margins” could mobilize voting blocs despite the political insignificance of the issues at play (255). In a fascinating observation, Balogh contends that these changes help explain recent political dysfunction. Elites in the pre-polling era who indirectly interpreted public preferences had “a powerful incentive for negotiation and compromise” since they could never be entirely certain if they had discerned the people’s will accurately (241).

Margaret O’Mara’s book looks to draw connections between what she sees as four pivotal presidential elections of the twentieth century—the four-way contest of 1912, Franklin D. Roosevelt’s triumph in 1932, the collapse of the Democratic majority with Richard Nixon’s win in 1968, and Bill Clinton’s defeat of George H. W. Bush and Ross Perot in 1992.

The first three of these elections are unsurprising inclusions in a book like this one. The fourth, however, seems more counterintuitive. Clinton won with a plurality in 1992, and saw Democratic control of both the House and the Senate vanish two years later, in part as a backlash against his policies. O’Mara portrays Clinton as a symbol of a new political culture—with out-of-power Democrats in the 1980s searching for a moderating voice (reflected in the Democratic Leadership Council), and with a new media environment (represented by CNN’s emergence) requiring a candidate with different communication skills. Clinton was perhaps the only candidate who could address both of these needs. In Arkansas, his appeal had transcended racial lines, while he successfully blended “old-style liberal populism with business-friendly approaches and neoliberal rhetoric” (169).

CNN, as O’Mara persuasively recalls, reached the height of its political power in 1992—in the aftermath of its coverage of the Gulf War, and with its emergence as the preferred forum of Perot, who in many ways shaped the discourse of the year’s presidential contest even though he finished a distant third place. CNN also provided a home for the “spin cycle”—a new, faster reaction

to political events, to which the Clinton campaign adapted particularly well. While the Clinton staff cleverly “took advantage of the intersection between tabloid journalism and serious journalism, they responded to the demands of cable television, and they weren’t as beholden to traditional Democratic constituencies” (189). But they were also blessed, O’Mara notes, with an unusually talented candidate, who was very much at home in a media and political environment that allowed him to overcome a series of personal scandals that doubtless would have derailed his candidacy if he had been running twenty or even ten years before.

Most public universities have some sort of commitment to training future U.S. citizens as part of their missions. In the aftermath of the tumultuous 2016 presidential campaign, the importance of political history should be obvious. To get a better understanding of this needed historical background, either of these books would work well.

ROBERT DAVID JOHNSON
Brooklyn College

MARK KRASOVIC. *The Newark Frontier: Community Action in the Great Society*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. Pp. 366. \$45.00.

This study of 1960s community action begins not with grassroots activism, nor even with the powerful effects of the southern mobilizations against Jim Crow, but with the presidency of John F. Kennedy. Mark Krasovic examines debates in successive presidential administrations over how to respond to a “groundswell of support for the civil rights movement,” and yet local activists inspired by the “groundswell” remain surprisingly off-stage (30). It is surprising because, according to Krasovic, organizing for rights, services, repairs, and so on appears to be a trickle-down affair. Clearly written and deeply researched, *The Newark Frontier: Community Action in the Great Society* credits President Kennedy for recognizing the potential of community action, narrates how Lyndon B. Johnson fostered it in the Great Society, and chronicles its implementation at Newark City Hall. Through a fly-on-the-wall perspective in meetings, Krasovic explains how a critical mass of administrators came to support programs that empowered youth and how, in turn, Newark’s political machine dispersed community funding unequally, sparking widespread protests. Next, the author introduces New Left icon Tom Hayden and an assortment of volunteers (black and white) who took small grants and protested against state inequalities. But Hayden’s involvement as told here is very familiar; Jennifer Frost has already detailed the activities of the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) in “*An Interracial Movement of the Poor: Community Organizing and the New Left in the 1960s*” (2001); and black community action in Newark has been thoroughly covered by Komozi Woodard in *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (1999).

Such duplication is also evident in the treatment of the famous 1967 riots in Newark, and perhaps no aspect of

the urban crisis has received more scholarly attention than the so-called Kerner Commission that issued its historic report. Less has been said about the parallel New Jersey Governor's Report, and Krasovic devotes entire chapters to both commissions, again focusing primarily on elites. In my view, however, he offers too little new information and even less analysis. Readers would be better served by going back to previous scholarship or even reading the original documents.

The final section, an extensive discussion of rightward groups responding to the riots, presents an original narrative. New Jersey police responded to black protest long after the long, hot summer, delivering their message of law and order to both the public and the politicians. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association deployed a counter-narrative of "foreign radicalism, domestic extremism, and a shortsighted liberalism" that supposedly caused wanton violence against law enforcement, alleging that snipers were holed up in public housing (187). Though ten times more blacks than whites died in the riots, the police understood their ranks as hamstrung victims, and advocated tough new state and federal crime legislation, lobbied for weapons and police dogs, and supported extreme right candidates for political office. Perhaps Krasovic conceived of this right-wing organizing as a form of community action, which is not unreasonable, but again the book's interpretive claims can only be inferred.

Toward the end, the author laments the failure of community action to overcome its limitations, but his conceptualization seems to encompass almost any and every political activity. Historical assessment of its tactical efficacy therefore becomes impossible. Perhaps the most curious interpretive decision is to downplay race, and neither changing racial demographics and attitudes nor figures like Amiri Baraka occupy more than a few pages, which strikes me as beyond remarkable, the more so for a study of "community action" in Newark.

KEVIN J. MUMFORD

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DOUGLAS M. CHARLES. *Hoover's War on Gays: Exposing the FBI's "Sex Deviates" Program*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. xv, 453. \$34.95.

Today, as America approaches the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is generally recognized as the world's leading national security and law enforcement service. It fights a relentless war on terrorism, foreign intelligence threats, and the new phenomenon of cyber-warfare, all the while adhering to the principles of the Constitution, federal law, and the recognition of the essential importance of protecting Americans' civil liberties. In our world of checks and balances, FBI activities are routinely scrutinized, not only by the Department of Justice, but by dozens of congressional committees posing endless questions on the conduct of investigations and daily operations.

But it has not always been that way. A new generation of Americans have little inkling of the legendary FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, who died more than four decades

ago. They are perhaps vaguely aware of Hoover's public persona as the defender of America, yet remain ignorant about the ruined American lives he left in his wake as the guardian of our nation's civil liberties.

Douglas M. Charles offers us a helpful reminder of those darker times in his book *Hoover's War on Gays: Exposing the FBI's "Sex Deviates" Program*. It is "the first comprehensive history of" what, he claims, was the FBI's "interest in, obsession with, and politics surrounding gays, lesbians and their respective organizations" (xiv). This fits with Charles's broader research interests on the history of the FBI and its intersections with gay and lesbian history, obscenity regulation, as well as American politics and diplomacy. His previous works on the Bureau include *The FBI's Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau's Crusade against Smut* (2012) and *J. Edgar Hoover and the Anti-Interventionists: FBI Political Surveillance and the Rise of the Domestic Security State, 1939–1945* (2009).

In *Hoover's War on Gays*, Charles traces the FBI's pursuit of gays from World War II through the 1990s. He opens with a revisiting of the well-worn tales of FBI investigations of State Department officials Sumner Welles, Charles W. Thayer, and Charles Bohlen and the U.S. Army's Russian lend-lease coordinator in Moscow, General Philip Faymonville. But rather than focusing on them and others that follow as individual cases, Charles attempts to look at them as a whole, a whole that was driven, despite the evolving changes in attitude over the many interceding decades, by one common and persistent thread—an "overarching and intense fear and loathing of gays." Characterizing them as criminals and vulnerable to blackmail and influence, "FBI officials and others" continued to harbor what he calls "an irrepressible animus" toward gays (xv).

Building on previous research, Charles offers new information regarding the FBI reaction to the origins of the gay liberation movement with his references to the Mattachine Foundation founded in 1951 with the mission of uniting gays among themselves and with the heterosexual community, educating the public, and initiating political action. The Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian group, was formed for the same reason in 1955 in San Francisco. And finally, he offers new details of the FBI's longstanding "Sex Deviates" Program.

This well-researched book, comprised of eight lengthy chapters, draws heavily on primary sources from presidential libraries, FBI records, oral histories, and government reports. One unique source that Charles taps is the Gay, Lesbian and Transgender Historical Society, located in San Francisco, California. General readers and scholars alike who are interested in FBI history, Hoover, and gay, lesbian, and transgender studies will find this work informative.

Readers should, however, be mindful of certain weaknesses in the book, not least of which is Charles's tendency to overstate. For example, Hoover was a career Department of Justice official and not a Coolidge "holdover" employee (31); he never developed a "close personal relationship" (31) with President Franklin D. Roosevelt; and General Faymonville was no "prominent government offi-

cial" (51). Charles's claim that the year 1938 was pivotal for the FBI because Hoover moved from criminal matters to intelligence investigations (33) is equally questionable. Hoover began limited intelligence investigations on German Bund activities for the president in 1934. In 1936 he began studying the Communist Party at the White House's request. Yet, even by 1938, these investigations constituted only a tiny fraction of the FBI's nationwide work. And General Sherman Miles, the army's assistant chief of staff for intelligence, preceded General George Strong (53).

Nevertheless, this is a strong book that should be kept on every historian's shelf for easy reference.

RAYMOND J. BATVINIS
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TIMOTHY STEWART-WINTER, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. x, 305. \$45.00.

Recent studies of the history of the gay rights movement have taken a national perspective, concentrating on the successes and failures of queer activism at the federal level. This approach has left a vexing question: the gay rights movement suffered repeated, significant defeats at the federal level during the 1980s and 1990s, so how did it suddenly score a rush of federal rights a decade into the twenty-first century?

In *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics*, Timothy Stewart-Winter engages with this problem by focusing on the gay rights movement in a single city—Chicago—and by exploring the relationships between Chicago's queer activism and the city's other major political movements. This novel approach allows Stewart-Winter to reframe the 1980s and 1990s as a culminating moment when "gay rights were won in the cities" (10). To tell the decades-long story of how gays and lesbians achieved power within the corridors of City Hall, *Queer Clout* starts out in Chicago's neighborhoods and within its activist circles. Stewart-Winter traces alliances and counts votes like a veteran ward captain while also breathing humanity into his story with over thirty personally conducted oral histories. The result is a sweeping narrative that reperiodizes gay rights history, places queer activism at the center of urban political history, and provides a vivid portrait of the Chicagoans responsible for expanding gay rights in their city.

Queer Clout argues that the issue of police reform catalyzed and motivated the gay rights movement in 1960s Chicago. Mayor Richard J. Daley justified intensified policing against gays and African Americans by championing a citizenship model defined around white heterosexual breadwinning men. The Chicago Police Department's widespread repressiveness drew together gay men and lesbian women, homophile activists and gay liberationists, and activists from both the gay rights and black freedom movements into a broad campaign for police reform. These activists then used clean-government politics to draw in the support of young white professionals moving

into Chicago's North Side lakefront apartments. Ultimately, a 1970 scandal revolving around police extortion from gay bars enabled this clean-government campaign to sharply curtail police harassment of gay bars.

This new freedom from police repression, Stewart-Winter shows, allowed queer activists to begin fighting for other rights. *Queer Clout* examines the interactions between gay rights activists and figures in black reform politics and women's liberation politics, illustrating how these produced legislative proposals for occupational rights and a "gay and lesbian" political identity. Chicago's unusually powerful machine, small ward structure, and formidable Catholic Church lobby ensured that Chicago would trail most major American cities in passing gay rights ordinances. But Stewart-Winter keenly notes how gay activists expanded their political networks through their repeated electoral defeats, and he shows how divisions among queer activists enabled gay voters to emerge as an important swing constituency.

As more white gays moved into Chicago's North Side lakefront neighborhoods, activists began pursuing an ethnic model of political inclusion. By mobilizing the "gay vote" in the lakefront wards, activists made the "enactment of gay rights into a pragmatic necessity" for a growing number of politicians (184). However, this ethnic-model strategy increasingly narrowed the gay political identity around the interests of white men.

In the 1980s, the lakefront liberals were instrumental in electing Harold Washington as Chicago's first black mayor. In turn, Chicago's black-led progressive "rainbow coalition" passed a sexual orientation nondiscrimination ordinance and "irreversibly opened" Chicago's "public sphere" to "gay mobilization" (158). Stewart-Winter demolishes the notion that black officials were particularly resistant to gay empowerment. Indeed, black legislators "played an outsize role in casting votes for gay rights" (121).

Sharp cuts in federal funding, the HIV/AIDS crisis, and jumps in violent crime rocked Chicago's "rainbow coalition" just as it was establishing itself. Chicago's progressive black leadership proved less capable—and less eager—to extend services to those with HIV/AIDS, and Chicago's North Side gays thus turned toward their own private networks to fund non-governmental service agencies. Neoliberal politicians like Mayor Richard M. Daley began drawing gay voters into a new machine by promising to foster the lakefront's business environment with intensified policing.

Queer Clout's final chapter narrates Barack Obama's path from Chicago to Washington, D.C. Stewart-Winter notes that Obama's political upbringing in Chicago's black progressive tradition helped prepare him as president to—eventually—support extending traditional citizenship rights to the LGBTQ community.

Stewart-Winter asserts that compared to San Francisco and New York, cities that were "open to gay mobilization" (12), Chicago's story of gay empowerment was "in many ways more representative of the . . . other regional magnets for gay migration—from Atlanta to Seattle, Boston to Dallas" (3–4). This is likely true, but the claim is some-

what hard to evaluate since there is only one more reference to Atlanta, and the other regional magnets do not appear again in the narrative. Future scholars might note the striking similarities between Chicago's queer political history and the histories of the coastal meccas in order to generalize on the ways gay rights politicking spurred transformations in urban liberalism. My work on San Francisco liberalism, for instance, shows that 1960s gay activists expanded political pluralism through a clean-government, police-reform coalition that included black rights activists and white-collar liberals. Christina Hanhardt, meanwhile, illustrates how gay enclaves in San Francisco and New York during the 1980s and 1990s became important staging grounds for neoliberal policing. *Queer Clout* references this scholarship in the notes, but a comparative discussion would allow scholars to better understand how gay rights movements influenced liberal turns and when a city's openness to mobilization mattered.

In *Queer Clout*, Stewart-Winter proves that the gay rights movement cannot be understood separately from the urban political movements that surrounded it. *Queer Clout* is thus an essential book for scholars of sexuality, cities, freedom movements, and modern American politics.

CHRISTOPHER LOWEN AGEE
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MARIO JIMENEZ SIFUENTEZ. *Of Forests and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. (Latinidad: Transnational Cultures in the United States.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2016. Pp. x, 169. \$27.95.

Residents of the Northwest, Mario Jimenez Sifuentez writes in this compact and compelling book, have long "attempted to obscure the presence of ethnic Mexicans in the region and relegated them to being invisible and temporary laborers" (2), an attempt perhaps best reflected in the very scantiness of the archival record of their presence. Though it would be hard to claim any sort of *active* attempt to obscure Latinos' presence in the Northwest by historians and other scholars, the dearth of scholarship (especially in comparison with California and the Southwest) has also contributed to their seeming invisibility.

Yet, as Sifuentez makes clear in *Of Forests and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest*, ethnic Mexicans have long been not only present, but essential to the development of the Northwest as a highly productive agribusiness and lumbering empire. Rescuing Latinos from the obscurity to which they have been assigned has clearly been no easy task, but Sifuentez accomplishes it well through a thorough survey of state, local, and union/activist newspapers (often read against the grain to discern ethnically Mexican people's interests and desires out of the interstices of official discourse) as well as original interviews and oral histories with ex-braceros, seasonal Tejano migrants, *pineros* (forest workers), and Chicano activists. Though promoted in its title as being about the Pacific Northwest as a whole, Sifuentez focuses his attention on Oregon, with only occasional forays into Washington and Idaho. This serves him well, giving the book a sharp focus and a clear narrative coherence.

While acknowledging Mexicans' earlier presence, Sifuentez's analysis begins with World War II and the Bracero Program, when the number of Mexicans (almost all men) grew rapidly and the conditions under which they lived and worked were radically transformed. Braceros were particularly important on the railroads in the Northwest, where their difficult and dangerous work laying and maintaining tracks was vital to the successful, rapid expansion of war production. Examining in turn the labor process, social life, "resistance," and "community conflict," Sifuentez paints a full picture of bracero life while showing how, over the course of the war, braceros became increasingly militant and thus less desirable to northwestern growers. When the program was continued after the war, northwestern farmers minimized their participation, preferring to recruit seasonal ethnically Mexican workers from Texas instead.

During the war, as ethnically Japanese residents were incarcerated inland, "free Japanese" increasingly settled in places, like Malheur County in southeastern Oregon, that were both away from and proximate to the coast. Sifuentez shows how, later joined by released internees, Japanese farmers in Malheur established a vibrant farming community and, after the war, built on existing networks to recruit Tejano labor (which often arrived as families). On the whole, conditions for such working families were awful, but at least a bit better on Nisei farms. Nisei farmers lent Tejanos space in their Japanese Hall for dances and competed with them in baseball, while Tejanos and Mexican nationals sometimes peacefully coexisted and sometimes were in conflict at work and in community spaces. Out of these spaces and interactions a new ethnic community emerged, though it was one where, Sifuentez shows, conflict never entirely disappeared (teenage girls and young women often challenged their parents' conservatism, for example, and were frequently successful in their efforts).

By the 1960s, this was a community that was increasingly restive. The Chicano movement and the rise of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) in California inspired a new militancy, and it is when Sifuentez turns his attention to this era that the book becomes especially incisive. Focusing on the pivotal role played by faculty and activists at the Colegio Cesar Chavez (a small, radical liberal arts college born out of the ashes of a failing Mt. Angel College in the Willamette Valley), Sifuentez traces the development of the Willamette Valley Immigration Project (WVIP), its tactically clever fight against Immigration and Naturalization Service raids, and how it both drew on the UFW for inspiration and differed significantly from it in strategy. Sifuentez uncovers an important history here, and makes a quite convincing case as to why the union to which the WVIP helped give birth, the *Pineros y Campesinos Unidos Noroeste* (PCUN), has succeeded and grown while, after the 1970s, the UFW faded and failed. As PCUN's name suggests, by the 1980s, ethnically Mexican workers (by now many of them undocumented) were as important in the Oregon forests as they were in its fields and vineyards. Mexican workers were largely employed in the dangerous work of tree planting, work controlled by

often unscrupulous contractors. Sifuentez vividly illuminates how the conditions of work (in both forest and field) as well as tortuous immigration policies together made Oregon a ripe field for organizing in the 1980s, despite the anti-unionism that marked the decade. Indeed, PCUN was able to win a significant strike against Willamette agribusiness in 1991, an episode that serves as the climax of the book. PCUN, Sifuentez notes in the epilogue, remains a powerful force to this day.

Of Forests and Fields is not without flaws. There are minor errors of fact and occasional editing problems. There is too much foreshadowing and chapter summarizing (our attention spans are not *that* short). But, most importantly, in his efforts to promote Mexican workers from obscurity and to give due to their experiences, Sifuentez too often loses track of the political-economic logics that seemed to make *their* labor (not someone else's) necessary to their employers. This is to say, while Sifuentez is deeply concerned with "resistance," it is too often unclear what Mexican workers and families are resisting *against* or what corner agribusinesses, forest companies, and contractors think they have been backed into, and thus why they themselves fiercely "resist" any change or challenge.

But set these flaws aside; for despite them, Sifuentez has more than sufficed in his effort to bring Mexican labor back into historical visibility in Oregon and by extension the Pacific Northwest.

DON MITCHELL
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DARIUS V. ECHEVERRÍA. *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968–1978*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014. Pp. xv, 179. \$55.00.

In recent years, the state of Arizona has been at the center of the nation's ongoing debates on immigration, demographic change, and citizenship politics. In *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968–1978*, Darius V. Echeverría examines the prehistory of the current state of affairs in Arizona by exploring efforts by people the author terms "Arizonan-Mexicans" to combat discrimination in the state, primarily in the public education system. Focusing in particular on the period of activism known as the Chicano Movement (roughly from the mid-1960s to the 1980s), Echeverría provides an almost blow-by-blow account of Mexican American activists' efforts to end school segregation and improve educational outcomes for Mexican Americans and other Latinos in Arizona. The initial chapter focuses on the segregated educational experience of ethnic Mexicans in the state before the 1960s. Subsequent chapters address the state of public education in the 1960s and 1970s, the local florescence of educational and ethnic activism during the Chicano movement, and the Latino struggle to gain access to the state's two large universities (Arizona State at Tempe and the University of Arizona in Tucson).

Although the author claims that the Arizona case is distinctive, readers familiar with the outlines of Mexican American activism elsewhere in the country will find much that is familiar here. Facing systematic discrimina-

tion, curricular "tracking," and indifferent, if not outright hostile, teachers, administrators, counselors, and coaches, Arizona Chicano activists emulated their counterparts in other locales to organize, strike, stage walkouts, sit-ins, and boycotts, and demand structural change for Latino students at the K-12 and college and university levels. As was true in Los Angeles, Denver, El Paso, Albuquerque, and other cities in the region, Arizona activists demanded equal access to tax-supported educational systems.

Beyond this, however, the study shows a puzzling lack of engagement with some of the most pressing empirical and historiographical issues in regional education scholarship. Much of this is rooted in the rather static framework in which the book is couched. The author compares levels of educational attainment in the 1960s and 1970s and laments that not much progress has been made, but fails to emphasize the extent to which the Mexican-origin population has been almost completely transformed since that period. Whereas the combined Mexican immigrant and Mexican American citizen population in Arizona was no more than 6 percent in 1960, that number has grown to nearly a third of the state's population today, with Mexican American natives and Latino immigrants now making up at least 31 percent of the state's population (Arnoldo De Leon and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *North to Aztlan: A History of Mexican Americans in the United States*, 2nd ed. [2006], 113; and Renee Stepler and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Ranking the Latino Population in the States," <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/09/08/4-ranking-the-latino-population-in-the-states/>). Given the large number of immigrants and the first-generation children of immigrants in the total "Arizonan-Mexican" population, it is not at all surprising that educational attainment rates are so low—as of 2011, nearly 60 percent of all Mexican immigrants entered the U.S. with less than a high school education (Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Mark Hugo Lopez, "A Demographic Portrait of Mexican-Origin Hispanics in the United States," <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/01/a-demographic-portrait-of-mexican-origin-hispanics-in-the-united-states/>). Without carefully disaggregating data on a Latino population that became increasingly variegated over time, it is very difficult to assess how much the state's apparent stalled educational progress reflects the poverty and low educational levels of Mexican (and other Latino immigrants) and how much is an artifact of hostile state policies and interventions since the 1970s. There is also little analysis of the extent to which educational strategies devised by movement activists in the 1970s and beyond should still be considered relevant, or whether there are significant differences between the educational challenges faced by the children of long-term Mexican American Arizonans and the children of those whose parents have arrived since the 1980s, 1990s, and more recently. This is all compounded by the fact that while the author argues that he is comparing the 1960s and 1970s with what has happened since, he never really establishes systematic disaggregated baseline statistics on educational attainment in the state's Latino population over time. For example, given the huge influx of Mexican and other Spanish-speaking immigrants since the 1970s, have U.S.-born Latinos

done better than immigrants or have these immigrants so negatively impacted local school systems that they have eroded all students' performances? Are there measurable differences among different cohorts of immigrants and their children, and if so, how does this impact overall attainment measurements? What role have parents played in educational outcomes? Are there any areas in which educational outcomes have improved? If not, what accounts for the clear emergence of a Latino middle class and the growth in Latino political representation in the state since the 1960s? Although the author provides some anecdotal evidence to address these and other issues, many of these important empirical questions remain unanswered in this study.

Nevertheless, for readers interested in comparing Chicano movement activism in Arizona to more familiar mobilizations elsewhere in the Southwest and other parts of the country, this will be a valued addition. Utilizing a variety of sources on education in Arizona, Echeverría provides a finely detailed account of the historical patterns of segregation and educational tracking of Latino students, the early examples of educational activism at the K-12 level, the campus mobilizations at the University of Arizona and Arizona State University, the formation of Chicano student organizations, and the long and checkered history of educational equity litigation brought against local school districts, sometimes alone and sometimes in cooperation with national organizations such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

DAVID G. GUTIÉRREZ

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RISA GOLUBOFF. *Vagrant Nation: Police Power, Constitutional Change, and the Making of the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 471. \$34.95.

To characterize Risa Goluboff's brilliantly conceived *Vagrant Nation: Police Power, Constitutional Change, and the Making of the 1960s* as a history of U.S. vagrancy laws is true, but scants the impressive scope, significance, and innovativeness of both her history and her achievement. Law professors and students are passingly familiar with Supreme Court decisions like *Robinson v. California* (1962) and *Papachristou v. Jacksonville* (1972)—the former voiding the criminalization of status (as opposed to conduct) under the Eighth Amendment's punishments clause, and the latter on due process "vagueness" grounds under the Fourteenth—and Goluboff gives these due attention. But these and other decisions discussed in Goluboff's work were law-school B-listers, if that: I learned them not in constitutional law, but in specialized courses in criminal law and procedure. Goluboff's real subject—laws regulating public space by criminalizing, at the near total discretion of law enforcement, "people out of place" (6)—had been unjustly vitiated. First, these laws did not fall into any single legal or constitutional category. Second, in the manifold categories into which they did fall, they were considered entirely unproblematic, part of the ordinary business of responsive and responsible government shouldering its duties to maintain public order

and decency: in the rare instances in which such prosecutions elicited constitutional challenge, they were perfunctorily upheld by low-level courts in obscure rulings. And, third, once—suddenly—they were taken as problematic, the laws tumbled like a house of cards, occasioning little of the controversy that makes Supreme Court decisions into landmarks. Goluboff's story is thus not really about landmark Supreme Court decisions, or about any one area of constitutional law. It is not even exclusively about "law," in the sense of formal rules, as distinct from the habits, internal procedures, and cultural, sociological, and political frameworks, predispositions, and assumptions of the institutions, like police departments and police courts, that enforce them. *Vagrant Nation* is positioned at the crossroads where these vectors, more typically examined independently, meet. Goluboff has recognized this as a major deficiency, since the determination of who gets to be in public space without harassment or arrest is no small matter.

This book explicates the culture, ethics, mores, framings, and legal doctrinal matrices that underwrote law enforcement's discretion to define and regulate who and what was considered "out of place" and the shift away from that order across the "long 1960s" as the matter was brought under new constitutional supervision. Goluboff's chapters chronicle this development concerning diverse spaces, people, and legal categories.

Laws criminalizing the dissolute or "suspicious person" (262) loitering, "roam[ing] about from place to place without any lawful business" (45), or appearing in public "with no means to maintain himself" (35) had a "catch-all" (67) character, maximizing the police's power to act to preserve the social fabric: the inherent "police power" of government recognized the "comprehensive power [of states] to enforce order, eliminate danger, and protect the public welfare and morals" (28), prevent crimes, and stanch impending public burdens. They were routinely arrayed against tramps, hoboes, drifters, union organizers, and labor radicals—anyone considered deviant, depraved, or undesirable.

Goluboff begins with the repeated arrest of Isidore Edelman, a left-wing soapbox orator in Los Angeles's Pershing Square in the late 1940s, for being "lewd and dissolute" (45). The subsequent "political vagrancy" case (20) was challenged on the grounds of free speech and excessive bail by the pioneering American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney Leo Gallagher. Next, the author presents a profile of Northern California ACLU lawyer Ernest Besig, who, from the mid-1950s through the early 1960s, represented African Americans, gays and lesbians, and beatniks fighting police harassment, and campaigned for legislative reform. She recounts future Columbia University law professor Louis Lusky's representation of a poor black man repeatedly prosecuted in Louisville, Kentucky, for loitering without gainful employment and with no good purpose. Goluboff chronicles pioneering academic critiques by, among others, University of Pennsylvania law professor Caleb Foote and Foote's student Anthony Amsterdam, who imported these critiques into his civil rights movement work, where the National Associa-

tion for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Defense and Education Fund lawyers were innovating in similar directions. The academic critiques, anchored in diverse claims of freedoms of speech, assembly, association, and due process, proliferated in conjunction with the rise of the student, antiwar, and welfare rights movements in the late 1960s, the fledgling women's and gay rights movements, and the anti-police brutality campaigns. By the time of the confrontations between the countercultural hippies and "straights" in "Summer of Love" San Francisco (1967), the trickle had become a flood.

One issue was who the police took to be "out of place." The earlier regime had given broad constitutional leeway to state and local governments to enforce predominating social, cultural, and political norms, and judged the public presentation of self as either salubriously conforming or subversive. Officers sprung when confronted with the subversion of accepted standards of propriety, manners, bodily cleanliness, due deference, and respect for hierarchies. They responded to those who overstepped boundaries concerning race, class, and gender, or spurned the disciplines of capitalist labor markets, whether in flouting the work ethic or through involvement with labor unions or radical politics. All triggered feelings in the police and their supporters of unease, disgust, betrayal, and loss of control.

What changed and why? Here, Goluboff is analytic but not reductionist. Numerous transformations and trajectories were underway simultaneously: the Great Depression problematized the criminalization of poverty. A latitudinarian trend in free speech (and other civil liberties) was underway, bolstered by the aversive cases of enemy fascisms and totalitarianisms. Traditional understandings of racial, sexual, and gender hierarchies were being challenged and faltering. New attitudes toward individual autonomy, expressive individualism, and "victimless crimes" (51) were emerging and being debated. Social movements protested, advocacy groups lobbied, and cause lawyers sued. The sensibilities and understandings of elites concerning the value of nonconformity, dissent, and autonomy changed (in this, the Supreme Court's out and proud "wanderer," William O. Douglas, was a harbinger). Judicial opinions sent "open-for-business" signals, inviting additional challenges. While expertly navigating the legal intricacies involved (such as "stop-and-frisk" policies), Goluboff successfully recovers "these fluid and improvisational aspects of constitutional change" (334) culminating in the Supreme Court decisions of the 1960s and early 1970s that announced collectively, and in essence, a constitutional "right to be different" (150).

Prodigiously researched and commandingly executed, *Vagrant Nation* is a major recovery and masterful synthesis of a history lost in plain sight, raising as many questions as it answers. How much of the purportedly vanquished order persisted? How much has development concerning the "right to be different" been disparate and uneven? Could we go back or, in ways, have we? This timely history makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the United States' constitutional past and future.

KEN I. KERSCH
Boston College

CRYSTAL R. SANDERS. *A Chance for Change: Head Start and Mississippi's Black Freedom Struggle*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 250. \$27.95.

Crystal R. Sanders's book describes the rise and fall of the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), a grassroots organization that grew out of the local civil rights movement to become one of the largest Head Start providers in the country between 1965 and 1968. Radical from its inception, and inspired by activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and other groups, CDGM was committed to the idea that its service centers should employ poor community members and include them in the organization's leadership. This soon drew the ire of the state's white political establishment, particularly Senator John Cornelius Stennis, who made CDGM a focal point of his efforts to curtail black activism in the state. Sanders describes, in considerable detail, the CDGM's growth in the face of significant opposition, and its eventual demise due to Washington politics.

CDGM started with the efforts of young white activists such as Tom Levin, a psychologist from New York, and Polly Greenberg, who left a government job in Washington, D.C., to take a leadership position in the organization. Recognizing the opportunity that the newly created Head Start program offered for revitalizing poor communities, they recruited other activists to join them. However, the CDGM focused its attention on recruiting local community members and parents, the vast majority African American, to work as teachers, as food service and maintenance workers, and in other jobs at its Head Start centers around the state. This was directly in line with the principles of Head Start, which called for "maximum feasible participation" (41), or direct involvement of community members in the operation of local programs. Sanders notes that the CDGM avoided hiring certified teachers because of their vulnerability to pressure from white authorities and their middle-class status, which conflicted with the organization's commitment to directly involve the poor. The result was a new sense of security and confidence for many rank-and-file community members, most of them women, who were encouraged to take leadership roles.

Sanders concedes that the CDGM's poorly educated teachers probably offered young children little sustained academic enrichment, but suggests that they provided a sense of identity and dignity that had long been absent in the lives of most poor African Americans. They encouraged children to think critically and express themselves, introduced them to black history and literature, and assisted with developmental difficulties. Head Start also afforded adult employees higher incomes and channeled money into local black communities, along with providing thousands of children with a place to go and two hot meals per day. These resources were substantial, eventually totaling tens of millions of dollars, all outside the control of local and state politicians. Access to medical services also

was enhanced, adding considerably to the health and well-being of poor black families. Altogether, the social and economic impact of CDGM was significant.

CDGM was bitterly opposed by the state's political establishment, which viewed it as too closely aligned with civil rights activism and feared its success in mobilizing poor black communities, especially concerning voter registration. White vigilantes engaged in occasional incidents of violence, and there was routine harassment by the police during traffic stops and in other forms of petty persecution. But the most concerted effort to attack the organization came from the very top of the state's white Democratic organization, U.S. senator John Stennis. He conducted a protracted campaign of accusations and innuendo against CDGM, eventually leading to its loss of political support in the Johnson administration. As Sanders points out, the thrust of these efforts focused on the competence of the organization's staff, including the handling of federal funds, and their ties to civil rights organizations. Sloppiness in bookkeeping and any hint of connection to political activism was seized upon to undermine confidence in CDGM, even though its record in these respects was quite similar to other Head Start organizations. In short, CDGM was perceived as a threat to white supremacy and consequently became a target.

Eventually, the cumulative effect of all this was to make CDGM a political liability to R. Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) under Lyndon B. Johnson, which was a central agency in the War on Poverty. Shriver was concerned about congressional support for his budget and came to view the CDGM as a potential problem in light of Stennis's vociferous opposition to it. Shriver and OEO officials attempted to organize alternative Head Start provider organizations in Mississippi, despite the national acclaim that CDGM had managed to attain. Sanders does a fine job of describing the political dance that Shriver and CDGM leaders engaged in, foreshadowing the decline and eventual end of federal funding for the organization.

Sanders focuses on the politics of education and social welfare programs in her account. There is relatively little discussion of the actual educational or community development programs that the CDGM or other Head Start providers offered. Sanders emphasizes the empowering impact of the CDGM on community members, but offers just a handful of examples of African Americans who went on to positions of leadership in other circumstances. There is scant assessment of the CDGM's educational impact on the children who attended its centers, numbering many thousands at its high point. Instead, Sanders suggests that the impact of the CDGM was largely political, spawning a generation of activists that continued to fight for civil rights. But it is also not clear just how extensive this sort of influence was. It will be left to other studies to determine if the legacy of the CDGM was better expressed in such political terms than it was in the lives of the children it served.

JOHN L. RURY
University of Kansas

MICAH W. KUBIC. *Freedom, Inc. and Black Political Empowerment*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016. Pp. vii, 393. \$75.00.

Although Kansas City, Missouri, does not play a prominent role in most narratives of the black freedom struggle, Micah W. Kubic's *Freedom, Inc. and Black Political Empowerment* demonstrates that the story of African Americans' quest for political power in that city has much to offer in terms of understanding the evolution of black politics and protest over the last fifty years. The book follows the fortunes of the titular organization from its founding in the early 1960s up through the municipal elections of 2007. Along the way, it explores the factors, both internal and external, that affected Freedom, Inc.'s ability to empower black Kansas Citians and secure substantive achievements on their behalf. Kubic concludes that the story of Freedom, Inc. attests to the essential role of "transparent, democratic, and accountable" (278) black institutions at the local level and demonstrates the need for such an institution at the national level.

Kubic opens with a brief introduction that situates Freedom, Inc. in the existing social science scholarship and outlines the aspects of its work that account for its successes and failures. He contends that the existing academic literature on urban politics and the prevailing theories on black political efficacy fail to account adequately for the impact of local political organizations (LPOs) such as Freedom, Inc. Using Freedom, Inc. as a model, Kubic argues that black LPOs are essential to African Americans' ability to maximize their political power on the local level—but only when they institutionalize themselves independently of specific candidates, charismatic leaders, or singular elections. Just as important are the structure of the LPO and the nature of the work it undertakes. According to Kubic, the foundation for Freedom, Inc.'s period of maximum power and efficacy was its ability to implement a multifaceted set of organizational strategies and political tactics that included the establishment of a corporatist structure, the cultivation of an engaged grassroots base, and an ability to strike short-term bargains with nonblack political players. Also crucial was Freedom, Inc.'s ability to establish itself as the primary site of black political power in Kansas City and unify African Americans behind its agenda. When these factors eroded, and when Freedom, Inc. abandoned its core strategies, the group saw its ability to secure substantive gains on behalf of African Americans decline.

Following the introduction, the book proceeds chronologically, devoting a chapter apiece to an overview of Kansas City politics in the first half of the twentieth century, the founding of Freedom, Inc. in the 1960s, its peak influence in the 1970s, adjustments to the new historical context of the 1980s, and the impact of Kansas City's first black mayor in the 1990s and early 2000s. Taken together, these chapters provide a sweeping account of municipal politics over a fifty-year period, including comprehensive, if at times overly detailed, accounts of Freedom, Inc.'s role in each election cycle. As the fortunes of Freedom,

Inc. waxed and waned over those years, the strategies and methods most conducive to substantive black political power revealed themselves.

What emerges is a valuable view of local black politics that highlights the dilemmas of moving “from protest to politics.” With new tools provided by the civil rights movement, African Americans in Kansas City continued to search for effective solutions to persistent everyday concerns such as housing, employment, city services, and crime and policing. Kubie thus provides further confirmation that the mainspring of black politics is the desire for the rights and opportunities necessary to lead meaningful lives. Consequently, Freedom, Inc. was at its most effective when it sustained a two-way relationship with the black community that prioritized such concerns instead of specific candidates. Freedom, Inc. was also most successful when it was able to present itself as the unified political voice of the black community, an undertaking that proved difficult to sustain in light of the historical divisions among African Americans and the emergence of rival sources of power, especially the one centered around Emanuel Cleaver in the 1990s.

The book’s focus on a particular organization provides a unique perspective on the factors at play in determining black political power, but the book at times borders on hagiography. Kubie is quick to dismiss negative allegations about Freedom, Inc.—from funding scandals to the marginalization of black women—and skeptical of other political players, including the local manifestation of the Black Panther Party. Despite Kubie’s recognition that the most effective form of black politics is that which prioritizes community concerns over pure electoral politics, there is also a tendency to overemphasize the election cycle to the detriment of political activity not connected to public policy. Historians would likely appreciate an increased engagement with the historical literature, a greater variety of primary source material with less exclusive reliance on newspapers, and a more transparent accounting of who was interviewed for the book.

Such criticisms aside, scholars seeking to understand the evolution of black politics over the past fifty years have a useful resource in *Freedom, Inc. and Black Political Empowerment*. So, too, do activists seeking to incorporate historical lessons. The book is thus a valuable contribution to the historiography of late-twentieth-century black politics and protest. Its deep exploration of black politics in Kansas City offers numerous insights to scholars seeking to make sense of black politics at the grassroots level and assess the most recent phase of the black freedom struggle.

ROBERT W. WIDELL JR.
University of Rhode Island

MARKKU RUOTSILA. *Fighting Fundamentalist: Carl McIntire and the Politicization of American Fundamentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 403. \$35.00.

Recent historical scholarship has pushed back the long-standing notion that Protestant fundamentalists remained uninvolved in American politics for the middle half of the

twentieth century, retreating from public life after the embarrassment of the 1925 Scopes Trial only to come roaring back with the formation of the Moral Majority on the eve of the 1980 election. Daniel K. Williams and Matthew Avery Sutton both have examined active fundamentalist opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidency and his New Deal programs. Kevin M. Kruse has also demonstrated how religious conservatives, including fundamentalists, joined with conservative business leaders to oppose the New Deal and secure Dwight Eisenhower’s election in 1952. Thanks to Joel A. Carpenter, we know of the religious vibrancy of conservative Protestantism through this period. And Molly Worthen has shown how mid-century evangelicals distinguished themselves from and debated with fundamentalists, setting the stage for the tensions and complications that would become more visible with the rise of the Religious Right.

Still, this burgeoning literature remains remarkably quiet on one of the most important figures in the history of twentieth-century fundamentalism, the preacher, radio broadcaster, and tireless anti-communist activist Carl McIntire. In his new book, *Fighting Fundamentalist: Carl McIntire and the Politicization of American Fundamentalism*, Markku Ruotsila corrects that inattention, providing a deeply researched and cogently argued account of McIntire’s life. Ruotsila’s book shatters the persistent depictions of McIntire as a reactionary racist and far-right McCarthyite that have hindered a deeper analysis of the man and his theological and political influence. Instead, in his thoughtful treatment, Ruotsila breaks McIntire out of that caricature and argues that he should be seen as “one of the principal founding fathers of the Christian Right” (8).

Born in 1906, McIntire grew up in Durant, Oklahoma, a small town that served as headquarters for the Choctaw Nation. Carl’s mother, Hettie Hotchkin McIntire, profoundly influenced his spiritual life, especially after she divorced his father, Charles Curtis McIntire, a Presbyterian minister who struggled with mental illness. Hettie passed on to Carl her interest in dispensational premillennialism, a growing fundamentalist movement that stressed end-times prophecy and social disengagement. At Princeton Theological Seminary, McIntire studied under J. Gresham Machen, the Calvinist theologian who led the conservative cause in the fundamentalist-modernist battles rocking the school in the 1920s. When Machen left Princeton to found the orthodox Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, McIntire followed. The exit from Princeton would be the first in a series of breakups and schisms that would characterize the course of McIntire’s life.

Installed as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Collingswood, New Jersey, McIntire set his sights on far grander stages. His founding of the American Council of Christian Churches and then the International Council of Christian Churches established his importance in fundamentalist circles around the world, but his imperious personality and uncompromising leadership style undercut his effectiveness. Even as he looked to connect fundamentalists around the globe, McIntire repeatedly led breakups in his own denominations, leaving the Presbyterian Church in 1936 to form the Presbyterian Church of America (later

renamed the Orthodox Presbyterian Church) before splitting from that group one year later to found the Bible Presbyterian Church. Theological disputes drove those divisions, not an uncommon occurrence in the world of separatist fundamentalism, but McIntire's abrasive temperament also played a part.

From the start of his preaching career, McIntire emphasized the need for conservative Christians to be engaged politically, a questionable position among fundamentalists, but one that he spread through his *Christian Beacon* newspaper and his radio show, heard by more than twenty million listeners. Ruotsila credits the influence of Machen, a strident libertarian, for drawing McIntire into political activism. Empowered by his own outsized ambition, McIntire led efforts against the New Deal and the civil rights movement, convinced that both were the work of communists. That preoccupation also drove his conflicted relationship with Lyndon B. Johnson, as he called on fundamentalists to support the president's war against the Viet Cong while stoking their outrage against Johnson's Great Society programs. McIntire's increasing involvement in American public life, a decision that contained as much theological meaning for fundamentalists as it did political, eventually split apart the Bible Presbyterian Church into two different denominations in the 1950s. By then, McIntire had been making his political mark for over two decades. Yet by the rise of a visible Religious Right movement in the 1970s, McIntire had so alienated most fundamentalists and evangelicals that few were willing to work with him. Jerry Falwell, Ruotsila argues, claimed leadership of a movement that McIntire's long work had made possible.

Ruotsila rightly argues that McIntire's political efforts complicate our understanding of fundamentalist politics in the twentieth century and the rise of the Religious Right. Long before the "family values" politics of the 1970s and 1980s, McIntire and his followers engaged in marches, rallies, and other forms of political protest against an expansive state. In his speeches, radio broadcasts, sermons, and articles, McIntire extolled the virtues of free market capitalism, warned against the encroachment of communism, and pushed for greater U.S. military involvement overseas. McIntire's life story, then, expands the story of the Religious Right, placing its origins further back in the twentieth century, increasing its cast of characters, and broadening its political concerns. Compellingly, Ruotsila uses the international dimensions of McIntire's ministry to offer a transnational context for fundamentalist political engagement in the twentieth century.

At times, Ruotsila seems overly sympathetic to his subject, perhaps an overcorrection to the dismissive or caustic treatment other scholars have extended to McIntire. Ruotsila's painstaking research into McIntire's life—he consulted fifty-two archival collections, including McIntire's recently opened personal papers at Princeton and his previously unseen FBI files—stands out, but the book is sometimes thin on secondary scholarship that would better contextualize McIntire's life and significance. Still, these are small points in a very fine book that will be of great interest to historians of American religion and politics. Ruotsila has brought McIntire out of obscurity and persua-

sively positioned him as one of the founders of the Religious Right.

NEIL J. YOUNG
George Mason University

PHILLIP LUKE SINITIERE. *Salvation with a Smile: Joel Osteen, Lakewood Church, and American Christianity*. New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 305. \$35.00.

Joel Osteen is America's "most notable evangelical preacher" (213), the perennially smiling celebrity televangelist, best-selling author, and pastor of the nation's largest megachurch, Houston's Lakewood Church, which attracts over forty thousand people to its services each week. While some may dismiss Osteen's ministry as Christianity "lite" or lump him into America's disreputable tradition of self-promoting prosperity gospel peddlers, Phillip Luke Sinitiere's careful and evenhanded book takes Osteen's theology, media presence, and religious milieu seriously. *Salvation with a Smile: Joel Osteen, Lakewood Church, and American Christianity* successfully makes the case that Osteen and Lakewood Church in fact matter deeply. Not a biography per se, the book first explains how the Osteen family achieved prominence in media evangelism and connects their story to larger narratives: Sun Belt urban growth; the rise of the New Religious Right; and internecine conflicts in the evangelical subculture among neopentecostals, Christian social conservatives, and New Calvinists. Sinitiere thus uses Osteen and his gigantic, dynamic congregation as a lens for understanding broader cultural struggles over religious authority, access to cultural power, the importance of new media in religion, and rapidly changing American religious demographics.

Writing about institutions in the present tense is challenging in any case, and Sinitiere was unable to either interview the Osteens directly or draw upon their church's archival holdings. Using only source materials available in the public domain and through his own ethnographic observations, he could not explore, for example, the financial aspects and deeper interpersonal dimensions of the Lakewood dynasty. Despite such limitations, Sinitiere provides a richly textured and nuanced portrait of the congregation and its charismatic leaders over the past fifty years. He detects subtle differences that emerged over time as the generational torch was passed.

Originally a Houston-area Baptist minister, Joel's father John Osteen founded Lakewood Church in the late 1950s after embracing Pentecostal spiritual manifestations, including Holy Spirit baptism, speaking in tongues, and divine healing. In the next three decades, John and his wife Dodie became prominent figures in Pentecostal and Word of Faith conferences and publications, specializing in "positive confession," which is ritualized purposeful prayer using Bible verse affirmations. In addition to building Lakewood's membership into the thousands during the 1970s and 1980s, the elder Osteens established their own evangelistic organization and extended their missionary reach with a print magazine, a Bible institute in Houston, a television program, and multiple self-au-

thored books focused on divine healing, health, prosperity, and living a more abundant life: After John's death in 1999, his youngest son, Joel, assumed the pulpit at Lakewood Church. Joel Osteen's prior experience was primarily behind the camera in television production, but he and his wife Victoria soon gained experience and confidence in putting their own mark on Lakewood's media ministry. Within just a few years they had become household names, publishing several best-selling religious self-help books and upsizing Lakewood into a 17,000-seat former basketball arena from which their weekly television, radio, podcasting, and Internet broadcasts originate.

Like his father before him, Joel Osteen has combined a relentlessly optimistic persona and business acumen into a winning formula for megachurch expansion based on positivity and prosperity. To date, he has managed to avoid the twin pitfalls of celebrity evangelism (sexual scandal and partisan politics), and although Pentecostal charismatic demonstrations are still present at Lakewood, they have been downplayed in the church's identity over recent years in favor of a more ecumenical and multicultural vision of Lakewood membership. As Sinitiere describes in his analysis, Joel Osteen has expanded prosperity gospel ideology beyond mere financial success to embrace a holistic sense of Christian "victory" including mental and physical health, diet, weight loss, and fitness—thus tapping into a long tradition of bodily perfectionism in American Protestantism. Osteen's spin on positive confession focuses less on reciting Bible passages and more on motivational mantras to override "toxic" or negative influences on the believer's self-esteem. And far surpassing the television and publishing efforts of his parents, Joel Osteen's social media marketing and digital production skills have amplified Lakewood's media presence in remarkably savvy ways compared to other contemporary megachurches. Of course, such success has its skeptics; a key chapter discusses the perspective of New Calvinist theologians who judge Osteen "theologically vapid" (185) and accuse him of selling a dangerously unorthodox "religious Ponzi scheme" (193). In response, Sinitiere argues, Osteen performs a "piety of resistance" (208) toward anxious evangelical gatekeeping by tuning out detractors and effectively disengaging from doctrinal conflict.

The compelling story of the Osteens and Lakewood Church suggests that any religious phenomenon that has generated this level of meteoric popularity and theological friction deserves further critical analysis. *Salvation with a Smile* lends much-needed scholarly heft to an ebullient, media-saturated ministry of our own time and makes a strong contribution to the study of contemporary American religious culture.

TONA HANGEN
Worcester State University

NANCY MITCHELL. *Jimmy Carter in Africa: Race and the Cold War*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 883. \$45.00.

Based on archival research from more than thirty archives in twelve countries, twenty-eight oral history interviews, a

plethora of newspapers and U.S. network news broadcasts, and comprehensive secondary sources, Nancy Mitchell's *Jimmy Carter in Africa: Race and the Cold War* is an extraordinarily well-researched book. This landmark work will make an indelible mark on the historiography of the Carter administration because it contests several of the commonly held narratives of Carter's foreign policy. Mitchell challenges the "myths" that Carter campaigned for the presidency primarily on a human rights platform; that he was an indecisive leader torn between competing advice from his secretary of state and national security advisor; and that he was a naïve idealist who transformed into a Cold Warrior only in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Mitchell contradicts these common refrains by persuasively demonstrating that human rights was a relatively minor aspect of Carter's campaign platform and speeches; that Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski agreed more often than not, and that Carter was a decisive leader who made his own decisions and was not easily influenced by advisors to change his mind; and that he was an ardent Cold Warrior decades before coming to Washington, D.C.

In Mitchell's narrative, the foreign policy failures of the Carter administration did not stem from misplaced idealism, inexperience, or dysfunction among his advisors, but rather from the fact that Carter "had a vision, but he lacked a clear ideology" (654). Mitchell views this as a weakness since it made it difficult for Carter to respond quickly to rapidly changing events, as each issue would be carefully examined on its own merits rather than having a course of action predicated on ideology and a predetermined mindset. While Carter avoided the common mistake made by Henry Kissinger and Ronald Reagan of seeing Moscow as the cause of all the evil in the world, his deliberation resulted in his being effective when he had time to research a problem and plot a strategy of response, but brutally ineffective when crisis events instead dictated a rapid reaction.

With regard to Carter's policies toward Africa, Mitchell has two noteworthy findings. The first is that Africa was more front and center on the U.S. foreign policy agenda for most of the Carter administration than were Iran, Afghanistan, or even the Middle East peace process. The second is the way in which race, and in particular Carter's personal experiences as a white southerner who lived through the civil rights movement, influenced the way he viewed the minority rule crisis in Rhodesia.

With almost seven hundred pages of text, it would be nearly impossible not to make a handful of factually inaccurate statements. Scholars, such as myself, whose research focuses on the Cold War in Africa will be surprised that Mitchell alludes to the Cold War in Africa beginning in the mid-1970s over Cuban and Soviet activity in Angola (6). Additionally, Julius Nyerere had not "been a thorn in Washington's side . . . since . . . 1961" (53). Quite the opposite, the Tanzanian president was one of the African leaders whom John F. Kennedy most liked and respected. Mitchell also repeats the dubious claim that the Soviet Union sent Ethiopia over \$1 billion in military aid (374). As far as I can determine, the claim of \$1 billion in Soviet military aid to Ethiopia from March 1977 to May 1978 is

not backed by any Soviet archival corroboration. According to U.S. Agency for International Development Greenbook data, the U.S. sent only \$2.34 billion in military assistance to the entire world in FY1978. From 1954 to 1975, the U.S. sent a total of \$264 million in military aid to Ethiopia (<https://explorer.usaid.gov/reports.html>). Did Moscow *really* send Ethiopia roughly half the amount of military aid that the U.S. sent to the entire world in 1978 and almost four times more military aid than the U.S. had sent to Ethiopia in the previous two decades combined? This seems unlikely since according to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Ethiopia ranked only twenty-second in the world in arms imports between 1976 and 1979 (ranking below Peru). While there is no disputing that Moscow sent an enormous amount of military aid to Ethiopia at this time, the figure of \$1 billion is highly questionable.

Another significant drawback of this book is its sheer size, which makes it impractical to adapt for course use and a challenge for anyone other than specialists of the Carter administration or U.S.-African relations to read. For example, Mitchell unnecessarily delves into the minutiae of Carter's rise to the presidency, to the point that he does not take the oath of office until page 118. Surprisingly for a book of this length and impressive source base, there is very little new information in *Jimmy Carter in Africa* outside of a handful of details regarding Cuban activity in the Horn of Africa.

By providing nuance and detail to our understanding of his background, mindset, character, and operating style, Mitchell's portrayal of Carter comes out looking better than he is typically depicted in historiography (and Andy Young even more so). Anyone who covers the Carter administration in their teaching should read this book. Doing so will likely result in changing some aspects of how Carter and his foreign policy are framed in class lectures.

PHILIP E. MUEHLENBECK
George Washington University

DOUGLAS LITTLE. *Us versus Them: The United States, Radical Islam, and the Rise of the Green Threat*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 314. \$30.00.

"When I was coming up, it was a dangerous world, and you knew exactly what they were. It was us versus them, and it was clear who them was" (vi). Presidential candidate George W. Bush's addled Cold War nostalgia serves as the inspiration for Douglas Little's study of the post-Cold War confrontation between the U.S. and radical Islam. Little picks up on a theme—Americans' perennial need for a "them"—raised in the third edition of his previous book, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (2008). In *Us versus Them: The United States, Radical Islam, and the Rise of the Green Threat*, he contributes extensive new research and analysis on the foreign policies of the four most recent U.S. presidents to explain how the "Green Threat" of radical Islam replaced the "Red Threat" of Soviet communism as America's "other" and larger-than-life enemy.

In an engagingly written, compact book consisting of an introduction and six chapters, Little places the war against radical Islam into long-term patterns of U.S. history. Recent Islamophobia, he notes, "echoed xenophobic tales from the distant and not-so-distant past exaggerating the malevolent intentions and diabolical powers of Native Americans, African slaves, Nazi spies, and Bolshevik revolutionaries eager to do 'us' harm" (13). Citing examples extending back to the Puritan war against the Wampanoags, Little convincingly argues that "the notion of a virtuous America endangered by wicked and violent enemies was not new at all" (15). The Cold War set the terms for America's confrontation with radical Islam. Not only did the U.S. support Islamist states, including Saudi Arabia and groups such as the Afghan mujahidin as anti-communist allies, but the Cold War would also provide useful precedents for architects of the war on terror. A prime example is NSC-68, the 1950 charter for globalizing the Cold War under Harry Truman, which neoconservatives in the George W. Bush administration invoked as a model for mobilizing American society against a putatively existential threat.

Little focuses his analysis on the foreign policy doctrines of the four post-Cold War presidents while including a wealth of narrative detail impossible to convey here. Each president drew up plans for moving beyond the "us-versus-them" logic of the Cold War, but found new enemies in the Middle East to demonize. All four also failed to negotiate an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal, a failure that Little attributes mostly to Israeli settlement-building. U.S. support for Israel and its occupation policy thus constitutes an ongoing source of anti-Americanism among Muslims. George H. W. Bush pursued "cold war plus," testing whether the superpower conflict was truly over, before comparing Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler and assembling a multinational coalition to fight him in the Gulf War. Bush also paid a political price at home for withholding loan guarantees from Israel over settlements. Bill Clinton sought "enlargement" of democracy and free markets in a globalizing world, but came to support the "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran through military power and punitive sanctions instead, while facing the new threat of al-Qa'ida. Although Clinton promoted the Oslo peace process, his administration tilted back toward Israel, with Clinton's negotiators, according to advisor Aaron David Miller, often serving as "Israel's lawyers" (118). Little provides an especially important service by documenting George W. Bush's mendacious and inept response to the 9/11 attacks and promotion of another Iraq war. The administration authorized personalities such as Dick Cheney, Douglas Feith, and Paul Wolfowitz, who shared a nostalgia with George W. Bush for the seeming moral clarity of the anti-communist struggle, to revisit some of the worst crimes in foreign and domestic policy from the Cold War era. Little rightly observes: "Dubya's mantra—'either you are with us or you are with the terrorists'—would set in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy that guaranteed only greater insecurity and perpetual war" (171). Although Barack Obama would attempt to wind down George W. Bush's wars, Little criticizes Obama's policy of

“contagement”—a neologism coined by Chinese analysts—for at once promoting democracy and sticking by authoritarian allies who presented themselves as bulwarks against radical Islamists. This contradiction would become especially apparent during the Arab Spring. Going after the militants of al-Qa’ida and the Islamic State with SEALs and drones likewise may have been politically popular at home, but violating state sovereignty and killing innocent civilians only stoked anti-Americanism across the Middle East and North Africa. Although Obama’s deal with Iran over its nuclear program raises hopes for a new kind of foreign policy, Little concludes that none of America’s post-Cold War leaders managed to transcend “us-versus-them” politics.

Little makes excellent use of available English sources from the presidential libraries, U.S. and British archives, published documents, and Wikileaks. He chillingly evokes post-9/11 Islamophobia manifested in talk radio, cable TV series such as *Homeland*, and even video games. However, when he uses political memoirs to fill in gaps, their convention of featuring profane language as the marker of intimate high-level access sometimes invites skepticism about their credibility. Also, Little does not always make it clear whether “us-versus-them” defined official perceptions, or whether, as Truman had been urged to do early in the Cold War, leaders sought to “scare the hell out of the country” (20) to garner support for an imperial foreign policy. Little’s own analysis does not entirely escape “us-versus-them” logic, as when he describes the U.S. as “secular” and the Middle East as “religious,” or when he portrays Islamists such as Sayyid Qutb and Ayatollah Khomeini as essentially anti-Western rather than contextualizing them as modern political actors. While he distinguishes between Islamist groups as different as Hamas and al-Qa’ida, greater attention to Middle Eastern contexts is needed to define what exactly is meant by “radical” Islam. Nevertheless, Little demonstrates the value of professional historical research for what have become politicized, even polemical, debates over America’s confrontation with Islamists and offers the best available account of post-9/11 U.S. foreign policy.

NATHAN J. CITINO
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DAVID N. LUCSKO. *Junkyards, Gearheads, and Rust: Salvaging the Automotive Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 263. \$44.95.

Anyone who has driven a back road in the American Southwest has seen a familiar feature of the American landscape—the automotive salvage yard. Although many of us have probably looked the other way, the salvage yard and the generations of auto enthusiasts who frequented these spaces have a long and complex history that sheds light on planned obsolescence, environmental history, and public policy. David N. Lucsko makes a good case for why salvagers and scavengers have “played an indispensable role in the maintenance and further development of American automobility” (1). In addition to the big picture of economic and policy history, Lucsko approaches sal-

vage from the perspective of gearheads, the almost uniformly male users—from hot rodders to restoration hobbyists—who have over several generations trolled for parts and, like technological vultures, not only picked cars clean, but also blurred the lines between old and new, waste and what can be reused. By following these technological enthusiasts and the obstacles they faced from the early twentieth century onward, Lucsko seeks to make three contributions to the history of technology: to fill a hole in what we know about the afterlives of automobiles to show that “creative reuse and direct recycling have thrived”; to argue that gearheads steadily pursued their hobbies in the liminal space of everyday life, between and around larger moments of technological change; and to disrupt our understandings of planned obsolescence (10–11). Arguing that the salvage yard has disrupted the course of planned obsolescence and also provided a wellspring of technological creativity, *Junkyards, Gearheads, and Rust: Salvaging the Automotive Past* gives us a more nuanced history of automobility, policy, and the history of waste in general.

Lucsko explores these stories in six chapters from the beginnings of the salvage business at the dawn of the twentieth century to fights over land use in the first decade of the new millennium. The first three chapters take a long view, providing readers with context from the earliest period of automobility and market saturation in the 1910s and 1920s to the 2010s. For those not immersed in the history of technology, Lucsko’s first chapter provides a valuable primer on the history of automobile salvage from the streamlined operations of the 1920s, when cars were pulled apart and parts inventoried, to the sprawling pick-it-yourself open yards of the 1950s, and back again to the pulling of parts and compacting the bodies of cars for scrap. Lucsko skillfully ties each of these business models to larger trends in the marketplace, from used car sales and scrap prices to technological changes such as the adoption of car crushers and personal computers. Similarly, he examines the long history of users who have directly recycled cars by salvaging their parts and have illustrated the idea of “wasting well” (157). In fact, these skilled and visionary scavengers have transformed junk into desirable transportation and collector’s items, often through assembling an array of parts, Frankenstein-style, from multiple dead vehicles. Here, Lucsko offers a historical catalogue of various communities of users, from antique car restorers to customizers. Although the author has a personal affinity for enthusiasts, he offers a clear-eyed vision of their often unrecognized role in automotive history. In this way, he adds to an established body of literature on users, but with a twist. These hobbyists rejuvenated cars, going well beyond tinkering and repair; in doing so, they provided a vital link in the chain of keeping old cars on the road well past their designated expiration dates.

The bulk of the book situates the arguments about salvage, creative repurposing, and struggles over zoning in the postwar period. In the fourth chapter, titled “Junkyard Jamboree,” Lucsko teases out the cultural motivations of car enthusiasts hunting for treasures among the sprawling

wreckage of mass production. He explains that these communities, reinforced through popular literature and magazines, viewed salvage yards differently than most Americans. They saw possibility among the ruins. And, as Lucsko argues, they were preservationists intent on saving pieces of the material past. However, as the author demonstrates, this valuing of the old over the new, and the enthusiast vision of the junkyard as a field of dreams, was not shared more widely, especially by real estate developers, homeowners, and some policymakers.

The final two chapters provide a smart and human discussion of the policy history—from the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 through the Clean Air Act of 1990—that sought to reshape the landscape and affected both the business of salvage and the activities of enthusiasts. Beyond regulatory and land-use policies, salvage yard owners and those who used yards faced the creep of new housing developments and a culture invested in not seeing the refuse of consumer culture. These chapters give historians a different perspective on regulation, from those who made a living from salvage yards and those who saw their value in extending the life of cars. Lucsko, by his own admission, juxtaposes the “enforced obsolescence of accelerated retirement” of cars with the “countervailing worldview of enthusiasts” (161). This is a productive exercise because it raises questions about “durable value” and “wasting well”—or complicates the history of waste to see how car enthusiasts have slowed down the cycle of throw-away culture (833).

Junkyards, Gearheads, and Rust contributes much to our ongoing historical discussion of user culture and the larger—what Lucsko calls intermittent—discussion of obsolescence. The book deepens the existing literature on users, but it also casts a wider net to touch on broader historical and cultural trends. As a reader, I would have liked more attention to the contexts of preservation and the desire to recycle the old, but the arguments about policy are compelling and make this book a worthwhile addition to courses on public policy and business history, as well as the history of technology.

KATHLEEN FRANZ

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RICHARD S. NEWMAN. *Love Canal: A Toxic History from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xvii, 306. \$29.95.

In the mid-1890s, the dreamer and entrepreneur William T. Love hoped to harness the power of the Niagara River to drive industry in Model City, a built-from-scratch urban community he intended to construct in western New York. Although the plan never materialized, Love did break ground on the canal that would have drawn water from the river above the falls. Through that nub of a canal, Love managed to dramatically influence the history of the Niagara region. In 1942, Hooker Electrochemical Company, part of the growing chemical industry of Niagara Falls, began to use the abandoned canal as a dump. The clay-lined ditch proved so useful that the company de-

cided to purchase the canal a few years later and fill its length with 55-gallon drums containing a variety of caustic and toxic substances. The company then capped the canal and, in 1953, sold the property to the Niagara Falls City School District. Although the district was well aware that it was acquiring a chemical dump, it eventually built a school atop the old canal to serve the neighborhood that had sprung up to house part of the region's growing workforce. Unlike the school district, the working-class homeowners in the neighborhood were not necessarily aware of the chemical wastes in their midst.

Unusually wet weather in the mid-1970s undoubtedly hastened the spread of these dangerous chemicals, and neighbors increasingly complained about foul smells, burns, and suspicious lingering health problems. The story exploded in 1978, when residents organized to force New York State to take responsibility and buy out homeowners who now believed the chemicals were a threat to their families and their economic security, given the plummeting value of their homes after news of the problem spread. Activists formed two groups representing two separate interests: Lois Gibbs headed up the Love Canal Homeowners' Association, and Elene Thornton led the Concerned Love Canal Renters Association. Both groups demanded government investigation of health concerns around miscarriages and cancers. This activism, most of it led by women, eventually forced federal intervention at Love Canal and a national recognition of the myriad problems created by decades of improper disposal of chemical wastes. In 1980, Congress passed the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act, also known as Superfund. Although the federal response was imperfect, altogether this story—from William Love to Superfund—told repeatedly by the press and by historians, affirms the strength of the environmental movement and of democratic activism generally.

The outline of this story, if not its details, has become so well known, in fact, that Richard Newman writes in his thorough and well-written account, “‘Love Canal’ is now very nearly an adjective that lends weight to any looming chemical, nuclear, or mining disaster” (6). Indeed, the story is so familiar, the sources so plentiful and well explored, and the literature so broad—including a riveting narrative by Niagara Falls reporter Michael Brown and an excellent insider's account from Lois Marie Gibbs—that one might wonder what Newman can add.

In *Love Canal: A Toxic History from Colonial Times to the Present*, Newman makes the case for his contribution along two lines. First, he tells the longer history of this place. He devotes a chapter to the Iroquois Confederacy and the explorer René La Salle, although it is not clear what this adds to our understanding of the “toxic history” of the as yet unbuilt and unfilled canal. The building and filling happen in the next two chapters. Much more value comes from the other end of the book, as Newman explores the legacy of the fight against toxic wastes and the long effort to rebuild and repopulate at least some part of the neighborhood—renamed Black Creek Village—and repair the reputation of Niagara Falls more broadly.

The second case for making a contribution, and the real

strength of the book, is the focus on the activism during the critical period. The third section of the book, "Learning from Love Canal," offers a useful analysis of the ongoing anti-toxics movement and the development of chemical containment and monitoring capabilities. It also reminds us that the toxic history of Love Canal will not soon end.

Newman's narrative is more complete than any that has come before. He makes excellent use of rich source material—a good bit of which is now available online courtesy of the University at Buffalo Libraries (<http://library.buffalo.edu/specialcollections/lovecanal/collections/>). Unfortunately, Newman mutes the drama in his telling, perhaps because he assumes a great deal of knowledge among his readers, which may not be a bad assumption. However, something is lost in telling the story as if we know the outcome—that those who wanted to leave did, and that the worst fears of disease were not realized. The anxiety and confusion of residents, transmuted by many into anger and action, is really at the heart of this story. No matter how responsive politicians became, and no matter what the engineers and physicians said and did, they could not remove the sense of uncertainty and insecurity. Newman, however, wants to end on a more positive note, in which the reoccupied Black Creek Village helps Love Canal stand "for the prospect of environmental redemption" (266).

DAVID STRADLING
University of Cincinnati

STEPHEN HAYCOX. *Battleground Alaska: Fighting Federal Power in America's Last Wilderness*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2016. Pp. x, 262. \$27.95.

Even by the high standards of the American West, Alaska has a contentious relationship with the federal government. No other state, argues Stephen Haycox, has been more "antistatist" (15) by temperament and tradition than the forty-ninth, and in *Battleground Alaska: Fighting Federal Power in America's Last Wilderness* he sets out to explain why. The answer involves not only an understanding of Alaska's path to statehood, but also an appreciation of its vastness, its geographic isolation, and its environmental endowments. Perhaps nowhere else in the country has politics and environment blended as thoroughly as in Alaska. Its electoral and legislative history and its land-use history are almost the same thing, and one of the strengths of Haycox's book is his integration of both along with the state's complex Indigenous histories.

Far from large markets, and saddled with high transportation costs and a small population, Alaska was never fated for economic glory. But white Alaskans long ached for levels of growth and standards of living equal to those in the lower forty-eight, and they saw the aggressive development of the region's natural resources as key. The federal government earned their ire early on by failing (in their eyes) to facilitate that growth while also, contradictorily, interfering too much with it. Statehood emerged as a panacea; it would rapidly settle questions of federal, state, and private land titles, boosters said, and allow Alaska to

quickly and thoroughly exploit its share with a minimum of outside intrusion.

The reality was more complex. Alaska became a state just as the postwar wilderness preservation movement became a force to be reckoned with, led by stalwarts like Olaus and Mardy Murie and fresh from victories in places like Echo Park in Dinosaur National Monument. Green activists saw Alaska as the last and greatest brass ring for protected wilderness, and in this they were joined by a number of government supporters in demanding federal preservation of vast stretches of wild land. On top of this were demands from Alaska's Native peoples for land and subsistence rights in recognition of their long residence (had the seminal environmental historian William Cronon studied their claims before writing his famous essay "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature" [*Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 7–28], Haycox notes wryly, he and other historians would have found Alaska "quite ahead of the curve" [138] in critiquing the myth of pristine, uninhabited wilderness). Meanwhile, many white Alaskans interpreted the rights and duties of statehood rather generously in their own favor; to them, if not to the courts, statehood was a "compact" (164) that obliged the federal government to give them as much leeway as possible when it came to selecting and developing land and resources. They did not appreciate delay, especially when it came from what they saw as a gaggle of naïve tree huggers from Outside in cahoots with the feds. They reacted with the fury of boosterism denied, a perennially powerful emotion in the American West but all the stronger here. Haycox uses case studies like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, the Tongass National Forest, and a host of others to plumb the depths of business-minded Alaskans' anger (and sometimes their paranoia), the dreams and dedication of their environmentalist opponents, and the intricate political battles they waged—and continue to wage today.

Haycox shows that Alaska's exquisite contempt for the regulatory structure in Washington, D.C., and the efforts of wilderness preservationists cannot be understood without grasping Alaskans' understandings of their local environment and of what constitutes its best use. Battles over wilderness are old news, of course, and antistatistism is also by no means unique to Alaska. Nor is its intensity unique, as the Sagebrush Rebellion of the late 1970s, the "wise use" movement of the 1990s, and more recent events at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge in Oregon remind us. But as both a historian and an environmentalist, I have always wondered why Alaskans have seemed so much more antienvironmental and antistatist than the rest of the nation. *Battleground Alaska* enlightens by linking legal, legislative, cultural, and environmental history to impressive effect. The book is also evenhanded in the process. While critical of boosters, Haycox is by no means a knee-jerk wilderness champion. He punctures the myth of frontier self-reliance in a state where the federal government has spent vastly on infrastructure. But he also suggests that wilderness activists have not always appreciated

Alaska's limited economic options; the state must develop its natural resources to a significant degree because it has few other options, and ecotourism cannot always fill the void. In the end, *Battleground Alaska* reminds us that politics and place shape each other in profound ways. Environmental historians will find Haycox's book a fresh contribution to a topic—the troubles with wilderness—that sometimes seems played out. It is nice to see that blank spots on the historiographical map remain.

BRIAN ALLEN DRAKE
University of Georgia

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SILVIA MARINA ARROM. *Volunteering for a Cause: Gender, Faith, and Charity in Mexico from the Reform to the Revolution*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 279. Paper \$29.95.

The feminization of charitable works is a well-accepted truism within the historical literature. In her inimitable fashion, Silvia Marina Arrom takes this idea and respectfully, painstakingly, and thoroughly shows how much more complicated the gendered picture of charity and religiosity was in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Mexico. Her latest monograph, *Volunteering for a Cause: Gender, Faith, and Charity in Mexico from the Reform to the Revolution*, resulted from unfinished business in her last study, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774–1871* (2000)—an exploration of institutions, policies, and attitudes regarding the poor. The often depressing situation faced by the destitute in nineteenth-century Mexico City sparked a question about whether these men and women had anywhere else to turn. Arrom chanced upon the order of Saint Vincent de Paul—a group originating in France but with many international connections—and decided to explore further its role in provisioning for the poor and vulnerable within Mexican society.

Initially, the Mexican Vincentians were male; in 1844, ten altruistic men founded the first Mexican chapter with the goal of countering urban poverty with Christian charity. Among their numerous activities, they founded chapters throughout the republic, organized regular conferences, and supported schools, hospitals, and outreach in penal institutions. But without much delay, a female branch of the organization emerged, and membership in this part of the Vincentians quickly and convincingly surpassed that of the men. On a superficial level, the rapid growth of the women's section seems to conform to the idea of a feminization of charitable works. But while the sheer number of women outstripped men in the Vincentians, the men were often involved in multiple organizations and tended to take on roles that were distinct from those embraced by the women. Arrom argues that it is simplistic to just take numbers as an indication of participation and engagement. Rather, she was able to unearth the complex networks of connections between charitable and Catholic organizations. Consequently, she demonstrates that charity and Catholic activism was gendered,

but not so much in a binary way—involved or not—but rather in terms of the forms of participation.

This study also provides a slight revision of the place of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Mexico under the onslaught of Liberal Reformers. With the victory of these forces and consequently stringent secularizing laws and campaigns, it has been generally accepted that Catholicism was in retreat for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Using the history of the Vincentians, Arrom shows the resiliency of the church and its members on a smaller more localized stage. Her findings temper the general trope of Mexican secularism and demonstrate the importance of examining the more mundane workings of religious organizations. Essentially, she establishes the continuity of lay Catholic organizing; the Vincentians were not all that different in some ways from the *cofradías* or lay sodalities of the colonial period. This insight is just one example of why the book is particularly useful in rethinking our understanding of Catholicism in Mexican history.

Volunteering for a Cause is a work of mature scholarship. It is thoughtful, well considered, and beautifully written. Arrom points to a gap in our knowledge of Mexican and religious history, and with careful and extensive research she shows how illuminating this exploration can be for the field. It is also the work of a confident specialist who does not shy away from personal connections. In a lovely epilogue, she recounts how her grandmother's story of charitable works in Cuba provided her with insights about the relative invisibility of the women whose lives were partially devoted to pious work outside their homes. It is a challenge to young historians to pay attention to the gaps in the scholarly literature and the sources and to find alternative ways to bring hidden histories to light. This book will provide a solid foundation for such future works. Hopefully these endeavors will explore further the spatial and emotional dimensions of these experiences and connect these localized ventures to transnational humanitarianism.

SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA
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MARÍA L. O. MUÑOZ. *Stand Up and Fight: Participatory Indigenismo, Populism, and Mobilization in Mexico, 1970–1984*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 261. Cloth \$55.00.

María L. O. Muñoz has written a detailed study of late-twentieth-century Mexican *indigenismo* that combines national, regional, local, and individual levels of analysis. *Stand Up and Fight: Participatory Indigenismo, Populism, and Mobilization in Mexico, 1970–1984* pivots around the 1975 establishment and evolution of the National Council of Indigenous Peoples along with its first National Congress held that same year. Research in Mexico was conducted in twenty different federal and state archives, including those in Michoacán, Veracruz, and Oaxaca; Muñoz also worked in a number of rarely used private archives and conducted interviews with government officials and indigenous leaders—although many of the latter

sources were left out due to fear of retaliation by powerful interests against some *indigenistas*. Much of Muñoz's thesis rests on new political history and the post-revisionist arguments on hegemony and "everyday forms of state formation" that have dominated the literature on revolutionary Mexico for the last generation. Her book "adds a little more mortar and a few more bricks to these intellectual foundations" by extending them to Mexico's post-World War II era (9).

Muñoz repeatedly employs William Roseberry's idea of the "field of force" to demonstrate convincingly that indigenous and *campesino* leaders were not passive actors, but instead continually negotiated with local, regional, and federal officials to promote the interests of their respective communities. The author avoids a black-and-white dichotomy where indigenous movements are narrowly depicted either as independent of and antagonistic toward official agencies or as sanctioned and co-opted by the government, thereby making them powerless. As Muñoz rightly shows, history is much grayer and messier. In fact, the strongest parts of her book illustrate that subaltern leaders not only worked successfully within the system, but they sometimes put their personal interests before the groups they represented. Moreover, indigenous and *campesino* representatives were not a unified group; rather, they frequently disagreed on issues related to identity, representation, and public policy. Muñoz's temperate view of Mexico's *indigenistas* is juxtaposed with her equally balanced depiction of the nation's political elite—especially those within the Luis Echeverría (1970–1976) and José López Portillo (1976–1982) administrations. Both presidents are shown to be genuine populists and Machiavelian bureaucrats. In the former instance, these leaders promoted public works, land redistribution, social justice programs for the nation's poor, and participatory *indigenismo*, but in the latter they expanded the power of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) through a controlled political opening that co-opted the very groups they sought to assist. Even if one views elite politics pessimistically, Muñoz posits that indigenous policies were frequently reshaped by mid-level and subaltern actors. Not only does this point demonstrate the latter groups' agency, but it also gives readers a nuanced understanding of the multivocal process that shapes state hegemony. Furthermore, she convincingly shows that neither the elites nor subaltern groups held static beliefs when they met in the "middle ground" of state formation; rather, like many of us, they modified their positions based on emerging economic and political circumstances.

To demonstrate this fluid and complex story of working-class mobilization and federal policy formulation, Muñoz focuses her book on the origins of Mexico's First National Congress of Indigenous Peoples. She traces the Congress's establishment and the evolution of participatory *indigenismo* back to 1968, through its "golden period" from 1970 to 1982, and concludes with its decline and federalist incorporation in the late 1980s. Starting in the early 1970s, bilingual indigenous leaders began acting as political intermediaries, or "go-betweens," for their communities as well as for middle- and upper-level state and federal

officials, including those within the federal Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization (DAAC). Many go-betweens organized regional indigenous congresses and, according to Muñoz, later became leaders of the National Council on Indigenous Peoples (CNPI). In both positions, they circumvented federal attempts to contain indigenous peoples and made "bold demands" that sought to redefine state-indigenous relations. They did this by demanding that federal officials adhere to their own populist, revolutionary rhetoric. Their goals were lofty, namely to increase indigenous economic opportunities and participation in the social and political life of the nation. Unfortunately, personal ambitions and internal battles over control of the CNPI undermined the national organization and facilitated its federal takeover and reemergence in 1987 as the National Indigenous Confederation. With the constitutional changes of 1992, the Mexican federal government adopted a multicultural stance, decentralized official *indigenismo*, and handed over policymaking on matters related to indigenous health, economic development, and bicultural education to state and municipal authorities. According to the author, despite these changes in federal policy, Mexico's indigenous peoples continued "to push from below, from the middle, and from within" in order to shape conversations on indigeneity (192).

Although Muñoz briefly acknowledges that indigenous mobilization in Mexico during the 1970s both reflected and was shaped by similar movements around the world, she gives scant attention to the issues, groups, or actors beyond Mexico's borders. Consequently, her domestic history of Mexican *indigenismo* would have been richer had she given more attention to the movement's transnational features. This minor criticism aside, Muñoz provides a penetrating analysis of Mexican indigenous mobilization in the late twentieth century. Any scholar interested in postwar Mexico, indigenous movements, and state formation should read this important book.

JOHN J. DWYER
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DAVID WHEAT. *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xix, 332. Cloth \$45.00.

In his new book *Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640*, David Wheat aspires to change our view of the early Spanish Caribbean. He examines the years between 1560 and 1640, when the region is often described as an economic backwater. In the traditional narrative, after Spain's conquest of the great mainland empires in Mexico and Peru, the islands became little more than sites for heavily fortified ports designed to protect treasure fleets. By the 1550s, as colonists failed to establish profitable sugar exports, they turned to less capital-intensive endeavors like ranching and farming. Without sugar, in the conventional view, the islands could not afford to import African captives, so traders focused on the rich mainland colonies until the 1790s, when Cuba again began to import slaves directly from Africa.

Although scholars in general have paid little attention

to Spanish Caribbean slavery until the resurgence of Cuban sugar in the early nineteenth century, Wheat shows that the Spanish Caribbean had black majority populations roughly a century before they existed in the English and French sugar islands. Although his sources are imprecise about racial categories, he estimates, convincingly, that Africans and their descendants comprised 69 percent of the population of Cuba, Española, Cartagena, and Panamá in the early seventeenth century. His central thesis is that Africans were, in his words, the true “settler class” of the Spanish Caribbean. The book examines the evidence for this claim and illuminates some of the mechanisms that allowed newly arrived captives to implant themselves in the Spanish Caribbean.

At the heart of the book is the sixty-year merger of the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies from 1580 to 1640. Using neglected Cartagena sources, Wheat reevaluates the slave trade into Spanish America, showing that during the so-called Iberian Union, Portuguese and Spanish traders brought two successive waves of captives to the Caribbean from specific regions in West and West Central Africa. The first wave, from 1500 to the 1580s, was from Upper Guinea, the region extending south from modern Senegal to Sierra Leone. Portugal's presence in the nearby Cape Verde Islands from the 1450s meant that Iberian merchants had a deep familiarity with this part of western Africa. Moreover, after 1580, hundreds of Portuguese sailors, merchants, and Luso-African interpreters migrated into ports like Havana and Cartagena, bringing their knowledge of Africa. Spanish Caribbean officials knew enough about Upper Guinea's complex ethnic landscape to routinely record slaves' membership in one of ten ethno-linguistic groups. Wheat argues that Upper Guineans rapidly adapted to Spanish colonial society, in part because of “a mutual understanding that was the fruit of earlier cross cultural exchanges in Upper Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands” (54).

The second wave consisted of captives from Angola, who were sold into the Cartagena slave market in large numbers from the 1590s to the 1640s, a direct result of Portuguese military campaigns in West Central Africa. As Wheat sees it, although the conditions of their enslavement were very different, many of these prisoners came primed to fit into Spanish society through exposure to Catholicism in Africa and the fact that so many were women or young children.

By the early 1600s, the Caribbean's African-descended majority was in place. After 1640, the region's direct slave trade from Africa all but stopped, but unlike eighteenth-century sugar plantation slaves, black farm workers in places like Cuba and Española were demographically self-sustaining. While seventeenth-century colonists lived in the ports, their enslaved workers moved between these cities and the countryside and mostly labored on farms, not isolated plantations or ranches. Their production sustained an intercolonial food trade that helped consolidate Spain's hold on the Caribbean.

Wheat is less interested in the economic and demographic history of these societies than in showing how Upper Guineans and Angolans were able to adapt to

Spanish Caribbean society. He finds Havana baptismal records demonstrating that within two to six years, some Africans described as “bozals,” meaning they had no grasp of Iberian culture, became “ladinos,” fluent in Spanish language and culture. The same records reveal that a number of Angolan women served as godmothers at the baptisms of two or three new arrivals, perhaps accelerating their acculturation. And Wheat has good evidence that African women had opportunities for social mobility, including marriage to Portuguese colonists. He rejects the idea that these alliances were due to a shortage of European women, instead describing them as a continuation of the sorts of domestic alliances that African women established with Portuguese merchants for their mutual benefit.

Wheat provides the best support to date for historians' assumptions that early modern Spanish Caribbean societies were strikingly different from eighteenth-century French or British sugar plantation colonies, where colonists described themselves as locked in a permanent war against the enslaved African majority. However, he is not concerned with a Tannenbaum-style analysis of how Spanish colonial institutions helped Africans survive New World slavery. He maintains that captives did not merely assimilate to the Spanish but rather employed skills from their African lives after they arrived in the Caribbean. Yet he does not directly describe the interweaving of Iberian and African cultures in Africa, or show how Africans shaped Caribbean colonial cultures. Aware that his book leaves many important questions unanswered, Wheat calls for other scholars “to explore the roles African identities played in the formation of colonial social conditions rather than vice versa (66).”

By exploring new connections between Africa and the Spanish Caribbean and by innovatively using difficult sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, Wheat succeeds in changing our picture of this region.

JOHN GARRIGUS

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GRAHAM T. NESSLER. *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789–1809*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 294. Paper \$29.95.

As colonies, French Saint Domingue and its Spanish neighbor, Santo Domingo, were almost polar opposites. By the late eighteenth century, they were, respectively, the most and one of the least productive of America's colonial societies. In the nineteenth century, too, after independence, they assumed contrasting and hostile postures, although they then had a great deal in common as weak, unstable states with peasant economies. Graham T. Nessler's *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789–1809* takes an original approach to the Haitian Revolution (1789–1804) that transformed both polities by studying them in tandem during this period and by extending the narrative beyond Haiti's independence to the final expulsion of French troops from Santo Domingo in 1809. This island-wide focus is attractive for two reasons. It calls attention to the

many ways the local Spanish presence influenced the unfolding revolution, and it provides an unstudied test case in the application of the French Republic's 1794 abolition of slavery. Because France acquired Santo Domingo as war booty in 1795 but left its Spanish administration in place, the colony's inhabitants were caught in legal limbo for several years between two jurisdictions.

The book opens with a long chapter on the early Haitian Revolution that hews quite closely to recent published accounts and seeks to reconcile the slave insurgents' generally conservative rhetoric with the emergent discourse of universal rights. Like most historians and contemporary French colonists, Nessler states that Governor Joaquín García of Santo Domingo tacitly aided the insurgents but offers no direct proof. There follow two chapters on Santo Domingo in the late 1790s. They illuminate the ambivalence of French officialdom in applying the emancipation decree there, and the former colony's place in the rise of the black general Toussaint Louverture. Although slavery remained in force in eastern Hispaniola, plantation workers still fled across the frontier from the forced labor regime that replaced slavery in post-emancipation Saint Domingue. Chapter 4 deals with Louverture's 1801 invasion of Santo Domingo. It clarifies the vexed question of whether or not he abolished slavery there; it seems he did, in practice, though not explicitly. The final two chapters are the most original. They concern the twilight period 1804–1809, when French forces, expelled from independent Haiti, maintained an embattled proslavery regime in the Spanish zone under General Jean-Louis Ferrand. Nessler's synopsis is one of the most thorough accounts of this episode available in English; it takes up one-quarter of the text. The theme that most interests him is the fate of people of color on the boundary between slavery and freedom. Echoing the work of Rebecca J. Scott, he explores how people vulnerable to enslavement used the services of notaries to record their claims to freedom, at a time when Ferrand's henchmen were kidnapping and selling Haitian children.

An Islandwide Struggle is a very good first book, well written and more broadly researched than a lot of work on the Haitian Revolution. Factual errors appear to be few and inconsequential. The black figure on the front cover, for example, is not Louverture but Étienne Mentor; Vincent Ogé was not "publicly tortured" (31), and France sent many more than "6,000 troops" (37) to assist the revolt of the Thirteen Colonies. Nessler overrates the extent of free colored activism prior to the revolution and the reality of both the citizenship proffered by the emancipation decree and the legal centralism promised by France's 1795 constitution. He also tends to overstate his subject's importance, claiming Santo Domingo with its eight thousand to fifteen thousand slaves as "a central theater in the unfolding of French Republican emancipation" (64). Moreover, if key aspects of the Haitian Revolution "emerged from" (64) Hispaniola's intercolonial relations, the (very uneven) significance of these causal links needed to be debated and delimited. More such putative links also warranted attention, such as the influence on the 1791 slave insurgents of rumors regarding Spain's sanctu-

ary law, or a "Spanish" explanation for the insurgents' ostentatious royalism, or the ways insurgencies benefit from proximity to an international frontier.

My main criticism, however, is that Nessler does not dig as deeply as one might have expected in such a work. The research is extensive but never exhaustive, so that the book fails to advance our knowledge of several of the main episodes of this story. These include Spanish involvement in the slave uprising at the governmental and local levels; the Fort Dauphin massacre, in which Spain's black troops killed more than seven hundred French colonists; and the 1796 revolt on the Boca Nigua plantation, the largest in Santo Domingo. Governor García y Moreno, a central protagonist, remains a shadowy figure, and other important individuals such as Archbishop Fernando del Portillo y Torres and Colonel Matías de Armona receive little or no mention. Tackling two decades of two colonies' history obviously imposed limitations. One is left wondering if a decision to concentrate on one or the other half of Hispaniola would have produced a more groundbreaking study. Nonetheless, Nessler has given us an unusual perspective on the Haitian Revolution that is sure to shape future studies.

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NATASHA LIGHTFOOT. *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 320. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.

In *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*, a clearly written, instructive study of emancipation and the contested meaning of freedom in Antigua, Natasha Lightfoot offers a compelling history of the relationship between labor, race, and gender in the only British sugar colony to reject the apprenticeship program. Reading sources against the grain, the author draws on government letters, planters' records and correspondence, missionaries' accounts, and newspapers to explore how black working people in Antigua "imbue[d] freedom with deeper meaning through new social, political, and ontological struggles" (2). In doing so, Lightfoot provides readers with a study that is deeply appreciative of the ways in which freedpeople confronted new forms of white supremacy and material constraint after slavery's demise. What emerges is a multilayered analysis of the relationship between everyday violence, organized resistance, and collective consciousness in nineteenth-century Antigua.

To draw the reader into the everyday lives of her subjects, the author divides the book into seven thematic chapters that trace a chronological path. The first outlines Antigua's history of slavery and the role that space and violence had in power struggles in the colony. Of particular import was black women's central role in the Sunday market, which is the focus of the second chapter. It reveals how, in the context of Atlantic evangelical abolitionism, the local legislature moved to outlaw the Sunday market in St. John's without granting slaves a different free day. News of the ban was met with public protest in the market,

particularly by women, but also with dozens of fires in the countryside over the course of the next several nights.

Resistance under slavery prefigured the legal and extra-legal struggles that freedpeople continued to rely upon as they challenged white domination after emancipation. These conflicts are the focus of the remainder of the book, which covers the post-emancipation 1835 labor strike, the meaning of freedom in black public and private life after slavery, the impact of missionary Christianity, the economic crisis of the late 1840s, and, finally, another uprising in St. John's, this time in 1858. The conclusion further expands on this event through a useful comparative analysis, which provides readers with an excellent bookend to the work's overarching argument about the interlocking ways in which race, class, and violence gave rise to a distinct political consciousness in Antigua as compared to other post-slavery colonies like Jamaica.

One theme that animates each chapter is space. As Lightfoot demonstrates, Antigua's small size played a significant role in shaping the quotidian power struggles that defined everyday life in the colony both pre- and post-emancipation. Less than fifteen miles wide, the island's steep southern coast descends rapidly to a relatively flat interior, where fields of sugarcane dominated the landscape for centuries. Roughly 30,000 enslaved women, men, and children lived on the island in 1833, and together African-descended Antiguans outnumbered white inhabitants roughly 15:1 (26). Thus, few options existed for freed Antiguans to live outside the sugar regime after slavery. Unlike in Jamaica or Guyana, where freedpeople created new settlements on arable land away from the plantations, freed Antiguans moved to independent villages to escape. By 1842—only eight years after emancipation—twenty-seven free villages had sprouted up across the island on land purchased by missionaries or rented from struggling planters (123). Estimates suggest that nearly nine thousand black and brown Antiguans lived in the villages by 1846, when the number of free villages swelled to sixty-eight (131).

Using wages to create spaces of independence, laboring Antiguans also generated new forms of sartorial expression, protected their children from the violence of plantation labor, affirmed kinship bonds, and partied—especially on Sundays. However, these hard-won freedoms were heavily circumscribed not only by the cash nexus, but also by the growing social prohibitions enforced with greater intensity by Methodist and Moravian officials in the 1840s. Schools and mutual aid “friendly societies,” which existed under slavery, grew in size as the village ranks swelled. Freedpeople used the societies to gain health care, death benefits, and education. However, white missionaries and middling mixed-race church leaders required adherents to maintain proper moral conduct, especially about sexuality. Lightfoot carefully uses Moravian church records to discuss how, after slavery, these important institutions worked to buttress patriarchal authority within black intimate relationships by threat of an exclusion process, wherein church authorities could deny material supports from accused sinners.

Legal freedom also did not translate into widespread

civil inclusion, but as long as Britain maintained prohibitive tariffs on foreign sugar, laboring Antiguans in the 1830s and early 1840s were able to generate some material security. However, the passage of the Sugar Duties Act of 1846 resulted in widespread wage insecurity as competition from Cuba and Brazil intensified. In turn, black Antiguans faced plummeting wages and increased criminalization at the hands of white elites who dominated government and excluded black political influence at every turn. Violence in Antigua proved cyclical in nature. In 1858, facing the failed promises of emancipation, a four-day riot erupted in St. John's. As they had in 1831, market women played an important role in the uprising. At first the riot targeted black migrant laborers from nearby Barbuda, but it eventually grew into a coalition aimed at the police, whose arsenal the rioters attempted to seize. Rife with ambiguities, the episode was not only one defined by its cross-class black militancy, but also one wherein “Antiguan working people participated in the domination of others” in ways that “reified their own oppression” (221).

Troubling Freedom is a carefully argued and thoughtfully crafted work of social history, one that takes the reader into the free villages and market bustle of a supposedly peripheral colony in the wake of emancipation. Sophisticated in its analysis of the interlocking relationship between race, labor, and gender in Antigua, it is not only a work that helps fill gaps in the literature on emancipation in the eastern Caribbean, but also a worthy study of these power dynamics in its own right. Scholars of slavery and its aftermath will learn much from Lightfoot's powerful book on this “small place.”

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ELLEN D. TILLMAN. *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and Resistance in the Dominican Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 273. Paper \$29.95.

In President Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic reflected concerns that European creditors would push their respective governments to take military action to collect their debts. This resulted first in the U.S. taking charge of Dominican customs houses in 1907. Greater financial control led to political supervision starting in 1913, when a president of Washington's choosing was appointed. The Dominicans chafed at the greater control, and the U.S. eventually sent in the Marines and declared martial law in 1916. The occupation would continue another eight years until 1924.

This occupation from 1916 to 1924 is the main focus of Ellen Tillman's *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and Resistance in the Dominican Republic*, one where the U.S. attempted to, in her words, “create the institutional means by which [Dominican] regional differences would be managed, thereby ameliorating longstanding regional tensions through the creation of new governmental and military structures” (3). U.S. naval officers who saw themselves as the vanguard for implementing the Taft-

Wilson variant of Roosevelt's Corollary, better known as "Dollar Diplomacy," would supervise the building of these structures. With policymakers in Washington, D.C., focused on the European war and probable entry, the latitude for action for these naval officers to politically experiment in the Dominican Republic was quite wide.

As with most U.S. occupations, the law of unintended consequences was in full effect. Rather than producing a free and democratic society, the occupation eventually produced the strongman Rafael Trujillo, a military man trained and elevated by the U.S. military who took over once the Marines left and would continue his brutal dictatorship into the 1960s.

Tillman's book builds on the excellent work done in this field by Bruce Calder, Bernardo Vega, Julie Franks, and Wilfredo Lozano, among others. Her work is notable in the extensive use of both U.S. and Dominican sources in almost a side-by-side comparison that shows how particular events during the period were interpreted by various strata in Dominican society as well as their American occupiers. Tillman relies extensively on records of the Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo and the U.S. Marine Corps Archive in Quantico, Virginia, to buttress her work.

U.S. naval officers saw the building of the Dominican Constabulary—a professional army—as the key to having a force who could ensure that a centralized government could rule effectively and collect revenue to pay off creditors once the U.S. exited the country. However, the Dominican elite would not embrace the U.S.-trained Constabulary—and thus the force would be made up of soldiers from the Dominican lower classes and not from the Dominican ruling class. There were also no Dominicans who were allowed to rise from the lowest officer level. This was a U.S.-run show.

The U.S. went to great lengths to find a force that would be effective. In a very interesting section of her work, Tillman describes the naval officers reaching out to the descendants of freed American slaves who lived on the Samaná Península. The idea here was that these Protestants would make more effective soldiers because of their cultural ties to the U.S. These efforts, among others, however, would prove futile.

As Tillman most aptly points out, the Constabulary would never truly be effective until all Dominicans embraced it, and this would not take place until the U.S. left the country and ceded control. The Hughes-Peynado Plan of 1922 set, among other things, the end date of U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic. Like many subjects of U.S. occupations, the Dominicans just needed to wait out the U.S. and then take control and modify or reverse any U.S.-implemented plans.

While Tillman is currently an assistant professor of history at Texas State University, San Marcos, she spent a year beforehand on the history faculty at the United States Military Academy, West Point. The irony of teaching West Point cadets, who would eventually graduate and deploy to both Afghanistan and Iraq in order to build up these militaries with the goal of facilitating an orderly U.S. exit, was likely not lost on her. Like the Dominicans be-

fore them, the Iraqis and Afghanis now wait for the U.S. to withdraw from their countries. Indeed, the more things change, the more they stay the same.

Tillman's book is a truly important work for those interested in the history of imperialism and U.S. foreign policy and is heartily recommended for a wide readership. It provides another valuable lesson on the issues that come out of direct U.S. intervention and occupation of a foreign country. Military intervention is a blunt instrument in which the occupiers encounter obstacles in the short term, accrue expenses both politically and financially, and often do not meet the long-term results envisioned by policymakers.

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KEVIN COLEMAN, *A Camera in the Garden of Eden: The Self-Forging of the Banana Republic*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016. Pp. 312. \$27.95.

A Camera in the Garden of Eden: The Self-Forging of the Banana Republic is an insightful book based on photographic archives and the interpretation of photography as a historical source. Kevin Coleman starts by arguing that photographs "capture a moment in which a newness was produced, thus indexing historical openings that were only subsequently foreclosed." Such photos, he states, enable us to recover "something of the subjects who created those forgotten possibilities" (23). This way Coleman makes clear that his project is centered not only on interpreting the events, but also on recognizing the alternate "possible" faced by the subjects present in what Ariella Azoulay terms the "photographic event" (27). In Coleman's view, the local history of subaltern photography links to understanding the broader historical experiences of Latin America with regard to the U.S.-based banana corporations.

The local place enmeshed in this broader historical continuum is the town of El Progreso in Honduras. It is conceptualized by Coleman as a place of "spatial exception" following Paul Kramer's line of thought. It would be a place where "extraordinary power is exercised at and through the interstices of sovereignty, often underwritten by essentialisms of race, gender, and civilization" (11). It is from this notion of a "place of exception" that Coleman seeks to rescue through photographic interpretation the stories of self-forging citizens.

Unfolding his narrative, the author historicizes the term "banana republic." Coleman discusses American writer O. Henry's 1904 novel *Cabbages and Kings*, looks at Carmen Miranda's 1943 movie *The Gang's All Here* and Frederick Upham Adams's *The Romance and Rise of the American Tropics* (1914), and addresses more recent references like Woody Allen's movie *Bananas*. He concludes, as does the historian Héctor Pérez Brignoli, that "the banana republic is, first, the frame through which the United States and Europe have seen and continue to see Honduras, Central America, and even the larger countries of Latin America" (84). The banana republic as a concept has thus dulled the capacity of those who accept its metaphor to recognize the

diversity and complexity of the Caribbean and Central American countries.

Coleman sets the stage for his main subject, the 1954 strike of the United Fruit Company workers against the company, by first presenting another possible scenario. He describes El Progreso as an egalitarian edenic space embodied in the playful image of platonic friendship between the Central American photographer Rafael Platero Paz and an American man. In contrast to that possible scenario, Coleman discovers the reality of the space of exception in the landscape of the photojournalistic battle. Relevant here are competing images from the North American magazine *Life*; Cuba's *Bohemia* magazine, which circulated in Central and South America; the photographs taken by Platero Paz; and those found in the United Fruit Collection at Harvard University.

The different publications catered to different audiences, which meant they used language and images that their clientele would be receptive to. It is in the interaction between seeing and being seen that Coleman finds the will of the people of El Progreso in *Bohemia* and Platero Paz's photographs. The author makes the point that many images were taken by a myriad of photographers, but they somehow never made it to the public. In *Life* the strikers were simply seen as communists.

The strike is but a moment, an instant, of possibilities. Soon the whole power apparatus would fall upon the strikers, the town, and Honduras. The outcome remains ambiguous. During the following years, trade unions were legally sanctioned, even if co-opted by the conservative channels of power, and a Labor Code was enacted in 1959. Still it was also during the strike of 1954 that a bilateral military agreement was signed, providing "a formal institutional framework for manipulating the economic and political affairs of the country" (245).

Even if the author makes clear that his subject of study is the photographic claims, it begs asking: To whom is the book addressed? If it is directed at a broad audience, the reader will see the strike erupt from grievances over low wages and mistreatment, which in reality had been part and parcel of the company since its inception. Coleman claims that the presidency of Juan Manuel Gálvez brought hope and lifted the state of siege. Yet, the event is viewed as a lonesome star, not as part of a broader reformist movement flourishing in Latin America.

Equally important, only in passing does a paragraph address the deeply complex context that banana production was facing at the moment of the strike, which, of course, fell on the shoulders of labor to deal with. Coleman argues, "They cannot yet know that massive floods are coming, that 40 percent of them will be fired just three months later, that the company will increasingly rely on chemicals and less on unskilled workers" (185). The profound social consequences of banana diseases, towns left with no communication, water laws and disputes that would surge, followed by environmental transformations, are not even mentioned. In short, for the layperson, the photographic disputes appear somehow to float up from a limbo.

Transnational corporations play a growing role in extracting resources worldwide. Coleman's work enriches

our understanding of yet another dimension of the "place of exception," and as he himself states, during the 2009 coup in Honduras, the struggles were played out as much in the streets as they were on the virtual pages of Facebook (253).

PATRICIA CLARE RHOADES
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RICARDO D. SALVATORE. *Disciplinary Conquest: U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2016. Pp. xii, 329. Paper \$26.95.

Disciplinary Conquest: U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945 tells the story of the "ancillary" role of Latin American studies in establishing the U.S. as the hegemonic hemispheric power in the first half of the twentieth century. The book demonstrates that long before the Cold War takeoff of "area studies," U.S. scholars in the humanities and social sciences had begun traveling to and "rediscovering" the republics south of Panama for invested audiences back home. Driven largely by the progressive Pan-Americanism, notable professors at top-flight research universities undertook sustained investigations into the past, politics, geography, and sociology of South America. Ricardo D. Salvatore focuses on five representative figures—Hiram Bingham III, Leo S. Rowe, Isaiah Bowman, Clarence H. Haring, and Edward A. Ross—and frames their enterprise as evidence of the "imperiality of knowledge" (53–57). The work of these scholars, he contends, benefited U.S. policymakers and business interests. Not only did they cast South America as in need of exploration and legibility (as if the region were unknown to locals), but, more important, these academics conjured up regional "problems" whose solutions lay in the "endless transfer of . . . ideas, culture, and technology" from the U.S. (55).

The book's central chapters highlight the career and scholarly accomplishments of Bingham, Bowman, Rowe, Haring, and Ross. Emphasizing the superiority complexes of these professors, Salvatore explains how they saw their task as the pursuit of empirical truth that promised to bring the democratic and material fruits of modern civilization to a region deprived by its colonial legacy of Spanish rule. Take Bingham, for example. Though trained as a historian, this Yale scholar's claim to academic fame in U.S. Latin American studies lay in his so-called "discovery" of Machu Picchu, an Incan city long lost to the Spanish colonizers. Of course, the city was not lost to locals, who in 1911 guided Bingham in his successful quest. But, as Salvatore points out, part of what made the enterprise of men like Bingham imperial was its almost complete denial of local agency in knowledge production. Still, even if foreign academic exploits dominate the book, Salvatore does not totally ignore tales of local resistance and even collaboration. He recalls that Bingham encountered vigorous opposition as leader of the Yale Peruvian Expedition (YPE), a venture funded in part by Kodak and the National Geographic Society. For its excavation of cultural property in Peru the YPE came under heavy denun-

ciation from cultural nationalists and *indigenistas*. At the same time, Salvatore notes the willingness of some Peruvians to opt for commerce over combat, selling to Bingham some of the treasures labeled as discoveries.

The book also stresses that the comparative method proved central to the “imperial knowledge” produced by the founders of U.S. Latin American studies. Convinced that the U.S. was the appropriate model of development for South Americans, academics like Haring and Rowe and Bowman engaged in a comparison that was almost always invidious. For them, exceptionalism was a basic and unifying premise. Haring, for example, explained that “the US was democratic because its colonial experience prepared it for self-government. Latin America was undemocratic because its colonial experience had denied them that training” (127). Along with Spanish colonial legacies, race was a key factor in these scholars’ explanations of the failure of the South American republics to match the exceptional progress of the North. Here, though, Salvatore’s analysis betrays some remarkable twists, as it suggests that scholars like Bowman and Ross, despite their well-documented white supremacism, were somehow sympathetic to non-whites in the region. Tellingly, the book is euphemistic about the notoriously racist Ross, describing him only as a scholar whose “opposition to Asian immigration based on racial arguments has gained him a reputation as a racist” (47). Later, it concludes that “paradoxically,” Bowman’s violence against indigenous people in Peru (which included forcing a father and son to do his work at gunpoint) led him to write a strong indictment against racial oppression.

The book closes with a brief effort to measure the influence of its scholarly protagonists on U.S. foreign policy, the most significant example being Bowman, who became an advisor to two presidents (Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt) and whose books became compulsory reading for the U.S.’s diplomats. But if Salvatore is forthright about the imperialist role played by U.S. academics, he seems convinced that their mission was not only salutary but also necessary, since it generated “better knowledge,” achieving what “local and national [scholars] have failed to do” (259).

Disciplinary Conquest deserves a wide readership. Posing a valuable challenge to students concerned with the entanglements between U.S. imperialism and the enterprise of scholarship in the republic, it shifts the chronology of Latin American studies backward. The result is a critical reminder that in the history of collaboration between U.S. scholars and the imperialist interests, the role of Cold War interests might be overstated. Yet, as an intellectual history of empire, the study treats its protagonists with a surprising and doubtful theoretical innocence. Salvatore is generously ambiguous about the purposeful power of the ideas promoted by men like Ross, hesitating between the view that they simply captured the South American “realities” and the alternative that they in fact complexly fabricated them. This innocent interpretation of the activities of U.S. scholars is perhaps most spectacular with regard to race. The instances in the book are too numerous to mention, but what merits note is that they re-

flect Salvatore’s reluctance to admit his professorial protagonists as deliberately involved in an imperial race-making project, one grounded in a faith in the U.S. as the white exception to an American hemisphere of dubious modernity. Overall, *Disciplinary Conquests* treats the ideas of the founding fathers of U.S. Latin American studies with a forbearance that nearly erases any sense of their menacing implications. It is history, in the end, that absolves them as scholarly agents of a “benevolent” empire.

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NANCY P. APPELBAUM, *Mapping the Country of Regions: The Chorographic Commission of Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 304. Paper \$34.95.

When Colombia embarked upon its independent existence in 1830, one of the most difficult tasks confronting the leaders was to mold a conglomeration of disparate regions into an integrated nation. Rugged topography divided the country into two distinct parts: the western third, dominated by the Andean cordillera, with its three high ranges running north and south and separated by the deep longitudinal valleys of the Cauca and Magdalena rivers, while being fringed on the north and west by coastal lowlands; and the remaining two-thirds, a largely unexplored expanse lying east of the Andes, consisting of the Amazon rainforest south of the Guaviare River and the Llanos Orientales, or tropical plains, to the north of it.

In an ambitious attempt to achieve an informed vision of this new nation with much of its domain still unknown, the government launched the Chorographic Commission in 1850 with a mandate to explore and chart Colombia’s national territory and survey its natural resources. Directed first by Colonel Agustín Codazzi and later by Manuel Ponce de León and Manuel María Paz Delgado, the commission included native and foreign-born geographers, writers, illustrators, and even a botanist. In nine years its members surveyed more than thirty provinces and produced an enormous number of maps, written descriptions, and 151 watercolor illustrations. Taken together, these sources provided a trove of social and economic data delineating the country’s territory and racial composition during the mid-nineteenth century.

The Chorographic Commission—one of nineteenth-century Latin America’s most extensive cartographic expeditions—has long fascinated Colombian scholars, but *Mapping the Country of Regions: The Chorographic Commission of Nineteenth-Century Colombia* raises the analysis of its output to a more sophisticated level. Over the course of eight chapters, Appelbaum examines how and why the Chorographic Commission and its contemporaries mapped regions, race, and gender into Colombia’s national imaginary. She concludes that “rather than present a unified nation, the commission portrayed Colombia as fragmented into different and often opposing regions, inhabited by racially and culturally distinct ‘types’ or ‘races,’ some better than others” (203). In other words, one can trace the roots of regional stereotypes and assumptions

about Andean superiority over the tropical lowlands to the findings of the commission.

To support this conclusion, Appelbaum introduces other important themes. First, for example, while describing in detail the careers of Codazzi and other members of the commission, she observes that throughout its activities, unnamed women assisted this highly masculine enterprise by reproducing maps, managing essential logistics, hosting and feeding the men, nursing them when they were ill, and serving as sexual partners. Second, she emphasizes that the commissioners' official knowledge was shaped by information provided by local informants, a resource especially significant for the expeditions to the eastern plains and Amazonia. Third, by scrutinizing the watercolor images produced by commission artists that depicted dark-skinned people interacting with whites, Appelbaum challenges Codazzi's conclusion that the population of highland provinces such as Antioquia was a homogeneous mix of whites and mestizos.

When the commissioners traveled to the Pacific lowlands, their disdain for the mostly African population caused them to regard the people as "barbarians." Acknowledging the region's economic potential, they believed its intensely hot, disease-ridden climate was lethal for whites and concluded that only forced labor could develop its resources. Appelbaum asserts that their overtly racist depiction of the lowlands highlights "contradictions that ultimately undermined the republic's midcentury radical experiment with more inclusive democracy" (105).

In their expedition to Casanare, the commissioners traveled as far north as the Arauca River. Although they described the province as a "solitary desert" (132), their 1856 manuscript map indicates that the plains were well-peopled. Here, Codazzi believed that people of African descent would be a civilizing force, and while he depended on the Indians as an indispensable source for scientific knowledge, he regarded them along with the hot climate as the two greatest obstacles opposing the region's development. The Colombian Amazon that he visited seemed even more foreboding, for he described it as "the most deserted and savage, the least known territory claimed by Colombia" (138), but Codazzi did not think the plains and forests would always be "deserts." Once transformed by settlers, they would become "future hubs of international trade via mighty rivers that would connect Andean New Granada with Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru" (163).

Appelbaum notes that the commissioners included geological research along with their cartographic interests. They inspected minerals, fossils, artifacts, and human remains, sending samples back to Bogotá for analysis and display in the National Museum. Using these artifacts, they endowed Colombia with a grandiose and cataclysmic natural history and affirmed that the Chibchas (also known as Muiscas) achieved a high civilization in the Andes before the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. This depiction of the Chibchas reinforced the territorial claims of the Bogotá elite and their right to rule over the rest of the nation.

Finally, Appelbaum reviews the disputes that swirled

around official publications of the commission's works. Felipe Pérez, a member of the commission, produced two different geographical texts based on its documents that were immediately challenged in Paris by ousted dictator Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera. Mosquera wrote his own text claiming that Codazzi's reliance on local black and Indian informants invalidated his conclusions. The Pérez-Mosquera dispute also involved how the Spanish past should be represented, with Pérez condemning the Spanish conquest for destroying the pre-Columbian civilization while Mosquera praised Spanish colonization and offered a negative depiction of Chibcha achievements.

In conclusion, with all its revelations *Mapping the Country of Regions* is a sparkling addition to Colombian historiography. Drawing on an exhaustive examination of the archival documents, combining an extensive knowledge of geographical and historical methods, and including in her narrative intriguing portraits of the most prominent actors as well as thirty-eight figures and illustrations, Appelbaum has demonstrated new ways to approach the nature of "regions" not only in Colombia, but also within the racialized geographies that exist across Latin America.

JANE RAUSCH,

Emerita

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JANE E. MANGAN. *Transatlantic Obligations: Creating the Bonds of Family in Conquest-Era Peru and Spain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 247. Paper \$29.95.

Reflection on the fine layers of emotions behind human behavior has entered the historical inquiry in the last twenty years in Europe and more recently in the U.S. and Latin America. By exploring the feelings of obligation, affection, and gratitude that underlie the formation of the colonial family and its links to empire making in the Andes, Jane E. Mangan offers a multilayered narrative of the historical dynamics of marital union making, unveiling the "tense and tender" bonds that forged colonialism and the family with the Spanish conquest of Peru.

The author insightfully fleshes out the singular "engineering" of Inca and Inca-Spanish "matchmaking," as genealogical arrangements reconfigured themselves. The Inca incorporated Spanish legal and religious practices and values in an effort to survive and validate themselves as elites in the new colonial order. One of the key contributions of *Transatlantic Obligations: Creating the Bonds of Family in Conquest-Era Peru and Spain* is the discussion of Spanish political meddling in Inca elite "matchmaking," shaping unions that nevertheless retained Inca tradition. The practice suggests the willingness of the Spanish to alter central tenets of marriage laws to build their empire. In order to bring elite Inca women and their assets under imperial control, Crown officials were willing to legitimate "illegitimacy" and to normalize the longstanding Inca practice of sister marriage.

With remarkable detail and insightfulness, Mangan also reconstructs the fate of the mestizo children born into marriage-like unions between Spanish men and Inca elite

women between the 1540s and the 1580s. Although most Spanish fathers abandoned their mestizo children, who therefore lived in their mothers' communities, many others claimed and recognized them, while mostly detaching them from their native mothers. Invoking sentimental, religious, or moral reasons, and empowered by the Roman legal tenet of *Patria potestas*, these fathers placed their *hijos naturales* or *bastardos* in their own or surrogate Spanish households in either Peru or Spain. In so doing, the fathers sought to "maximize their cultural capital" (48) by separating their children from the cultures of their mothers, an undesirable option for families linked to Spain's empire.

Discussing the family-based colonization ideal of the Habsburg, *Transatlantic Obligations* instructively approaches the intersection between empire and family formation. The Crown endeavored to enforce the marital institution by reuniting spouses who wound up an ocean apart after Francisco Pizarro's arrival. Mangan examines how *vida maridable* (the interplay between various rights and duties between spouses) functioned as the legal underpinning for the Crown's control of the Spanish settlement of Peru. Royal prescription is fleshed out in decrees from 1528, 1530, and 1544, and through a close reading of spouses' emotional expressions in private letters, lawsuits, and requests for transatlantic travel. Mangan maintains that the royal pursuit of spousal reunion to enforce *vida maridable* provided a discursive legal space where spousal parties would negotiate their marital interests. Abandoned wives in Spain appealed to the canonical rhetoric of "marital obligation" to force their husbands' return and their fulfillment of paternal and marital duties, while other husbands refused *vida maridable* and defied the status quo, becoming bigamists (91). Some succeeded in achieving marital reunification, while meeting unexpected stepchildren; but many Spanish men disregarded the royal mandates and persisted in their extramarital relationships in America.

The institutional efforts of colonial marriage consolidation in Mangan's discussion appear to be largely a royal endeavor, where the role of the Catholic Church goes somewhat unnoticed. The sacramental status of marriage in the canon made the church a guardian of this institution's sanctity. It would have been enlightening to learn in similar detail what the specific roles of the church and the ecclesiastical courts were in this formative stage of marriage and family in Peru.

While unions involving Spaniards and Inca elite women are effectively discussed, as well as the new colonial families of married Andeans of lesser status and their incorporation of dowries, wills, and other Spanish marriage practices, less visibility is given to family-like unions involving commoner native Andeans who chose not to marry and yet had children and set up households. Arguably, these unions and households constitute a dialogical tension in the history of the Andean colonial family. This subject remains a historiographical challenge for Andeanists at large, especially since a significant portion of colonial female-male unions (80 percent to 85 percent) remained outside the legal sanctions of marriage, and, even more,

when the records used so far to study the family prove insufficient to hypothesize about such unions. Perhaps reading against the grain of the ecclesiastical records of the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima would prove a useful starting point.

Mangan concludes that "beyond transculturation" a process of "mestizaje of the family" occurred at a crossroads of sorts where "Iberian practices were transplanted and native Andean customs adapted to a new imperial regime" (173). Urban "blended" families from Lima and Arequipa incorporated a cross-cultural variety of subjects and practices. While arguably some examples in Mangan's book may also be read as "transculturation," a final word of caution is needed about the "transplantation" of Iberian marriage practices or laws to the Andes and about the seemingly one-sided "adaptation" of Andean customs to the Spanish imperial order. Early in the book, Mangan discusses *sirvanakuy*, Inca traditions of sanctioning male-female unions, and, further, how Spanish law was molded to suit Inca custom, while Incas and some other Andeans produced varieties of colonial families as well. The prevalence of consensual unions, extramarital relationships, "illegitimacy," abandonment, etc., makes the suggestion of any Iberian cultural "transplantation" problematic. The excellent examples fleshed out about the matchmaking among postconquest Inca elites and Spanish-Inca unions actually demonstrate that Spanish law also had to be attuned, rather than "transplanted," to suit the prevalent Inca customs.

Overall, *Transatlantic Obligations* is a tremendous scholarly asset for those who seek a sophisticated understanding of the nexus between empire, colonialism, and family making, a *tour de force* useful for Latin Americanists, world historians, and historians of marriage and the family. This community will certainly welcome a rare and intriguing rendition of colonial men's history focused on the more "domestic" sphere of the household.

ALCIRA DUEÑAS

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ZEPHYR L. FRANK. *Reading Rio de Janeiro: Literature and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 229. \$60.00.

Selecting Brazilian writers José de Alencar (1829–1877), Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839–1908), and Aluísio Azevedo (1857–1913), along with their novels *Sonhos d'ouro* (Golden Wildflowers), *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* (The Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas), and *O Coruja* (The Owl), in this stimulating study historian Zephyr L. Frank dissects the *bildungsroman* or "coming-of-age novel" during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first half of *Reading Rio de Janeiro: Literature and Society in the Nineteenth Century* is given over to a detailed literary analysis of the novels. Frank provides essential information in regard to context, plot, and characters. At the same time, the evolving perspectives of Alencar, Machado de Assis, and Azevedo are carefully drawn. This is then followed by a thematic and urban geographic analysis

in the later chapters. In considering these literary classics, Frank aims to “[lay] bare the social structures that condition and inhibit the formation of independent bourgeois subjects” (91).

Heavily engaging the work of Brazilian critic Roberto Schwarz, Frank helps us to appreciate the workings of class, client-patron relationships, constructions of gender identity, paternalism, money, and power in a modernizing society still heavily invested in slavery. Frank examines his sources with the belief that “[n]othing in the published and unpublished statistics comes close to expressing the psychological depth and feeling reported so carefully and eloquently by Brazil’s novelists during the era” (180). Most would agree that literature allows us “to get close to the aesthetic and sentimental dimensions” of history (180).

Frank’s literary analysis runs deep. Plot is often painstakingly detailed as protagonists deal with a variety of psychological and social landscapes in and around the “Cidade Maravilhosa.” Identifying the central contradiction of the nineteenth-century Brazilian novel as the “distance between the bourgeois ideology of the European novel and the local realities of a slaveholding society” (89), Frank discusses a set of key concerns present in each of the novels. These include, for example, questions of autonomy for both male and female protagonists, a consideration of sex and romantic adventuring, and, ultimately, an assessment of social integration. Here, “the period of *Bildung* often ends symbolically,” Frank writes, “at the wedding altar,” as “men and women, upon entering into marriage, are complete; they are socially integrated and now fully capable of fulfilling the process of social reproduction in bourgeois society . . . or so goes one of the core ideological givens of the time” (121).

As considered in the chapters titled “Sentimental Educations” and “Marriage and Money,” Frank not only describes important aspects of Alencar’s *Sonhos d’ouro*, Machado de Assis’s *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas*, and Azevedo’s *O Coruja*, but references other classic works both in and outside Brazilian literature. Gustave Flaubert, Émile Zola, Stendhal, Alejandro Dumas, Honoré de Balzac, Thomas Hardy, T. S. Eliot, and Samuel Richardson all make cameo appearances. Relevant conversations also take place along the way with sociologists Georg Simmel, Erving Goffman, and Pierre Bourdieu.

Machado de Assis’s 1880 highly recognized work *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* is a particularly interesting source for Frank’s insightful musings. Technically an anti-bildungsroman, *Brás*, as many will recall, is narrated by a dead man who reveals the callous and often “childish world of the Brazilian elite” (88). In contrast to Machado de Assis’s earlier works, which empathized with individuals who suffered at the hands of the ruling class, Brás apparently identifies with the upper crust while curiously seeing their world with a kind of “ironic bemusement” (44). Reading Machado de Assis, Frank encourages us to appreciate how it might be that the given perspective of “our blasé dead narrator” reveals more about Brazilian life than “a dozen thick tomes on the subject of the relations between the rich and the poor in Rio de Janeiro” (52).

Subsequently taking initial inspiration from Brazilian anthropologist Roberto DaMatta’s study of ritual and practice, the final section of *Reading Rio de Janeiro* plots any number of points “of good living” on the city map (153). Here, the author’s literary thinking is given over to a meticulous physical analysis that subsequently offers up a rich set of geographic interpretations. The patterning of place and various social networks among the elite is quantified, graphed, and illustrated in a number of charts and maps. Taken together, we can imagine “characters float [ing] between locations, knitting together a social and spatial fabric”—a collective choreography of the rich and powerful in other words (173).

In the end, Frank’s careful study of selected nineteenth-century narratives set in the historic context of Rio’s private and public spaces is revealing. Once again paraphrasing Schwarz, the author observes, “Brazil’s social structure was riven with personalistic and capricious favor rather than neutral and impersonal forms of relationships” (176). As can ultimately be surmised, the Brazilian bourgeoisie ruled over their slaves and the rest of the population largely as a confused, self-centered clique with little care for the future or anyone but themselves. Sound familiar?

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BENJAMIN A. COWAN. *Securing Sex: Morality and Repression in the Making of Cold War Brazil*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 324. Paper \$32.95.

In *Securing Sex: Morality and Repression in the Making of Cold War Brazil*, Benjamin A. Cowan develops a detailed analysis of right-wing discourses about gender, sexuality, and morality during Brazil’s authoritarian military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. He discusses the ways in which these discourses helped to construct the ideological architecture for security practices and political repression in mid-Cold War Brazil. Cowan skillfully unpacks how complicated anxieties about perceived sexual perversions, the subversion of gender norms, the rebellions of youth, and their relationship with modernity combined to produce an ongoing moral panic (along the lines classically articulated in Stanley Cohen’s sociological analysis) that was crucial to constructing communist subversion as a moral and cultural threat. Cowan’s analysis illuminates how these processes, produced by a moralistic right wing, ironically helped to sustain the constitution of a “developmentalist technocracy” that was deeply committed to, yet at the same time profoundly ambivalent about, the consequences of the processes of modernization that it sought to construct.

Securing Sex documents the ways in which moral and sexual deviance were perceived by right-wing activists who exerted critical ideological influence in mid-Cold War Brazil. The seven main chapters of the book focus on how diverse counter-subversive actors managed to articulate moral, cultural, and sexual transformations as the product of a subversive conspiracy, and hence to justify its repres-

sion through a set of security practices. Chapter 1 looks at the early history of right-wing activism, beginning in the 1910s and running through the Getúlio Vargas years, ending in 1945, as the Cold War began to take shape more broadly. Chapter 2 shifts to focus on the sexual revolution of the 1960s, examining changes in youth culture, sexual norms, and radical politics that right-wing activists reacted against. Chapter 3 explores transnational connections in right-wing ideology, tracing the networks of individuals and institutions that achieved growing power and influence over the 1960s and 1970s, and the ways in which they drew on contacts from around the Atlantic world in forging an understanding of communism in relation to moral deviance. Chapter 4 examines the doctrinal reproduction of this ideological construction, especially through the Escola Superior de Guerra. Chapter 5, meanwhile, analyzes what Cowan describes as the “moral technocracy” of a cadre of scientific and cultural experts who had taken over the machinery of security institutions and transformed reactionary moral doctrine into repressive police practices, especially in relation to deviant youth. Chapter 6 focuses on the ways in which this framework was extended through legislation and educational policies and practices. Finally, chapter 7 explores the ways in which these right-wing ideologies (and anxieties) ultimately fractured and fragmented in complex and contradictory ways during the final decade of the dictatorship, illustrating how this played out in battles over pornography and birth control practices.

The detailed empirical record that Cowan reconstructs allows him to illuminate the broader conceptual and interpretive frameworks within which political repression made sense to those who practiced it. He details the ways in which an understanding of subversion was constructed in the minds of counter-subversives, as well as the ways in which power was deployed and repression was justified as a result of this construction. Equally important, the author shows that repression in Brazil was part of a much broader transnational history of perceived threats to moral traditions: the notion of the traditional family, traditional gender roles and moral standards, and conventional sexuality and sexual norms. In this sense, Cowan demonstrates that it was “a story of culture wars” even long before that framing began to be used in the U.S. and elsewhere.

While *Securing Sex* will make an impact first and foremost as a history of the ideological roots of Brazil’s military dictatorship, thanks to Cowan’s skill in developing insightful analytic categories, it is sure to also influence broader comparative analyses of cross-national trends and processes in relation to conservative thought and their impact on political struggles. His concept of a “moral technocracy” produced by scientific and cultural authorities who managed to seize the national conversation in order to justify authoritarianism and repression, for example, provides a key framework for potential comparative analysis of similar processes in other settings—both during the same general historical period, as well as across different periods as right-wing ideologies and political movements wax and wane over time. It is unquestionably relevant to any analysis of recent Brazilian history to understand how a new generation

of conservative political activists honed their skills through attacks on moral issues, such as the treatment of gender and sexuality in schools and policies and programs aimed at HIV prevention, as a prelude to their efforts to impeach a sitting president and end more than a decade of Workers’ Party governments. It may well help us to also understand a broader range of conservative ideologies sweeping across large parts of the globe in the early twenty-first century.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MATTHEW J. PERRY. *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 269. \$99.99.

Moses I. Finley believed that Greece and Rome represented two of only five “genuine slave societies” in human history (*Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* [1980]). Ample scholarship on world slavery in the last generation has shown this accounting to be a bit myopic, but the idea of a “slave society” has remained a useful, if crude, category. It denotes those social formations in which slavery becomes central rather than marginal, permeating the system of cultural values and underwriting the creation of elite wealth. Indeed, slavery was unusually prominent in the making of the classical civilizations in the Mediterranean, but Greek and Roman slavery were not monolithic or static, and maybe the principal difference between the two slave systems turned on the regime of manumission. Whereas “Greek” slavery (which is itself a somewhat misleading simplification) was relatively restrictive in its modes of freeing slaves, Roman slavery was a truly open system. The Roman slave system was built on generous forms of manumission that most scholars agree were used with some frequency. In Rome, manumission could lead to full rights of citizenship, and the Romans possessed both legal and cultural mechanisms for the integration of former slaves into the ranks of honest society. Predictably, the path to freedom and honorable status was full of tension and contradiction.

Matthew J. Perry’s *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman* is a valuable study focused on one aspect of the Roman regime of liberating slaves: the freedwoman. As he rightly notes, the study of manumission and freedpersons in recent decades has been—often implicitly—focused on males. Such a perspective is misleading. We have learned that the Roman slave system was gender balanced. It relied heavily on birth to slave women to reproduce the system. Female labor was exploited both in the countryside and in town. Female slaves were integral to the Roman slave system as it grew up in the period of the late republic and early empire, and any full reckoning of slavery, or manumission, must confront the ways that gender shaped the experience of both enslavement and liberation.

Perry’s study offers a reliable guide to the legal and social dynamics of manumission for slave women. He rightly emphasizes the importance of the female slave’s sexual availability in Roman society and the complex effects of this availability for the circulation of honor. The centrality

of female sexual honor to the construction of gender norms in the Roman world posed a special problem for a legal regime that offered integration into society. Perry also surveys the role of female slave labor, which must be integral to any discussion of manumission. Manumission was not practiced willy-nilly. It was embedded in the practices of domination, used as an incentive to motivate slave labor. Female slaves may not have had the same chances as male slaves to earn money to purchase their own manumission, but close proximity to the master's family may have heightened their prospects. Some slave women were freed for the purpose of legitimate marriage. But outside of legitimate unions, children followed the status of their mother, so manumission ended the potential of a woman to give birth to slaves.

Perry provides an expert overview of relations between patrons and freedwomen, first in terms of Roman law. Even the generous regime of manumission in Rome did not mean the end of the relationship between the patron and the freedman or freedwoman. Roman law provided a template for the continuation of respect and even service obligations—both enforceable by law. The legal regime was full of tension, and clearly great diversity of experience was normal. This has been well examined in the case of freedmen, but Perry's study usefully considers how the freedwoman's obligations were enmeshed in a broader system of social control whereby men retained influence over female members of the family and their ownership of property. At the same time, Roman lawyers highly valued marriage, and Roman laws made some effort to protect the freedwoman's ability to form legitimate conjugal bonds. Perry helpfully tours some of the many funerary inscriptions from Rome for a different perspective on life as a freedwoman. These documents provide flashes of insight into a world where strong affective bonds and female agency were more powerful forces than the lawyers might have admitted. A final chapter considers legal and literary sources that highlight the "precarious position within the Roman community" (153) of women who had once been chattel, vulnerable to sexual abuse, and were now citizens capable of honorable marriage.

Perry's study is focused exclusively on the slave system in Rome and central Italy during the late republic and early empire, and does not look outward in time or space. Nonetheless it fills a gap in English-language scholarship and provides a readable synthesis of the complex background of Roman law. It will be a starting point for anyone wishing to understand the importance of manumission in one of history's genuine slave societies.

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HEIDI MARX-WOLF. *Spiritual Taxonomies and Ritual Authority: Platonists, Priests, and Gnostics in the Third Century C.E.* (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. 200. \$55.00.

This illuminating monograph is a contribution to the history of ideas in Late Antiquity. It focuses on the engage-

ment of third-century Platonists with the various religious practices of the time. In particular, Heidi Marx-Wolf explores some of the extant works of Porphyry (ca. 234–305), Iamblichus (ca. 245–325), and Origen, a classmate of Plotinus (204–270), whom the author accepts, on the basis of the latest research, as identical with the Christian Origen (ca. 185–254). These are the works—polemical, practical, and theoretical—that show Greek or “pagan” philosophers trying to come to terms with the decidedly non-Hellenic religions of Alexandria and elsewhere. The period with which Marx-Wolf is dealing is on the cusp of the triumph of Christianity presaged by the persecutions of Diocletian in the first decade of the fourth century and sealed by the conversion of Constantine sometime after the Edict of Milan in 313. The underlying theme of *Spiritual Taxonomies and Ritual Authority: Platonists, Priests, and Gnostics in the Third Century C.E.* is that by the middle of the third century, Platonism had overwhelmed all of the other ancient Greek philosophical schools. There were no Peripatetics, Stoics, Epicureans, or Skeptics left or at least sufficiently prominent for us to know about them. Consequently, Platonists of this time were the lone champions of high Hellenic culture, fighting an increasingly rearguard action against its opponents. This is not to say, of course, that ancient Greek philosophers were themselves indifferent to religious practices and to what we might call “spiritual exercises.” Nevertheless, increasingly, under Christian pressure, the Platonists wanted to demonstrate that they, too, had ritual practices conducive to salvation and scriptures more ancient and illuminating than their competitors. The timing of the rising dominance of Christianity explains, by the way, why Plotinus, generally regarded as the originator of “Neoplatonism,” plays only a very small role in this book. For him, Christianity represented only a minor bizarre curiosity.

All of this Marx-Wolf surveys with considerable refinement and learning. In the first chapter, she examines Porphyry's *On Abstinence from Killing Animals* and tries to show that Porphyry engages in something like an appropriation of Christian demonization of animal sacrifice with what he took to be superior philosophical arguments. Whether, as the author argues, Porphyry arrived at his position—which is admittedly at odds with that of later Platonists like Iamblichus—by engagement with Origen is perhaps not so clear.

The second chapter examines the “spiritual taxonomies” of Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Origen with a view to showing how something like systematization of popular religious beliefs cut across the pagan-Christian divide. The present work, limited to the third century, does not carry this fascinating story forward up to its denouement in the fifth century in Proclus, on the pagan side, and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, on the Christian side, when “god” and “angel” become different names for the same entities.

The third chapter takes on the exceedingly difficult topic of Gnosticism and how Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Origen confront its various strands. Marx-Wolf does not quite arrive at an answer to her question of why these philosophers were interested in this deeply alien ma-

terial and spiritual taxonomies in general. She does, though, provide a salutary, albeit brief, analysis of the difficulty of employing the blanket term “Gnosticism” for religious writings and practices that cut across Jewish, Christian, and Hellenic cultures. From the perspective of the Platonists, the underlying defective principle of all those who might conveniently be labeled “Gnostics” is their antipathy both to rationality and to the Idea of the Good as the universal source of being and normativity. As Marx-Wolf notes, there is clearly much more work to be done on Gnosticism and philosophy in Late Antiquity.

The fourth chapter focuses on ritual authority and the role of priests. Iamblichus is the stellar example of a philosopher who wanted to connect ritual authority with philosophical sophistication, something he found completely lacking among the barbarians. According to Iamblichus, practitioners of ritual, uninformed by Platonic metaphysics, were mere “technicians,” or ineffective imitators. His devotion to theurgy or pagan sacramentalism was explicitly continuous with his account of the Platonic philosophical ascent, which went, as Porphyry put it, from the exterior to the interior and from the lower to the higher, culminating in the highest, the Good or the One.

Marx-Wolf aims to contextualize the work of a group of third-century Platonists or, as she puts it, “cultural entrepreneurs on the relative margins of late Roman society” (126). These philosophers clearly aimed to soften the elitist image of Platonism in the rapidly collapsing Hellenic world. As she argues throughout the book, understanding the continuity between the work of these philosophers and their fourth- and fifth-century Christian antagonists is essential for attaining a clear picture of the institutional and social structure within which the latter operated. As she justly concludes, the idea of “care of the soul” (131), first revealed to us by Plato’s character Socrates, takes on a decidedly different meaning when placed within the late context of indispensable ritual practices intended to protect us from malign cosmic forces.

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ZUBIN MISTRY. *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages, c.500–900*. York: York Medieval Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 342. \$99.00.

Zubin Mistry’s *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages, c.500–900* seeks to uncover the cultural significance of abortion in early medieval societies. While evidence about pre-modern attitudes to abortion in early medieval Western Europe is fragmentary, Mistry manages to summon a range of sources, all condemning the practice. In excerpts of canon laws, penitentials, sermons, saints’ lives, and biblical commentaries, he reads deeply into the context that occasioned authoritative statements on abortion. The resulting monograph is the first to comprehensively gather all of the authoritative fragments on abortion in continental Western Europe from the period and to consider their cumulative effects, addressing how they relate to one another to reflect, if not a cohesive discourse on abortion, then at least the “thought-worlds” of their authors. *Abor-*

tion in the Early Middle Ages firmly establishes that reactions to the practice of abortion were situational, rooted in specific historical circumstances, and unrepresentative of contemporary abstract concerns about fetal “life.”

While historians John T. Noonan Jr. and Peter Biller have offered compelling accounts of abortion and contraception in the Middle Ages, Mistry’s goal is to decipher a specifically early medieval understanding of abortion. In order to gather such an understanding, Mistry sets out to reread the evidence. His focus is on how early medieval authors reused and repurposed classical Roman laws and late antique ecclesiastical dictates by considering textual variants and scribal choices in the production of written statements about abortion. Mistry’s attention to the reworking of statements on abortion reveals that, rather than simply affirming a tradition, ecclesiastical authorities and lawmakers actively deliberated on abortion as a social and political problem. He concludes that these authorities considered abortion as a social and religious ill from its very beginnings, though their reasons for opposing the practice differed according to time, place, and ecclesiastical agenda.

The book opens with a background sketch of Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian attitudes to abortion in classical and late antiquity. Roman *paricidium*, the murder of close relatives, was a critical foundation for the pre-Christian inheritance of attitudes to abortion and infanticide. In Roman law, abortion was abhorrent not because of the ontological status of the fetus; rather, it was regarded as an offense against a husband’s interests and the health of a woman. Especially formative for the early medieval development of discussion about abortion were the fourth-century church councils of Elvira and Ancyra, which promulgated canons that defined abortion and infanticide as sexual transgressions, practices intended to mask infidelity and fornication.

Moving into the sixth century, Mistry shows that Christian moralists in Gaul began to fashion abortion as a community problem. The sermons of Caesarius of Arles, for example, gendered the crime as explicitly female and lamented that the practice denied Christian society of its citizens. Turning to Visigothic Iberia, Mistry shows that multiple juridical views on abortion became entangled with ecclesiastic conceptions of the practice. Disentangling seventh-century legal and canonical pronouncements from earlier precedents, he demonstrates that Visigothic rulers absorbed Christian morality in order to augment political authority. Their prescription of severe punishments and compensations for voluntary abortion adds nuance to Wolfgang P. Müller’s 2012 thesis that abortion was not conceived as a crime until the later Middle Ages (*The Criminalization of Abortion in the West: Its Origins in Medieval Law*).

Chapters 4 through 6 explore Carolingian ecclesiastical and legal pronouncements on abortion. Minor scribal details and textual variants in eighth-century penitential compilations illuminate the moral complexity of clerical thought on abortion. Carolingian ecclesiastical texts reveal an unprecedented, sustained focus on the condemnation of abortion in texts designed for clerical use. Although

Carolingian ecclesiastical authors may have uniformly condemned abortion as a practice, their justifications for doing so never amounted to a coherent moral theory. The expanding number of ecclesiastical texts on abortion reflects new concerns and questions, such as a sensitivity to the pressures of poverty, the ambiguities of early pregnancy, and exceptions for obstetric emergencies and rape. While ecclesiastical authors expressed a growing interest in and sophistication of thought about voluntary abortion, Mistry shows that legal texts were concerned solely with abortion that took place as a result of violence upon a pregnant woman.

In the book's final two chapters, Mistry aims to grasp cultural attitudes to abortion in the early Middle Ages. In chapter 7, he undertakes a microhistorical study of the well-known legal case of Theutberga, the wife of Lothar II, who was accused of incest and abortion in a decade-long divorce case. He shows that accusations of voluntary abortion worked decidedly well to disparage the moral reputation of a royal defendant. Chapter 8 then turns to an examination of the aborted fetus as a metaphor in speculative literature, including works by Augustine, Julian of Toledo, and Braulio of Zaragoza. Although the *Abortivus* was a highly multivalent symbol of the premature or alienated, it never signified innocent victimhood.

Abortion in the Middle Ages demonstrates that, although early medieval clerics uniformly denounced the practice of abortion, their rationale was hardly ever consistent or unified. Abortion most often offended not because it was considered murder but because it was a symptom of sexual transgression, the sign of either adultery or clerical disobedience to a vow of chastity. Mistry's investigation into attitudes about abortion in the early Middle Ages could be enhanced by a thorough discussion of conceptual parameters at the outset of the book. The title of this well-researched and coherently conceived book indicates that the texts under scrutiny consciously describe the willful termination of pregnancy. But the sources are highly ambiguous. The distinctions between contraception, abortion, provocation of the menses, and even infanticide were often extraordinarily blurry in medieval texts, and the author neglects to provide a clear statement guiding his methods for interpreting the term. Nevertheless, *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages* remains a highly useful book that gathers in a single volume the many incoherent fragments of thought on abortion from the continental European early Middle Ages. So many tiny excerpts do not amount to a complete picture, but they certainly demonstrate that one cannot look to the early medieval past for a unified position on abortion.

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CLAUDIA RAPP. *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual*. (Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 349. \$65.00.

Returning to a topic made famous, or infamous, by John Boswell in his *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe*

(1994), Claudia Rapp in *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* seeks to provide her own explanation for, and interpretation of the significance of, the rite of brother-making (*adelphopoiesis*) in Byzantium. Aware of the sensitivity of the subject matter, which some have seen as a form of gay marriage, Rapp treads her path in this "minefield" (1) very carefully, even tentatively, setting out clearly her approach to it. She meticulously defines the structure of her book, and reiterates regularly her argument. For Rapp, the rite had its origins in Byzantine monasticism, from which it spread to the wider society. It is striking that the largest chapter in the book, "The Origins: Small-Group Monasticism in Late Antiquity," focuses on this key aspect of her thesis. This chapter is flanked on one side by an introduction and a chapter each on social structures (chap. 1) and *adelphopoiesis* (chap. 2), and on the other by chapters on the social practice of brother-making (chap. 4), prescriptions and restrictions (chap. 5), and cases beyond Byzantium (chap. 6). Three appendixes follow the chapters, all concerning the prayers for the rite preserved in *euchologia* (prayer books), the earliest extant dating to the eighth century and the latest dating to the sixteenth century. Sixty-six manuscripts are listed, in which sixteen different prayers appear, and translations of these prayers are provided, so the appendixes function as an excellent resource in their own right. Rapp's book is also distinguished by the provision of a series of four case studies in which the subject can be explored in more depth. They consist of "Symeon the Fool and John and Other Examples from Hagiography" (157–160); "Emperor Basil I and John, the Son of Danelis" (201–210); "Demetrios Chomatenos, Legal Expert and Bishop in Thirteenth-Century Epiros" (242–246); and "Kapetan Michalis and Nuri Bey" (249–252). Of the chapters, the fifth is particularly distinctive as it engagingly and wisely adopts the form of question-and-answer texts in order to deal with rules and regulations concerning *adelphopoiesis*.

Although mainly motivated to argue her thesis that the famous rite had its origins in Byzantine monasticism, Rapp provides a compelling account of social relationships in Byzantium through the prism of brother-making. We are taken on a tour of such subjects as family relationships, the language of family as it applies to other relationships, and the development and variety of early monasticism, and not just in Byzantium but elsewhere in Europe and beyond. We encounter figures who would not normally appear in books on Byzantium, such as Edward II (31) and Gerald of Wales (71–72). Rapp's treatment of a modern blessing that took place in Jerusalem in 1985 between two female scholars of Syriac Christianity is especially vivid, utilizing the recollections of both women (49–53). One cannot help but be drawn into this fascinating world, such is the rich material that Rapp makes use of. It is evident that she is also keen to provide some balance to the vision conjured up by Boswell, and we hear from other voices, such as those of Ruth Macrides on fictive kinship and Margaret Mullett on friendship. We are reminded that *adelphopoiesis* could be concluded between groups of men, and that it could exist between men and women and

between women and women too. Rapp emphasizes that the rite was just “one of several kinship strategies” (47) and that the motivations for adopting it could vary from case to case. She also usefully points the way to other projects that need to be undertaken, such as on iconography in the cult of military saints (16) and on the liturgical tradition of *adelphopoiesis* (56). I found much to stimulate me in relation to my own work on eunuchs in Byzantium.

Despite her view on the origins of the rite, it is notable that Rapp shows some hesitation in asserting that her interpretation is correct; she thinks her case is convincing if not watertight (88), that it is like a loose-fitting mosaic (261). Indeed, one might question her belief that the rite originated in early monasticism; if this were the case, why does it take until the eighth century for it to be first securely mentioned? She raises the possibility that there is an earlier instance of prayers for spiritual brotherhood, but this is not dealt with at length (77). Also added to the mix is the notion that the rite originated in a military context, but this is given fairly short shrift (260). One might also feel that she skirts around the question of sex. She alludes to this as “the proverbial elephant in the room” (40), but her coyness has more to do with the lack of explicit evidence, it seems (“It is difficult to see any further . . . when the bedroom lights are out” [47]). For those who are drawn to *adelphopoiesis* for its queer appeal, there is still much to satisfy here. Questions are asked of relations between men and men, and women and women, even if answers are elusive. A definite case of male lovers does arise (241), and we spend time thinking about Basil the Macedonian and homosociality in Byzantium. Indeed, Rapp’s book joins others indicating that Byzantine men are finally coming to center stage in Byzantine studies; it follows hard on the heels of Mark Masterson’s *Man to Man: Desire, Homosociality, and Authority in Late-Roman Manhood* (2014) and Charis Messis’s *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire* (2014). Providing as it does such fascinating and thought-provoking material, Rapp’s book can only add to this momentum.

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E. M. ROSE. *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 394. \$27.95.

The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe is a study of the death of a twelve-year-old boy and, especially, the afterlife of the narrative that took shape around him. The body of William, an apprentice tanner in the East Anglian city of Norwich, was found in the woods around Easter 1144, and the Jews of Norwich were accused of murdering him by conspiring to torture and crucify him in imitation of Christ. The story, preserved in the *Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, written in Latin by the Benedictine monk Thomas of Monmouth and completed by 1173, is well known to medievalists. It has long been understood as an origin point for libelous accounts of ritual murder and blood collection by Jews that, though most prevalent in the late me-

dieval and early modern periods, have persisted in our own time. Gavin I. Langmuir pinned the invention of the accusation on the author of the *Life and Passion*, a man of fervent if misguided belief. While important counterarguments and revised chronologies have been posited (notably by Israel Jacob Yuval and John A. McCulloh), little has shaken Langmuir’s fundamental claim about the creativity of the monkish writer—until now.

E. M. Rose offers a new origin point for this first known accusation of ritual murder, and she moves the scholarly focus from a search for populist anti-Jewish sentiment, religiosity, and criminal intent to courtroom maneuvers and the dispassionate strategies of men more concerned with money and statecraft than truth. Rose argues that the framing of William’s death as a religiously motivated murder by Jews was *not* the invention of Thomas of Monmouth but rather the expression of an ingenious defense strategy devised by William Turbe, Bishop of Norwich, during a separate homicide trial. In 1149/1150, Turbe defended Simon de Novers, a knight and crusader from a well-connected family who was accused of killing a Norwich Jew to whom he was indebted. During this trial, Rose argues, Turbe freed his client by accusing Jews of the 1144 murder, probably revivifying a defunct rumor, and suggesting that any action against a Norwich Jew was thus defensive and retributive. To substantiate his claims, he had William’s body moved to places of honor in the Norwich priory and cathedral three times before 1154, and it must have been at this time that he ordered Thomas to compose the *Life and Passion* and keep records of sanctifying miracles. The Norwich monks, suffering financially in the aftermath of civil war, put mostly ineffective effort into promoting the saint’s cult. The libel was, as Rose puts it, merely “a product of local monastic interests, family maneuvering, and spiritual activity typical of mid-twelfth-century England. It was not particularly innovative, nor focused on social, economic, or religious competition between Christians and Jews” (123).

Such is the argument of the first part of the book. The second part treats the aftermath by carefully tracing the transmission of the libelous story and its copycats in the decades following. Rose examines the next four decipherable accusations against Jews: in Gloucester (1168), likely spurred by the desperate financial maneuvering of an earl (Richard de Clare) undertaking an Irish expedition; in Blois (1171), a horrendous case in which more than thirty Jews were burned alive on order of Count Thibaut V, who was trying to establish political and financial independence in relation to his powerful siblings; in Bury Saint Edmunds (1181), where a new abbot (Samson) used a similar case to support his financial reforms and consolidate the liberties of his monastery; and in Paris (1181/1182), where a young king (Philip Augustus) accused and expelled Jews to raise funds and develop the city. In each case, Rose demonstrates, the people involved and the contours of the accusations were interconnected, and the outcomes were advantageous, if not crucial, to the survival of the institutions implicated. Where religious devotion was at issue—for example, in the concurrent rise of Marian devotion or the connection of young victims to the Feast

of Holy Innocents—it was an afterthought. Religion and devotion affected the range of possible motivations, justifications, and outcomes, but were not the primary cause.

A case can be made, perhaps, that Rose occasionally writes with more certainty than evidence allows. For instance, the only record of the Simon de Novers trial is in Thomas's clearly biased *Life and Passion*. Elsewhere, apparently to bolster her argument against the success of William's cult beyond the Norwich monastic community, Rose claims that "[n]o shorter work about William ever appeared or was attempted" (122), though a short version does survive in John of Tynemouth's fourteenth-century *Sanctilogium Angliae*, which was in turn used for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century iterations. But so much here is new and scrupulously researched; even when claims are somewhat imaginative, they are almost always the result of plausible connections. The book is ultimately persuasive.

More worthy of consideration is Rose's pointed avoidance of the history of antisemitism as such. She consciously chooses never to use the terms "anti-Judaism" or "antisemitism," and she likewise avoids calling medieval Jews "moneylenders" (choosing the more neutral if anachronistic term "banker") and regards "ritual murder" and "blood libel" as interchangeable, since their historical development overlaps and has not been, in her view, adequately disentangled (see appendixes). Part of her point, clearly, is the overwhelming banality of this evil. The libels are not the product of fervor, bigotry, or mass hysteria; they are, rather, an outgrowth of financial and legal strategy in a climate of war and mean politics, when a few men with enough power wanted more money and fewer constraints. Partly through careful sidestepping of loaded vocabularies, Rose effectively communicates an Arendtian argument: bigotry and violence, and their long-reaching catastrophic outcomes, begin with no remarkable evil.

The Murder of William of Norwich is a sweeping revision of an influential scholarly story. Anyone who works on twelfth-century England, Anglo-Jewish history, or medieval and later antisemitisms will have to contend with this book. It is a significant accomplishment.

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ANTOINE DESTEMBERG. *L'honneur des universitaires au Moyen Âge: Étude d'imaginaire social*. (Le noeud gordien.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2015. Pp. viii, 389. €32.00.

The anthropological sociology of Pierre Bourdieu has undoubtedly provided its particular lexical and conceptual framework to Antoine Destemberg's study of the medieval *homo academicus* and his world. In *L'honneur des universitaires au Moyen Âge: Étude d'imaginaire social*, the author, using this theoretical model heuristically, reveals hitherto unexplored dimensions of the relationship between knowledge and status during the Middle Ages, when knowledge per se was not considered a legitimate foundation for a social category. Honor, thus, was at once academic competence, the prestige such competence was expected to command (at least in the social imagination of academics), and

the efforts deployed to justify and defend that prestige. The author focuses primarily on the University of Paris, whose distinctive features provide most of his characterization of medieval academic honor, although circumstances at other universities (such as those in Aix-en-Provence, Avignon, Bologna, Heidelberg, Oxford, Montpellier, and Orléans) are also considered for comparative purposes.

Destemberg tracks the transactional politics of scholarly prestige in detail. He sees honor as prompting behavior and negotiating friction between the awareness academics had of society at large and their own strategies for achieving an appropriate integration within it, both as individuals and as a community. If, as Destemberg holds, honor created social boundaries that generated academic professional identity and legitimacy, it seems to this reviewer that honor is a too systematically applied lens for the modern examination of medieval masters and students. That no aspect of university life appears to have escaped the symbolic economy and material remunerations of honor amounts to an implicit claim that honor suffices to account for the formation and operations of the medieval university. Destemberg's all-encompassing analysis of the academic milieu rests upon a wealth of empirical evidence, which will permit further explorations of the extent to which honor constitutes a fundamental analytical category for a sociology of medieval knowledge.

Parisian scholars developed particular myths, rituals, and images, both for self-definition and for outward presentation of the university as a collectivity distinguished by a privileged status, a defined geopolitical location, and a clerical, male, celibate, and intellectual occupation. Although Destemberg's study presents these distinctive characteristics topically, he is not insensitive to chronology, repeatedly highlighting three crucial moments in the consolidation of the university as an institution. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the aftermath of the first strike (*cessatio*) in European history, the University of Paris gained legal autonomy. The category of master thereafter carried an acknowledged status, entailing moral and professional responsibilities, but also attracting criticism. In the mid-fourteenth century, during the conflict between French king Philip the Fair (d. 1314) and the papacy, the king relied upon the theological authority of the Parisian masters, transforming knowledge into a political force and heralding a period of national cooperation with the university. Valois rulers thereafter strengthened this relationship by populating their government with law and theology graduates. By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, in the wake of the Hundred Years' War, the University of Paris had to cope with the consequences of its lukewarm support of King Charles VII (d. 1461). In response to a general reform of the University of Paris in 1452, academics went on strike, wielding their premier weapon in defense of their honor, only to have this right deemed a crime of *lèse-majesté*.

As this schematic chronology makes clear, the prestige of the University of Paris hinged upon its rapport with ruling authorities. Many of its endeavors therefore sought to accentuate such alliances. Access to papal, royal, and imperial patronage was demonstrated by dramatic encounters, by the documentation of gifts, rights, and franchises,

and by explicit imagery. The particular proximity of scholars to the king in Paris, which was also the site of the mythic transmission of knowledge from Greece, through Rome, to France (*translatio studii*), enabled academic participation in royal entries and funerals, and also in multiple liturgical processions. All broadcast the University of Paris's contribution to the prestige of the royal capital, and eagerness to dominate its space.

Moreover, the itinerary and ordering of its corteges positioned the academic community along an inner hierarchical axis, for academics also developed an internal crucible for the forging of their own standards of reputation. Convocations and graduations were public ceremonies during which oaths were required of graduates whose recognition by the university demanded the demonstration, via gifts, speeches, and banquets, that their learning had passed both scholarly and social tests of aptitude. Destemberg stresses that university training sought to implant a system of academic dispositions that went beyond scholarly merit in order to achieve the corporation's social reproduction. The formulation and preservation of normative institutional standards was entrusted to *memoria*. Gradually elaborated around the liturgy of the dead, memorialization of exemplary ancestors, however, proved difficult, as two models—the devout master (advocated by the Dominicans) and the intellectually brilliant but often controversial scholar—conflicted. Only in the fifteenth century did faculties and regional corporations of students (nations) begin to record and commemorate obits. *Memoria*'s failure to produce a patron saint for the university as a whole highlights the heteroclit nature of the institution, crammed with multiple regional and religious identities, and afflicted by censorious attitudes toward ideas held to deviate from the canon of authoritative truth and toward masculine behaviors that rejected the requirements of celibacy. In this setting of individuals, trained to debate and encouraged to rise personally to the challenges of the curriculum and to attain the benefits of a brilliant career, it seems that academic identity was at its most collective whenever the legal protection associated with academic clerical status, or the respect expected on account of learning, was derided and threatened.

In the last paragraph of his book, Destemberg finally offers a definition of honor as the symbolic capital that a group deploys to demarcate a particular social position, though his study demonstrates that honor does not necessarily outweigh individual practices or effectuate recognition of the social classification it projects.

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JULIA I. MILLER and LAURIE TAYLOR-MITCHELL. *From Giotto to Botticelli: The Artistic Patronage of the Humiliati in Florence*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 244. \$74.95.

In this elegant and highly readable volume on the artistic patronage of the Humiliati religious order in Florence from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, authors Julia I. Miller and Laurie Taylor-Mitchell have combined an extensive iconographic study with an in-depth historical

analysis. *From Giotto to Botticelli: The Artistic Patronage of the Humiliati in Florence* will satisfy scholars of both history and art history while illuminating the context of the rich and prolific artistic patronage of this little-known religious group and their small church in the heart of Florence.

Miller and Taylor-Mitchell suggest that the artistic patronage of the Humiliati of Ognissanti illustrates the desire of the order to create a sustaining identity that reflected the movement's original values and purpose. The authors trace the evolution of artistic patronage from the first decades of the fourteenth century, when the vibrant, active order was able to commission such renowned artists as Giotto to complete famed works such as the *Ognissanti Madonna*. Subsequent chapters chart the order's patronage through works of the High Renaissance by artists including Sandro Botticelli and Domenico Ghirlandaio, to the works commissioned during the decline and ultimate suppression of the order in the mid-sixteenth century.

As with many medieval religious orders, the Humiliati were ultimately victims of their own success. Founded on the principles of apostolic charity and poverty, their popularity in the thirteenth century ensured the accumulation of great wealth in the form of bequests and land rentals leading to accusations of impropriety and corruption. Unlike other orders, they lacked a founding saint or legendary leader such as Francis or Dominic to maintain the mythology of their purpose and present a public ideal. As they grew more prosperous, they also failed to develop an identity as a movement of important intellectuals in the manner of the Dominicans. The Humiliati therefore sought to create an identity through their patronage of art that created a visual tradition. In fact, according to the authors, they appropriated much of the imagery and values of the Dominicans in the hope that the Humiliati could create the same legitimacy as that established order.

In order to investigate what they term "the visual ideology" (4) of the order, the authors divide the study into two thematic constructs. They examine the continuity of iconographic elements of major works that reflect core principles of the Humiliati such as humility and charity. Then, by comparing these themes in works commissioned by the Humiliati with similar iconography in art commissioned for other religious orders, they are able to illustrate what is uniquely "Humiliati" visual ideology. Often these works are helpfully placed side by side in the text, which provides a visual reference to illustrate the authors' argument.

As the authors trace the trajectory of artistic patronage and production through the history of the order, they place this activity firmly within the historical context of the period. Examining evidence as diverse as demographic data from the census of Humiliati establishments in northern Italy to indications of communal ties and political relationships with the great families of Renaissance Florence, they provide a very well-researched overview of the order and its challenges across time. The spatial layout of the text, which weaves the history of the movement into a visual chronology of artistic output while providing examples of how the very placement of the art within the church held meaning and purpose, provides a multidimensional experience for the reader.

Miller and Taylor-Mitchell go to great pains to point out that the Florentine Ognissanti were unique among Humiliati houses, yet carefully place the group in the larger context of the Humiliati movement and maintain that they were representative of it. It is, nevertheless, a bit difficult to see Ognissanti as reflective of the order in general. As the authors illustrate, over the fourteenth century the movement throughout northern and central Italy moved away from its earlier commitment to helping the poor through economically competitive production of wool cloth. The Ognissanti Humiliati, however, were never as involved in this activity as the much smaller independent groups in northern Italy and were always more oriented to the culture of Florence. Still, this study illustrates how the art commissioned by the Ognissanti in Florence referenced the values of the whole movement as they strove to create a perceived unifying connection.

As the order began to decline in the late fifteenth century, the Ognissanti tried desperately to maintain their status and depended on the patronage of great Renaissance families such as the Vespucci. Miller and Taylor-Mitchell suggest that while the art produced during this era largely reflects the individual interests of the patrons, it still retains elements of earlier unifying iconography. Their argument here is a bit more tenuous than that regarding the art of the earlier centuries. It is clear that by this era the Humiliati had lost their earlier purpose and become an order in crisis. Rather than searching for ambiguous references to traditional values, it might be more useful to suggest how this shift away from referencing the old order signaled the movement's ultimate demise.

For historians of religious orders such as the Humiliati, this work adds an exciting dimension to their story, one that has not been examined to date. Historians often reference the lack of a charismatic leader or founding saint, but the impact this had on the evolution of the order has been absent in the historiography. Miller and Taylor-Mitchell's exhaustive examination of artistic patronage and its visual representation within the church of Ognissanti provides a fresh perspective on this religious movement. Considering the cultural production of the Humiliati as expressive of their traditions and values, this reflective work on the evolution of the Humiliati's movement is a welcome addition to the historiography. For those who would just like a greater appreciation of the magnificent works of art produced by the likes of Giotto and Botticelli for this little church in Florence, this gorgeous book will more than satisfy as well.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

THOMAS W. LAQUEUR. *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 711. \$39.95.

Thomas W. Laqueur's *The Work of the Dead* contains 711 very full pages, including 119 pages of notes, 30 of index, numerous black-and-white and color illustrations that I

would call iconographic documents, and hundreds of interesting archival sources consisting of texts from the sixteenth century to the present and others going back to antiquity. Laqueur furthermore draws from the disciplines of philosophy, literature, anthropology, political science, art, sociology, and archaeology—all of this wrapped in a book of cultural history. First, we look at the masterpiece with awe: How is it possible to do so much, to say so much about the dead in so many societies over such a broad sweep of time, even in a book as capacious as this? The title is an oxymoron: the dead do not work—it is the individuals who bury them (or not), who tend their graves or forget, who mourn (or not), who work through their grief (or not) in philosophical, material, ritual, and spiritual ways. Moreover, corpses are nothing, all is in the “soul”—whatever that term means—and yet to take care of the dead is the epitome of humanity; caring for the dead while one is still living ensures that one's own humanity will not be lost in death.

The book is organized into four unequal parts, two of them short (the first and the fourth) and two extremely long. The first is a long introduction to “the deep time of the dead” in which Laqueur explains his anthropological and “longue durée” idea, the notion that all human societies since prehistory have been taking care of their dead. The fourth and last part takes a more and more frequently used ritual in occidental societies—the burning of the dead—to think about the future. The lengthy second part, “Places of the Dead,” focuses mainly on cemeteries and how they replaced churchyards in Christian settings. The somewhat shorter “Names of the Dead” addresses both the topography and typology of the dead (where and who they are), and is organized more or less chronologically with occasional flashbacks of different sorts.

To read this work is a joy because it is full of examples that are *exempla* in the medieval meaning, from Tertullian to Danilo Kiš, from Martin Luther to Voltaire, from Karl Marx's grave to Robert Hertz's invention in 1907 of the two (and more, in contrast to Ernst Kantorowicz) bodies of the bodies, physical, biological, spiritual. It could have been interesting to know how Hertz, a Hungarian Jew who had immigrated to France and died in the First World War, thought of the “work of the dead.”

Although the section on the early modern period is mainly about Britain and follows quite well the cemetery quest and the political, societal, and religious connotations attached to it, the rest of the book presents too many generalizations about too many countries and too many societies. Maurice Halbwachs put it very well in the 1920s when he said that individuals remember, but they do it in groups. Marc Bloch, however, criticized him. Bloch was not so sure that Halbwachs's theory of group memory worked, because of the lack of reflection that took place during transmission. We could paraphrase these two giants of the social sciences and ask: If every individual dies, do only groups make the dead “work”?

At the end, Laqueur loses himself and his reader, especially when it comes to instances of mass death such as in the two world wars and the Holocaust, or huge epidemics such as plagues or AIDS. He is well aware of this

since he finishes the book with an afterword, "From the History of the Dead to a History of Dying," in which he tackles the different ways of dying, a topic I thought he would begin with when I read the title on the jacket. The problem is that there is too much in one book. Early modern Europe is a fascinating time and place but requires different skills—and a more compact geographic framework—from those needed to study our globalized world. And the story is not finished: "O death, where is thy victory?"

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IAN KERSHAW. *To Hell and Back: Europe, 1914–1949*. New York: Viking, 2015. Pp. xxvi, 592. \$35.00.

Hell is more than a metaphor in *To Hell and Back: Europe, 1914–1949*, the first of two volumes by Ian Kershaw on the history of twentieth-century Europe. Soldiers experienced "four years of hell" in the First World War (62). "Appeasement" was the proverbial "road to hell paved with good intentions" down which Adolf Hitler brilliantly outsmarted his democratic opponents (295). "Hell on Earth" is the title of the chapter on the Second World War, when the German invasion of Soviet Russia and the genocide of Europe's Jews marked the final descent into the "pit of dire inhumanity" (364). "Today . . . hell must be like this," wrote Primo Levi of Auschwitz (372). The war culminated in a paroxysm of violence. A quarter of Europe's war dead (and half of Germany's) perished in the final eleven months in what for German civilians was their own "hell on earth" (402).

This was Europe's doing, not that of one country, creed, or person, though many of each played their part. Adopting a European perspective, Kershaw writes of the Continent in the singular while remaining deeply attuned to its diversity. At the heart of his story is Europe's near implosion, from which it nonetheless, almost miraculously, recovered (the theme of his second volume). The dramatic unity of this first volume comes from the relationship between the world wars. As he sums it up: "With the Second World War, the Europe that was the legacy of the First came to an end. The continent almost destroyed itself. But it survived" (348).

Writing history of this kind and on this scale means working in three dimensions. First is the mastery of abundant historiographies on the many elements of the story and the ability to weave them into a succinct and compelling narrative. Second is the capacity to make clear but measured judgments on the historical controversies involved. Third (and least habitual for the professional historian) is the need to chart the course of the story by a moral compass, without which the retrospective descent into the "pit of inhumanity" risks losing all sense of direction. Yet this must not be at the expense of an imaginative understanding of those involved: the manifold perpetrators, victims, participants, and bystanders. It is hard to think of a greater challenge; Kershaw rises to it triumphantly.

Logically, Kershaw's twentieth century begins with the first descent into his double-dip hell in 1914. On this, as with other turning points along the road taken, he is alert to contingency and weighs up likely alternatives without

lapsing into counterfactual history. While locating its source in the troubled eastern half of the Continent (an emphasis throughout the book) and in the high-risk strategies pursued by Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia in defense of their prestige or even survival, Kershaw considers that a European war was "far from inevitable" (27). Likewise, the reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland in 1936 by a barely rearmed Germany offered the French and British a real chance to halt Hitler's expansionism and block the path to a second war. The weakness and self-doubt of the democracies thus contributed to the catastrophe that followed. By contrast, the resulting power vacuum in 1945 was naturally filled by the two ideologically opposed superpowers that defeated Nazi Germany—the USSR and the U.S.—making the Cold War (for Kershaw) inevitable and the debate on who was to blame "largely pointless" (508).

For all the centrality of the two wars to Kershaw's account, his thesis pivots on the postwar periods (hence 1949 is his end-point, not 1945). He sums it up by a brilliant paradox in his final chapter. Despite far greater chaos and destruction in 1945 than in 1918, the foundations had been laid within four years for stability and recovery in both parts of a divided Europe and for unparalleled prosperity in the West. "How was that possible?" he asks (472). The answer, of course, is that the First World War, while not inevitable, unleashed forces (or at least gave them such violent and radical expression) that not only destroyed the world of those who had embarked on war, but also could not be resolved in a comparable postwar period.

Kershaw is less kind than some others might be about the attempts that were made to build democracy and a new international order. The League of Nations is largely reduced to its abysmal failure to respond to Japanese aggression in Manchuria or to deliver on the utopian hopes of disarmament. The attempt to protect minorities, the supranational organizations constructed to foster peace and social progress, and even the first version of a project for European integration count for little. From the viewpoint of "hell," this makes sense. This alternative Europe proved manifestly unable to counteract the ethnic racism, territorial disputes, class antagonisms, and structural instability of capitalism that dominated the interwar years.

Yet had Weimar Germany survived, things might have turned out differently. Inevitably, the case of Germany, still the potential continental hegemon despite defeat in 1918, is at the heart of the historical seismograph. As Kershaw argues, the fact that Germany, unlike Italy and Russia, did not pass straight to a new kind of antiliberal regime as a result of the First World War but instead (and crucially with the support of the army) adopted parliamentary democracy was all-important. For all the structural weaknesses of democracy in Germany and Europe, it was the external crisis of international capitalism that marked the crucial turning point for both. Once Germany had resolved the political crisis that followed the 1929 crash by "the worst possible outcome" (208), the fate of the Continent turned on the interplay between the radical regimes that now marked all three of the defeated powers of the Great War: Russia, Italy, and Germany.

Neatly outstepping tired theoretical disputes on “totalitarianism” without abandoning a common framework, Kershaw compares and contrasts these three “dynamic dictatorships” in one of his most stimulating analyses (264–294). All were revolutionary in their different ways. All aspired to total control, though to different ends, and all used unprecedented violence, though in different degrees. But where that violence was turned inward to revolutionizing society in the USSR, and outward to colonial empire with Fascist Italy, it was deployed by Hitler’s Germany against domestic minorities before being turned on Europe (especially the East) in a quest for a racial empire. Once the roadblocks to war had been lifted, the path to hell and the consummation of the “worst possible outcome” for the Continent as a whole was only a matter of time. For the full story of how a road back was possible, and with what consequences for the rest of the century, we shall have to await Kershaw’s second volume.

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STEVEN GUNN. *Henry VII’s New Men and the Making of Tudor England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 393. \$100.00.

In the acknowledgments to *Henry VII’s New Men and the Making of Tudor England*, Steven Gunn comments on the “unconscionable time” it took him to write it (vii). In my view, the breadth and depth of the research that went into producing it both explain and justify that time. It would be surprising to find a contemporary source on the new men anywhere in a British archive that Gunn has not uncovered and used in this book. His thesis, amply proven, is that the subjects of his study played a crucial role in creating the Tudor monarchy. They contributed to rebalancing the power of the great noblemen and lesser men, centralizing justice at the expense of local autonomy, reducing the autonomy of the church, and expanding the king’s ability to tap his subjects’ wealth.

The new men consisted of a relatively small group of eleven—Reynald Bray, Richard Empson, Edmund Dudley, Henry Wyatt, Thomas Lovell, Andrew Windsor, John Hussey, Edward Poynings, Thomas Brandon, Henry Marney, and Robert Southwell. While only five of their fathers were knights, all of them were knighted before they died, and a number were created knights of the garter. However, none of them came from a noble family or received a peerage from Henry VII. Subsequently, Henry VIII promoted three of them to baronages—Marney in 1523 and Hussey and Windsor in 1529.

The new men had a wide variety of skills—five were lawyers, and at least three served the king in the military. Windsor was both—a member of the Middle Temple and an active soldier in France in 1513 and 1514. What is most striking, however, is how many positions the men held during their careers. For example, Lovell was a member of five parliaments and speaker of the house from 1485 to 1488; a justice of the peace in eight counties; treasurer of the king’s chamber and then of his household; chancellor

of the exchequer; constable of numerous castles and steward of various duchies; a commissioner of array; master of the king’s wards; high steward of both universities; and lieutenant of Calais under Henry VIII.

All of the new men became wealthy during their service to Henry VII. In addition to the fees or wages they received for their offices, the Crown also often granted them annuities and local offices. They were also in a prime position for receiving valuable wardships that accrued to the king. Indeed, they played a major role in expanding the Crown’s profit from its feudal tenures. Their proximity to the king also ensured that they received pensions and gifts from those who wanted their favor or intervention with the Crown on their behalf. Like everyone with money to spare, they invested much of their profit in land, which became a further source of their wealth and of power in the countryside. Gunn argues that they were richer than all of their contemporaries except for their wealthiest peers.

None of the new men could possibly have carried out all their responsibilities on their own. In turn, therefore, they appointed deputies to assist them. As they accumulated land, they also employed receivers, bailiffs, and stewards to administer their estates. These subordinates became the foundation of their own power in wide areas of England and connected them to their servants’ and subordinates’ families and friends.

Except for Empson and Dudley, who were sacrificed to appease the outrage at Henry VII’s financial exactions, the new men continued in office after Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509. Only their deaths ended their service to the Crown. Andrew Windsor, first Lord Windsor, remained Keeper of the Wardrobe until his death in 1543. This continuity at the bureaucratic level contrasted with the public differences between the two kings. Unlike his father, Henry VIII captured his subjects’ imagination through his tournaments and court festivities. He also scandalized them with his rowdy behavior with his close companions in London. Many of the latter were appointed to positions in his privy chamber and became wealthy through their intimacy with the king. At the same time, the second Tudor remembered the secret of his father’s success governing the kingdom. When Henry VII’s new men died, he appointed his own, notably Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, to administer his government and plan the policies necessary to fulfill his wishes.

All in all, *Henry VII’s New Men and the Making of Tudor England* is essential reading for scholars of the early Tudor period. It is also a gold mine for anyone who wants to study the lives of those men in detail.

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WILLIAM M. CAVERT. *The Smoke of London: Energy and Environment in the Early Modern City*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xix, 274. \$99.99.

For many people, smoky London town conjures up pictures of a Victorian street with a yellow gaslight looming

through the murk and the figure of Jack the Ripper silhouetted against the darkness. William M. Cavert's *The Smoke of London: Energy and Environment in the Early Modern City*, however, explores the story of smoke pollution in the capital city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. London became reliant on coal for a variety of purposes from the sixteenth century onward. While Londoners found coal "ugly, unhealthy, or undesirable" (xviii), it became embedded in conceptions of social stability, economic prosperity, and state power. According to Cavert, it "brought benefits that rendered its dirtiness acceptable" (xviii). Disruption to coal supplies was thought to be as devastating to the social order as were problems with food supplies.

Cavert looks at the early legal debates, many initiated by personal complaints from Elizabeth I and Charles I, aimed at limiting smoky industries located near the Royal Palaces. Charles II shared his father's dislike of coal smoke, but "measures against it were limited, local, sporadic, and rearguard" (190), not least because Charles was more interested in projects outside the capital city in Windsor or Greenwich. Such preferences marked the failure of earlier attempts to limit smoky industries within London.

The situation changed gradually as local magistrates became more interested in cleaning London's air to benefit health and to protect buildings. But these early attempts to legislate started a pattern that was to be followed during later centuries as attempts to reduce smoke failed to be passed into law. For many people, a major part of the problem was that the smoke pouring from workshops signified industrial success and full employment, just as smoke issuing from domestic chimneys registered prosperity and cozy domesticity, a relationship only hinted at in Cavert's book.

Other, wealthier individuals also tried to limit the number of smoke-emitting industries located near their own dwellings. New developments in the west of London, such as Covent Garden, prohibited smoky trades from the outset in order to attract a higher class of resident. Urban settlements created for and by social and political elites partly explain why London's East End suffered more from the West End's smoke, as the vapors from the increasing number of domestic dwellings were blown eastward by the prevailing winds.

The most significant stand against smoke during the period covered by this book was John Evelyn's pioneering pamphlet *Fumifugium* (1661). Powerful though it was, Evelyn's polemic had little practical effect. Cavert also surveys the metaphorical and literary resonances of smoke. For many, London could be summed up as a place of "sin and sea coal" (200). The smoky atmosphere evoked images of mercantile greed and corruption. While the smoke of London might ruin innocent women, London could be an intellectual center for women, leading one bluestocking to write that she looked "forward with joy to the dark days of January and the smoke of London," which reduced the possibilities for outdoor recreations (214).

This book is not about the mixture of smoke with the

natural damp atmosphere of London that produced London fogs, the "pea-soupers," which became frequent and dense from the 1830s onward; it is about specific smoke nuisances from industries such as breweries, soap producers, tanners, and glass and brick manufacturers whose smoke poured into neighboring houses, ruining their furnishings and clogging up their inhabitants' lungs. People who were part of these earlier centuries were not environmentally apathetic, and they attempted to control or even curb the filthy smoke because many were personally affected. Cavert shows the development from initial attempts to protect the city's air and beauty to wider projects. All of this sets the scene for later battles as industry in London expanded and domestic hearths increased, which culminated in the Clean Air Act of 1956.

Cavert has written an engrossing, readable, and authoritative study of a significant episode in the history of the urban environment, one with important lessons for today. It is a pity, however, that the publishers chose not to include any illustrations, despite the rich visual sources available on this topic.

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MARK G. HANNA. *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570–1740*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., 2015. Pp. xvi, 448. \$45.00.

In *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570–1740*, Mark G. Hanna provides a fascinating and informative history of the rise and fall of international piracy from the late sixteenth through mid-eighteenth centuries. Whereas most historical treatments of piracy focus attention on sea bandits at sea, Hanna focuses attention on them at shore. And whereas most previous work's central concern is with pirates themselves, Hanna's interest is with the relationships that sea bandits had to and with landlubbers—the colonials who facilitated piracy and, ultimately, its demise.

The first five chapters of Hanna's book consider "pirate nests," colonial communities in Jamaica and North America that supported maritime marauders by fitting out their vessels, providing markets for their stolen goods, and offering them legal refuge, including lives to which they could retire after a big score. Chapters 6 through 10 study eroding support for pirates, a turning point reached in the transformative 1690s, when enthusiasm for sea bandits began to wane and once hospitable colonial communities started to turn on them, culminating just a few decades later in the "war on pirates" that led to their virtual extinction.

Hanna sees political, religious, and economic factors as contributing to early support for sea bandits in colonial pirate nests. But it is the economic factors that seem most persuasive: specifically, Crown-created trade restrictions. Those restrictions, manifested in the monopoly privileges granted to the East India Company (EIC) and Royal African Company (RAC), had deleterious effects on the econ-

omies of the northern colonies of North America in particular, causing shortages of bullion, slave labor, and much-desired East Indian luxury goods. Pirates plundered these commodities from foreign ships operating in restricted markets and fenced them in wanting colonies, where, unsurprisingly, pirates were warmly welcomed.

In the subsequent decay of support for sea banditry in such colonies, leading to the disappearance of pirate nests in the eighteenth century, Hanna also identifies multiple causes. Changes in English law, for example, made it easier to prosecute piracy and more effectively extended metropolitan authority over colonial peripheries. But perhaps the most compelling driver in his account is again economic: the relaxation of trade restrictions damaging to the economic welfare of affected North American colonies, achieved in part by subjecting the EIC and RAC to greater competition. No longer reliant on sea bandits for access to bullion, slaves, and calico, colonials in pirate nests lost a central reason for supporting them. Indeed, as their economies became more globally integrated and dependent upon international commerce, the citizens no longer saw the activities of sea bandits as a net benefit, but as a net cost—a threat to peaceable relations with foreign governments conducive to trade. Now “homeless” and universally hunted, pirates were doomed, effectively wiped from the water by 1726.

It is easy—too easy for an economist—to interpret the rise and fall of pirate nests in Hanna’s account as driven by simple colonial self-interest. Colonials who benefited from piracy supported it; those who did not were against it. When changing political-economic conditions led the former’s benefits to dwindle, so did their support, encouraging a common stance against sea banditry and its subsequent decline.

Yet, a more careful reading of Hanna’s story cautions against such an interpretation, or at least its basest variants. For in his account, colonials in pirate nests were not, for the most part, plainly corrupt or opportunistic. Rather, they appear to have supported sea bandits from a sincere belief that their support was morally justified—not only economically, but politically and even religiously. This is a possibility worth considering. Still, for the cynic, at least, doubt lingers: Have the aiders and abettors of thieves ever defended their action on the grounds that it simply profited them? If so, rarely, and this makes it difficult to know how seriously one should take such persons’ nobler-sounding justifications.

It is unreasonable to quibble with a book of nearly 450 pages for failing to address the reader’s pet questions. Still, this reader would have been delighted to see what Hanna had to say about how, if at all, pirates’ interactions and close relationships with colonial landlubbers in North America might have influenced the latter’s broader thinking about political governance. Famously, eighteenth-century pirates organized their ships on a system akin to constitutional democracy—one not unlike that which, in the later eighteenth century, would become the basis of American government. By the eighteenth century, as Hanna tells us, pirates were no longer receiving support from and closely interacting with colonial communities in

North America. However, Captain Charles Johnson’s best-selling *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* (1724), which recounted piratical governance, was widely available and could have been read by some of America’s Founding Fathers years later. A fanciful possibility? Surely. But it is Hanna’s thought-provoking consideration of pirates’ relationships to the landed communities that embraced and then rejected them that moves me to wonder.

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SARA PENNELL. *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600–1850*. (Cultures of Early Modern Europe.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. xiv, 256. \$112.00.

Sara Pennell’s *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600–1850* is, to my knowledge, the first book-length history of a particular room within the domestic house. If you are wondering why we might need a history of the kitchen, here is a study that will amply answer your question. It draws on the history of cooking, domestic architecture, technology, design, material culture, work, the household, everyday beliefs, and heritage to show that rather than being a functional domestic space that changed little over time, as had previously been assumed by a number of authors, the kitchen was the heart, or perhaps engine room, of the home. It was a site of informal sociability and technological innovation as well as a place for cooking and cleaning. Understanding the kitchen takes us to the core of understanding how people lived and worked at home in the era before 1850.

The book approaches the kitchen thematically, with each chapter considering how aspects varied between households of different levels of wealth and the extent of change over time. Pennell fully engages with existing research, sometimes critically, and she considers a wide range of primary sources with a strong emphasis on material culture as well as textual evidence. The book begins with the design of kitchens, considering the rarity of visual depictions before 1750, and then moves on to model kitchens, which were not an innovation of the early twentieth century, as many assume, but of the late eighteenth century, when Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, installed model kitchens of his own design into a number of institutions and domestic settings. The following chapter on the location of kitchens enters the lively debates about the changing location of the kitchen by experts on domestic architecture. The kitchen moved from outside (as a detached structure) to inside the house, then from above ground to the basement, and then back up to ground level again. This was not simply a matter of practical considerations such as the risk of fire, the introduction of chimneys, and the advent of piped water, but it was a radical reorienting of household activity each time the location shifted.

Further, kitchens have been overlooked in narratives of industrialization and technological change, and Pennell presents a strong argument for considering the importance of domestic technology. A shortage of wood for fuel

drove the switch to coal for domestic heating and cooking in early modern England. The use of coal required a transformation of the hearth, cooking equipment, and cooking techniques. Methods of cooking underwent significant changes: when open-hearth cooking was replaced with closed ranges, round-bottomed pots with legs were necessarily replaced by flat-bottomed saucepans. Ranges made baking easier, while spit-roasting fell out of use. The very metal of the pots and pans was transformed by the advent of tin plate from the late seventeenth century onward. The material culture of the kitchen extends beyond cooking equipment, however. The kitchen was also a common location for early clocks and a place for storing weapons in ordinary households. Among the majority who could not afford a parlor, it was often the main location for eating and taking tea. Eighteenth-century kitchen novelties included the dresser, a heavy piece of furniture that offered not only storage but also a means of displaying good housewifery. The importance of the kitchen to the household lay not only in its things but also in the people who worked and socialized there. The kitchen was populated with men as well as women, servants as well as family members, children as well as adults, and animals as well as humans. People brought with them their beliefs and discontents. Many kitchens had Bibles and prayer books on the mantel shelf, while others had religious mottos cast into their metalware or carved into furnishings. Despite its homely reputation, the kitchen was the site of accidental deaths caused by fire and hot water, and of murder and violent assault. When nineteenth-century reformers sought to improve the plight of the rural poor, they fixed their sights on remaking the cottage kitchen and predictably criticized the working wife for not spending more time there. Given her concern throughout with material culture, it is apt that Pennell finishes the book with a consideration of kitchen heritage displays in historic houses. She bemoans the failure to take kitchens seriously and pleads for a messier, less pleasant, and more challenging presentation of kitchens: a plea that is consistent with her message throughout the book.

Pennell has presented us with a model to follow. The approach is scholarly but a pleasure to read. The unifying focus of the kitchen successfully draws together a diversity of topics that are rarely considered side by side: fuel supply and eighteenth-century art, jelly molds and bibles, matching sets of saucepans and witchcraft, maids-of-all-work and caged birds. Each short section nails a particular topic—the significance of Welsh dressers, the rise of the professional female cook, the pawning of cooking pots—before moving on to the next. Together these segments build up a thick description of everyday domestic life in a way in which it has never quite been presented before. At times, however, this approach fragments some of the larger themes of the book. Gender issues pop up at frequent intervals, as does change over time, and the impact of technology on everyday practices. A longer conclusion, rather than the two pages summarizing the book in the final chapter (159–160), might have drawn some of these together more effectively. But to desire a grand, overarching theory of kitchen history is to miss the point of the

book, which sets out a forceful argument that the mundane and the everyday matter in history, and that they are often not as mundane as we assume.

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ADRIAN FINUCANE. *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire*. (The Early Modern Americas.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. 212. \$45.00.

The Spanish War of Succession ended with the triumph of England over Spain. In the Peace of Utrecht, Spain relinquished Gibraltar and Mallorca. England, however, did not use Utrecht to establish greater territorial footholds in the Caribbean. Rather, it chose to fight over a monopoly it already informally had: the slave trade. Jamaica and Barbados had long been the main suppliers of slaves in Spanish America via Anglo-Portuguese *converso* smugglers. The English Crown chartered the South Sea Company to manage the *asiento*. The British public received the news by avidly purchasing shares of the joint-stock company. The Company's expected potential, however, was never fulfilled. There were too many restrictions curtailing the movements of the Company's factors in Spanish American ports, too many legal disputes over seized property by privateers guarding off illegal smugglers, and too many armed conflicts between British and Spanish navies for the Company ever to become profitable. In fact, the Company's operation exacerbated conflict, leading to war. What was the purpose of the Company other than to marginalize Anglo-Portuguese *conversos* and to weaken Jamaican planters? In *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire*, Adrian Finucane follows the birth and demise of the Company without providing clear answers to these questions.

Finucane's most important contribution, perhaps, is to re-create the lives of some of the Company's agents in Spanish ports. The Company had factors in Habana, Cartagena, Portobello, Buenos Aires, and Veracruz. Each port could host up to six factors with accompanying families and servants. The resulting "English" communities enjoyed a modicum of legal protections even in times of war. The Company never boasted any of the extended sovereignties enjoyed by its peers, namely, the East Indian Company in India or the Royal African Company in Senegambia. For all the high expectations surrounding its opening, the South Sea Company had no teeth. It took several wars and endless negotiations for isolated Company factors to be allowed into the interior of Spanish America occasionally. Worse, as Finucane makes clear, most factors were uncurious, appointed by cliques, and preoccupied with advancing their own interests. Britain held the Spanish Empire to be corrupt and ineffectual, but the Company proved to be even more corrupt and ineffectual.

Finucane offers micro-biographies of some Company surgeons to highlight the role of learning in diplomacy and the connections between the rise of natural history and the slave trade. Finucane zeroes in on two Scottish physi-

cians: John Burnet and James Houstoun. Houstoun began his career in Whydah curing smallpox outbreaks. Burnet moved from Portobello to Cartagena. He also served in Buenos Aires. Both Burnet and Houstoun considered the Company corrupt and the factors crass and ignorant. Houstoun wrote scathing memoirs denouncing the Company's ills. Both Burnet and Houstoun spent their time not only advancing their own interests through smuggling, but also experimenting with new *materia medica*. Burnet corresponded with Hans Sloane and various other members of the Royal Society. Both Burnet and Houstoun preferred the company of learned aristocratic Spaniards. Burnet even moved his wife and daughters to Cartagena. Both Burnet and Houstoun served as cultural translators for a Company whose factors made a point of not learning Spanish. Burnet and Houstoun often took the side of the Spaniards when inter-imperial conflict broke out. Houstoun admired the Jesuits in Cartagena and helped them to smuggle commodities. In 1728 Burnet flipped alliances and offered the Spaniards sufficient information on the British networks of illegal trade to negotiate the Treaty of Seville. Burnet moved to Madrid with a pension as a royal physician.

Finucane's fine-grained reconstruction of the lives of Company agents is itself a valuable contribution. Yet the book has gaps. For one, it does not sufficiently explain the logic that led to the formation of the Company. Although the book taps into some Spanish archives, it focuses almost exclusively on British actors. Spanish America looms large in the background; so too do Africa and the thousands of Africans the Company brought to Spanish America. The book does little to explain the paradoxical fact that the Spanish might have lost many battles yet, in the long run, won the war. Although the British established the rules of Utrecht in 1713, they were ultimately defeated in the War of Jenkins' Ear in the late 1730s, when both the *asiento* and the Company simply disappeared.

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PAULA E. DUMAS. *Proslavery Britain: Fighting for Slavery in an Era of Abolition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Pp. x, 223. \$100.00.

Proslavery Britain: Fighting for Slavery in an Era of Abolition sets out to answer the question, "Why did abolition and emancipation take so long if everyone knew that slavery was wrong?" (1). The question is not entirely valid, since historians have long understood that not everyone knew, or even believed, that slavery was wrong. Nevertheless, it is true that the investigation of proslavery has until now been confined mostly to the margins of inquiries into the success of the more morally palatable abolitionist movement. To correct this, Paula E. Dumas seeks to uncover and assess the efforts made by the West India interest and their supporters to promote slavery and undermine abolitionism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In so doing, she catalogues many positions hostile to abolitionism, ranging from defensive ameliorationism, active proslavery, reactive anti-abolitionism, and finally grudging acceptance

of the inevitability of emancipation from a planter class eager to secure the maximum possible compensation for what they regarded as the alienation of their property.

The book consists of three parts. The introduction and opening chapter present proslavery positions from economic, strategic, historicist, legalistic, paternalistic, moral, and religious points of view. This section is wide-ranging, well-organized, and useful in understanding the broad range of proslavery thought, but there are omissions. In particular, there could have been a more detailed assessment of the often-made argument that slaves were prisoners of legal wars in Africa, or criminals who would otherwise have been put to death. This longstanding argument was a central justification for slave trading for more than two centuries. It crops up in some of the later chapters, but is never given the treatment it deserves. Nevertheless, on the whole, Dumas has produced a workable typology of the main proslavery arguments.

Chapters 2 and 3 attempt an overview of proslavery literature and culture from the period, covering pamphlets, histories, manuals, scientific texts, prints, poems, drama, and novels. These chapters provide a solid introduction to the diversity of proslavery literature and are successful in their aim of revealing "a distinct proslavery culture existing among the West Indian [*sic*] interest in Britain in the era of abolition" (91), but again there are important omissions. Dumas considers James Grainger's medical treatise of 1764, for example, but omits discussion of his plantation poem *The Sugar Cane: A Poem; In Four Books*, also published in 1764. She also leaves out Samuel Martin, Grainger's inspiration and primary source and the author of an influential proslavery plantation manual. More troubling is the lack of even the most glancing mention of James Tobin—without doubt the most prolific and widely read anti-abolitionist writer of the 1780s, not least because of a very public spat with the abolitionist James Ramsay.

The final chapters offer a clear and useful assessment of the different approaches taken by the West India interest in Parliament, first in the abolition debates before 1807 and then in the emancipation debates of the 1820s and 1830s. Particularly helpful is Dumas's observation that "to be anti-abolitionist in the 1820s and 1830s was to be against the immediate abolition of slavery in the colonies without clear guidelines for compensation" (146). She thus represents the proslavery position in this later period as a grubby rush for government money from a planter class that knew the game was up. Dumas's reliance on William Cobbett's *The Parliamentary History of England* (1806) and *Parliamentary Debates* (1804), while perhaps unavoidable, is problematic since both publications represent syntheses of competing and contradictory accounts of parliamentary debate, and were edited by a man with a notable animosity toward William Wilberforce. Some assessment of their reliability would have been helpful.

Overall, while the book's range is impressive, it often lacks depth. Although Dumas claims that "much of this book is devoted to examining and understanding the rhetoric of the West Indian [*sic*] interest" (4), she is in fact better at cataloguing proslavery positions and arguments than analyzing style, figurative language, the arrangement

of arguments, and the other elements of rhetoric. It is likewise limited in its theoretical approach. Literature, art history, and cultural theory are complex fields of study, and Dumas does not always seem aware of even quite basic approaches and techniques from those disciplines. She rests her understanding of the complex and contested term “culture” on a single, and simplistic, definition offered by the abolitionist historian David Turley in his *The Culture of English Antislavery* (1991). This is not a sufficient theoretical approach for a book in which evidence from art and literature forms a central part of the study. Another problem stems from Dumas’s intention to “tell the story of proslavery in Britain and to do so in a non-judgmental, analytical manner” (5). While the impulse to academic impartiality is admirable, in some cases analysis also requires judgment. Slavery was a crime against humanity and was widely recognized as such by contemporaries. It is indeed important that as historians we understand proslavery motives, arguments, and culture, but that does not mean we should present proslavery as simply one side in a now exhausted historical debate.

Finally, on a more practical level, the writing style is choppy at times and not always accurate—the proslavery lobby was known at the time (and today) as the “West India” interest, not the “West Indian.” Dumas’s habit of providing a quotation and then immediately paraphrasing it is repetitive, unnecessary, and misses opportunities to engage in a more nuanced analysis. Overall, one feels that the book would have been much improved by a firmer and more supportive editorial process. Nevertheless, there is much here to interest scholars of slavery, abolition, and emancipation, as well as anyone interested in the history of political lobbying, and the book offers a very useful starting point for future studies of British proslavery. However, its principal contribution rests not on the depth of its analysis, but on the impressive array of often difficult material it brings into the light of day.

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KIRSTEN MCKENZIE. *Imperial Underworld: An Escaped Convict and the Transformation of the British Colonial Order*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 318. \$34.99.

If asked to write a blurb for Kirsten McKenzie’s book, “expect the unexpected” might serve nicely. The “escaped convict” of the subtitle started life as Alexander Loe Kaye and ended it as William Edwards, a convict banished to the remote hell of Norfolk Island, where he hanged himself in 1828. Transported to New South Wales in 1819 for having stolen a chestnut gelding (a hanging offense), he showed up in Cape Colony in 1824 (via Batavia and Mauritius), reinventing himself as a “patriot,” lawyer, and literary gentleman in the service of British liberty. At one point, he was mistakenly accused of being the government spy George Edwards, who was involved in the 1820 Cato Street conspiracy. But then the era’s most notorious spy “Oliver,” aka William Jones (real name W. J. Richards), whose machinations had in 1817 brought the Pentrich re-

bels to the gallows, appears in the Cape suspected of involvement in the “placard incident” of 1824. Governor Lord Charles Somerset was publicly smeared for “buggering” his pal Dr. James Barry. However, Barry’s sex was a matter of doubt; he may well have been born a female. Imposture, intrigue, espionage, scandal, broken reputations, and shifting identities across colonial sites keep the reader turning pages. This makes for a great story, but one might wonder about the “transformation of the British colonial order.” In fact, *Imperial Underworld: An Escaped Convict and the Transformation of the British Colonial Order* has significant things to say about the workings of early-nineteenth-century British colonialism and the relevance of scandal to the challenges and changes to colonial governance. The book moves effortlessly between micro- and macro-levels of historical analysis.

Uncannily, Edwards’s movements coincided with those of John Thomas Bigge, the former chief of justice of Trinidad, who headed successive parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry in Australia and the former French and Dutch possessions at Cape Town, Mauritius, and Ceylon. Such commissions constituted part of “a vast imperial stocktaking” (5) prompted by public concern over colonial versions of “Old Corruption” and a “liberal” reform project aiming to exert more centralized Colonial Office control. Thus McKenzie’s study confirms an uneven process of governmental change whereby a system of local autocracy and personal rule was supplanted by one of liberal authority. The author makes a strong case for the importance of the 1820s to this shift. In both the Australian and Cape colonies, Commissions of Inquiry recommended the establishment of new supreme courts, restrictions on gubernatorial power, and increased legislative responsibility. Bigge and his fellow commissioners were peripatetic agents of reform, men advancing imperial careers in the service of metropolitan agendas. Edwards’s own otherwise obscure journey, as a target of legal discipline turned advocate of British law and liberty, disrupts neat distinctions between the coordinates of marginality and centrality. The same conditions that charged the word “despotism” and accusations of corruption and espionage with rhetorical power enabled a trickster of dubious motivations to figure prominently in the affairs of empire, only to then slip largely from historical consciousness.

An opportunist of the first order, Edwards arrived at the Cape helping to fuel a series of scandals concerning the distribution of liberated Africans (“prize slaves”), attacks on press freedom, and deportation without trial. With the abolition of the slave trade, slaves rescued from foreign vessels could not be sold but were taken under the protection of British authorities and made available first to the military and second to private individuals as “apprentices” for up to fourteen years. The distribution of these lucrative assets at the Cape was controlled by customs officials, who profited through a system of patronage and reciprocal obligations and even more directly by turning “liberated” Africans into alienable property. Edwards became the legal advisor in a seemingly unremarkable dispute over the services of a prize slave in which a memorial sent to the governor led to criminal charges against Edwards and his client for defaming an official. In a trial that

highlighted the illegalities related to liberated slaves, Edwards effectually played the role of abused “freeborn” Englishman. However, not content with winning an acquittal, Edwards wrote to the governor informing him that he was busily pursuing his impeachment. Not only did Somerset have Edwards immediately arrested, but he also shut down the fledgling reform newspaper that had publicized the first trial. In the end, the escaped convict was banished once again to New South Wales, where he was identified as his former convict self.

But were such actions legal? Criminal libel was unknown to the common law, and while the notorious Six Acts of 1819 provided for judicial banishment, the proceedings savored of foreign tyranny. As a colony of conquest rather than settlement, Cape Colony remained under Roman-Dutch law. The complications of legal pluralism, a common-enough condition, troubled Colonial Office officials and British public opinion. The *Times* complained that reports from the Cape disclosed “a tyranny . . . opposite to whatever is understood by the word English”; the *Sydney Monitor* denounced the illegality of Edwards’s sentence as an instance of “pure Dutch iniquity” and stated that “despotic Dutch law” enabled the governor’s infamous dealings (183). The steady immigration of British settlers meant that local opposition at the Cape found support at “home,” supplying reformers in Parliament such as Whig MP Henry Brougham and Radical MP Joseph Hume with ammunition. In his private communications, Henry Bathurst, the Tory secretary for war and the colonies (1812–1827), tried with little success to convey to the tone-deaf governor how his behavior played in Parliament and the British press. It was the circulation of scandal back to the metropolis that endangered proconsular modes of colonial authority.

Although the New South Wales Act of 1823, based on Bigge’s recommendations, curtailed the governor’s power, the situation of a penal colony open to free settlers was different from that at the Cape. The colonial administration had to manage the conflict between former convicts and free settlers over their respective rights. It should be noted that in both the Cape and New South Wales, it was the indigenous peoples who were the ultimate losers. Edwards’s story did not end well. Sent originally to Wellington Valley, a settlement designed for the higher class of convict, he was soon dispatched to Norfolk Island, the site for the worst sort of reoffenders, thus traversing the spatial hierarchy of penal servitude. By looking at the forces unleashed by such an improbable historical actor, McKenzie splendidly succeeds in providing a new perspective on the “paradoxical moment in the transformation of the British colonial order” (284).

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JILL C. BENDER. *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 205. \$99.99.

Jill C. Bender’s *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire* is a compelling book based on a wide range of

sources that broadens our understanding of the British imperial system. Bender takes a seminal moment in the history of British India—the revolt of 1857—and places it within the global context of empire. Drawing on methodologies developed in the “new imperial history,” the author traces flows of information back and forth across the colonial world and explores how a major event in one colonial locale had repercussions in other parts of the empire. In this way, Bender places the colonies (rather than London) at the center of her story and convincingly argues that 1857 was a significant conflict not just for India but also for the empire at large.

The book focuses on the significance of 1857 for British administrators and colonists in four particular colonies—Ireland, Jamaica, Southern Africa, and New Zealand—all of which were important British possessions and sites of colonial crisis in the mid-nineteenth century. Rather than examining each colony as a separate case study, Bender adopts an integrated mode of analysis that allows her to analyze colonial reactions to the news of 1857 in multiple sites at once. The book is comprised of five chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. The source base draws on archival collections documenting three key individuals (Sir George Grey, Edward John Eyre, and Sir Hugh Rose); on letters exchanged between family members in the empire; and on the colonial press outside of Britain and India as it reported on, interpreted, and spread a good deal of panic and awareness about the rebellion in India.

Bender reveals how Britons in various colonies organized military, financial, and spiritual assistance for their brethren in India as they fought for almost eighteen months to suppress a military mutiny that turned into a massive rebellion. This, Bender argues, was inspired in part by anxiety that as news of the “horrors” of 1857 spread across the empire, it might create a domino effect and set off similar revolts in other colonial locales. In this environment of fear and insecurity, colonial officials struggled to assess how the reports from India potentially impacted (or did not impact) both signs and rumors of unrest in distant locales. The “native mind” was always an unknown and unknowable space.

Bender argues that the events of 1857 sent global shockwaves that shaped British expectations of and responses to anticolonial resistance in the ensuing decades as concern about the beginning of the end of British dominance became widespread and long-lasting. Not only did local administrators and colonists exhibit a heightened distrust of colonized people in anticipation of rebellion, but also official methods of squashing discontent became increasingly violent in the aftermath of the revolt. Bender shows how officials in her four sites of inquiry pointed to the extreme forms of violence unleashed against the rebels of 1857 to justify their own brutal methods of force and coercion, in many instances embracing force as a first rather than a last resort to subdue any signs of dissent and sustain British dominance. The author concludes that in the wake of the rebellion, British officials across a vast and diverse empire came to see violence as the one language that could be easily understood by any people anywhere.

The book is the author's first, and in places it reads as such. At times her overreliance on the interpretive frameworks and theoretical insights drawn from the secondary source literature makes it difficult to locate the author's own voice. This is to be understood given that the manuscript is a revised version of her dissertation. Although the author makes it clear that her intention is not to uncover subaltern voices, the book does make one curious about the existence of a global anticolonial consciousness dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, of course, certain global ideologies (such as international socialism) and charismatic individuals (such as Mahatma Gandhi) framed the fight against empire in global rather than national terms. Bender's work inspires the reader to contemplate not only how the empire was run as a global system, but also how the experience of and responses to colonization might be fruitfully understood in global rather than local terms. The book offers an integrated, multi-sited perspective on an event that has conventionally been understood within an Indian national framework. It makes an important contribution to British colonial history and to global history more broadly.

ELIZABETH KOLSKY
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MARC W. STEINBERG. *England's Great Transformation: Law, Labor, and the Industrial Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 233. \$35.00.

In *England's Great Transformation: Law, Labor, and the Industrial Revolution*, Marc W. Steinberg blends historical materialism with historical institutionalism, documenting employers' use of the Master and Servant Acts to enforce work-discipline in the nineteenth century. Using detailed case studies of three cities—Hanley and the pottery industry, Hull and the fishing trade in the Northeast, and Redditch and commercial agriculture and needle manufacturing—Steinberg shows that employers took workers to court to force them back to work, to recoup profits lost due to worker misconduct, or even to imprison them for breaking long work contracts. Unfortunately, Steinberg embeds excellent primary research within a convoluted theoretical narrative.

In his opening chapters Steinberg plunges into class theory, which makes the reading very slow going. He makes a straw man of Karl Marx by arguing that when Marx described nineteenth-century labor discipline, he focused exclusively on the factory system; according to Steinberg, for a complete picture one must examine institutions like the law as well. From a historian's perspective, Steinberg's assertion that economic arrangements and political and legal institutions dynamically interact is hardly new.

The narrative improves greatly after these preliminaries, as Steinberg documents the genesis, and change over time, of the Master and Servant Acts. An unrepresentative Parliament responded to employer needs by passing laws that criminalized fleeing from a contract, absenteeism, and shoddy workmanship. Despite loud nineteenth-century liberal protestations that workers were "free agents," labor markets were not Smithian free markets. Working

people in turn enlisted parliamentary surrogates to try to defeat some of the Acts' more coercive aspects, but before the 1880s when most workingmen were enfranchised, they had limited power. Courts tried Master and Servant cases through summary justice; trials were conducted by men who were themselves employers of labor, potentially biasing the process further.

In each of the three cities that Steinberg studies, employers used the Master and Servant Acts to penalize workers in slightly different ways. In Hanley's pottery factories, tasks were interdependent, so that one highly skilled worker's absenteeism could prevent masters from filling orders. Employers sought to compel intransigent workers to return to work or to make reparations for lost profits. By contrast, in Hull, most cases tried under the Master and Servant Acts concerned unskilled "fisher lads," boys apprenticed under the Poor Laws to work on fishing smacks. As the fishing industry expanded, boat owners suffered a shortage of skilled labor and took on these apprentices with the hope of training them and benefiting from their labor after they were partially trained. When the boys had learned enough to find paid employment elsewhere, they often fled, and the law was used not so much to send them back to work as to punish them; prison sentences were common.

Steinberg's third case study area, the town of Redditch, was a historically rural and agricultural area, but in the mid-nineteenth century it became the world's largest supplier of needles for all purposes. Although the town had only a few thousand residents, its factories generated millions of needles per week, and its farmers worked in commercial agriculture. In a chapter greatly enlivened by excerpts from actual court cases, Steinberg shows that farm laborers who were found to have left their posts or worked shoddily were dismissed, but needle trade and engineering workers more often paid damages or provided sureties for future good conduct. The differential treatment of workers within factory settings is intriguing, but three case studies are too few to draw conclusions.

Steinberg's narrative drags again at the end, as he recapitulates and challenges Karl Polanyi's thesis in *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944). Polanyi argued that unregulated capitalism elicited an anti-industrial social response; reformers banded together and demanded state regulation to protect workers. Steinberg argues, in contrast, that the state—in his case, embodied by the courts—could be just as coercive to workers, who were generally eager to be left alone. This argument holds only if Steinberg keeps his claims modest. The Master and Servant Acts were used coercively, but they were part of a much more complicated canvas of nineteenth-century regulation, much of which effectively protected workers. The crusades to limit child labor and to secure workers' compensation are good examples of worker activism aimed at harnessing the power of the state rather than rejecting it.

Steinberg acknowledges some of his work's limitations. He notes that he chose his three case study locales not for any compelling comparative reasons, but rather because they had relatively complete record sets. Judicial records,

newspaper accounts of trials, and returns of cases tried in each town only partially overlap, making assessment of total numbers of cases impossible. Within each data set, Steinberg does plausibly demonstrate that most of the time, employers triumphed in court. But discretion was hugely important in the nineteenth-century legal system, and if it was at work in these cases as well, the law probably served as a deterrent and a threat more often than it did as a means of actual punishment.

Occasionally Steinberg overemphasizes class conflict, leading to readings that the evidence may not bear. He calls employers' decisions to host teas and dinners for their workforces "paternalistic despotism" (19), for example. Similarly, workers who sued employers for unpaid wages sometimes won their cases, which Steinberg interprets as granting moral legitimacy to a sham court system, when it might also be read straightforwardly as justice, if unevenly administered.

Despite the occasionally heavy theoretical going, which renders the book unsuitable for the undergraduate classroom, historians of working people and the law will find much of interest here. Steinberg is on the strongest ground when he presents his case studies, which do show that, particularly in industries where work was interdependent, employers used the Master and Servant Acts to discipline workers until the 1870s. Like Christopher Frank's innovative work on the persistence of truck payments in many industries and Barry Godfrey and David J. Cox's excellent *Policing the Factory: Theft, Private Policing and the Law in Modern England* (2012), *England's Great Transformation* shows that what was called "free labor" was often far from free.

JAMIE L. BRONSTEIN
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WENDIE ELLEN SCHNEIDER. *Engines of Truth: Producing Veracity in the Victorian Courtroom*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 265. \$85.00.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, British legal professionals were extremely concerned with the problem of perjury. Courts of law were supposed to produce truth, which made perjury (the willful telling of an untruth under oath in a court of law) the ultimate obstruction of justice. Legal professionals tried a variety of approaches to ensure the production of truth before settling on cross-examination, the system still in place today. In *Engines of Truth: Producing Veracity in the Victorian Courtroom*, Wendie Ellen Schneider explores various approaches to the problem of perjury—what she calls "novel strategies for the production of truth" (2)—in the British Victorian courtroom between approximately 1850 and 1900. Schneider's careful research into failed judicial experiments allows us to see perjury, truth, courts of law, and Victorian culture in new ways.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is a narrative history. Schneider starts with the mid-century infatuation with perjury prosecutions as the road to truth, and demonstrates that as perjury prosecutions became more frequent, they also got redefined as a lower-class ac-

tivity. By the 1860s, almost all perjury prosecutions were of working-class people in lower courts: cases of affiliation (of fathers to illegitimate babies), game poaching, and licensing. Next came the rise of cross-examination. Schneider argues that cross-examination and the social status of barristers rose simultaneously, and that this was no coincidence: the barrister's status as a gentleman ensured that cross-examination was performed properly, and skillful cross-examination replaced perjury prosecution to become the main protection against testimonial duplicity. In other words, our current legal system is, in part, the result of Victorian professional jostling and anxiety. Schneider's use of a wide variety of sources, including essays by legal professionals, mid-Victorian associational psychological ideas, and the novels of Anthony Trollope, makes her argument broad as well as deep, as does her use of trials in *causes célèbres* such as those of the Tichborne Claimant. Schneider's argument here bolsters those of other works on the rise of the legal and medical professions. Furthermore, it emphasizes how class was constitutive of everything in Victorian Britain, even the truth.

Part II is comprised of case studies. Schneider looks at two liminal courts that conducted radical side experiments with truth production even as cross-examination came to dominate. Both courts, Schneider points out, oversaw problematic people for whom "cross-examination was still thought to be inadequate to the challenge of ascertaining truth" (99): colonial subjects and women. Hence certain colonial courts in India and the new Divorce Court in London tried out new and bizarre approaches in an effort to counter these subjects' strong "impetus toward mendacity" (99). Schneider reveals that administrators in British India wrestled with the suspicion that when it came to Indian witnesses, they could not tell true from false testimony. They considered a wide variety of approaches, including forehead tattoos for perjurers (an idea that was never implemented) and the creation, in Madras, of a new offense, prevarication, and eventually settled into a system in which judges ruled based on their perception of the mendacity of the witness. Schneider's second case study is of the Divorce Court (established in 1857). This court has been studied mostly as a part of the histories of marriage and of women's rights, making Schneider's book a welcome new perspective. Schneider examines a little-known aspect of the Divorce Court: its early use of a "Queen's Proctor," an inquisitorial officer of the court whose work was premised on the assumption that everyone, and especially women, lied about adultery. The Queen's Proctor was intended to replace divorcing couples' suspect narratives with fact. However, elements of narrative inevitably and problematically persisted, and the court's determination to punish couples for colluding to obtain divorces left failed marriages legally intact. In both of these case studies, Schneider explores the question of how the Victorian state treated those they considered untrustworthy, an approach that means that Schneider's points resonate well beyond legal history narrowly construed. The final chapter, on the passage of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1898, draws the two parts of the book together. This act, the passage of which eliminated witness exclusion and

marked the triumph of cross-examination as the single accepted engine of truth production, serves as a third case study and also brings Schneider's period to an end.

Some of the secondary works Schneider cites are a bit out of date, and the index is short and unhelpful. Overall, however, this is an excellent book of legal, cultural, and social history that reveals much about how the Victorians understood what it meant to lie and how to get to the truth.

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SARAH AMATO. *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 2015. Pp. x, 306. \$65.00.

Sarah Amato's first book, *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*, is a tale of "Victorian social life told through an examination of human-animal relations" (3). The project was initially inspired by a diorama (by the amateur taxidermist Walter Potter) depicting a complete late-Victorian wedding—only with nearly identical tabby kittens playing every role. Gaining a full understanding of the affectionate and macabre impulses behind that 1890 tableau took Amato "to the rituals of Victorian pet-keeping [chap. 1], gendered depictions of cats and dogs and the company of female animal fanciers [chap. 2], into the Zoo [chap. 3] through several museums [chap. 5], and into Victorian consumer culture [chap. 4]" (16). While acknowledging recent work on "the difficult project of trying to access the experience(s) of being animal in certain historical moments, places, and conditions," Amato "explores the way animals and representations of animals have affected people" (15). As she puts it, human "relationships to pets and zoo animals were tangible, smelly, messy, disconcerting, comforting, and sometimes tasty; representations could be equally troubling" (15). The result is a wide-ranging look at various ways that domestic and display animals (agricultural animals and wildlife in situ are excluded) were folded into everyday (principally urban) Victorian life.

In chapter 1, "The Social Lives of Pets," Amato points out that it is easy for present-day scholars to overlook the wide range of inexpensive pets owned by the Victorian working classes. She also highlights (for me the book's most memorable argument) that bourgeois codes for evaluating pet ownership were liable to miss animals who served as working-class pets precisely because these animals might serve multiple functions, which was incommensurate with more genteel demands for specialization in the pet role. Discerning in the keeping of pets the "simultaneous imperatives of love, companionship, oral enhancement, utility, discipline, abuse, investment, and profit" (23), she explains that guinea pigs, for example, "were valued as potential foodstuff, excellent companions and fancy animals" (32), and rats eventually joined mice as animals that might be kept or bred. Amato looks at manuals and newspapers like *Exchange and Mart* and the "Answers to Correspondents" column in *Fur and Feather* to find valuable records of such pets both large and small.

Chapter 2, "Sexy Beasts, Fallen Felines and Pampered Pomeranians" sets out to show "how the pet-keeping enterprise was important for the production of middle-class gender identities in the late nineteenth century" (57). Although this feels like comparatively well-trodden scholarly terrain, the chapter does uncover fresh ground in two ways. First, the author's discussion of the National Cat Club, which began in 1887, is illuminating. Deriving its membership from the middle class, this organization worked to enhance the cat's reputation and supported research on various breeds. Second, her analysis of "the reception women received when they asserted themselves as pet fanciers" (59), especially the case of the Ladies' Kennel Association (LKA), is innovative. Amato chronicles how pervasively cats were not only gendered as female but also sexualized as innately licentious. She also assiduously traces the complex class and gender dynamics around the 1894 founding of the LKA, "an implicitly feminist organization" (92), which struggled for years to dispel women's "reputation for volatility and viciousness in the show ring" (94). In addition, the LKA undertook deliberate campaigns to encourage women to breed and to show larger, rather than toy, dog breeds.

The remaining three chapters move swiftly through case studies shedding light on Victorian animal-human relations generally. Chapter 3, "In the Zoo: Civilizing Animals and Displaying People," stresses that working-class keepers were also visible for evaluation alongside the animals, and underscores how much the zoo, like other Victorian public spaces, allowed for mutual surveillance and romantic evaluation among consumers and spectators. Chapter 4, "The White Elephant in London: On Trickery, Racism, and Advertising," is a detailed account of an 1883 visit by a white elephant (Toung Taloung) to London, parsing how the elephant's whiteness (or partial whiteness, or perhaps its faked whiteness) relates to more general Victorian racist/imperialist coding of whiteness and blackness. Chapter 5, "Dead Things: The Afterlives of Animals," arrives back at Amato's starting point, Potter's taxidermy, but not before an account of those who believed animals had souls (including John Wesley) and a lively discussion of how "taxidermy transformed animals into manufactured objects" (190), supplemented by wonderful illustrations such as "Pet Monkey Holding Candelabra" (200), "Chair Made from a Baby Giraffe" (204), and the *pièce-de-résistance*, "Small Elephant Made into a Hall-Porter's Chair" (206).

In sum, Amato's book explores the way that multiple impulses could prevail and multiple ideological impulses often underlay the seemingly simple relationship of ownership between human beings and animals; or, as a Darwin-shaped society had begun to say, between humans and *other* animals. Especially noteworthy and original in *Beastly Possessions* are observations about working-class pet ownership, the Victorian gendering of discourses around cats and dogs, the gradual elevation of cats to comparable pet status with dogs in the mid-Victorian period, and the "gender troubles" produced by the advent of serious female pet breeders and competitors in pet shows.

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JAMES NOTT. *Going to the Palais: A Social and Cultural History of Dancing and Dance Halls in Britain, 1918–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 327. \$110.00.

In 1953 the *Economist* named the dance hall industry “the second biggest entertainment industry after cinema” (87), lauding the postwar years as the golden age of social dance in Britain. It was to prove the final age of a popular passion that took off in the years after the First World War but was virtually extinguished by the end of the 1950s. Pronouncing the lack of any sustained scholarly attention to the history of this remarkable phenomenon to be “a staggering omission” (5), James Nott fills the void in his well-packed, searching account *Going to the Palais: A Social and Cultural History of Dancing and Dance Halls in Britain, 1918–1960*, which expands on his previous pioneering work *Music for the People: Popular Music and Dance in Interwar Britain* (2002). Mining a vast range of sources, from the familiar resource of Mass Observation to an extensive use of oral history sources with personally conducted interviews of dance hall veterans, including the author’s parents, Nott’s account is truly national in reach and a landmark study in the field.

Working off the model of the nineteenth-century music hall, Nott elucidates a similar process of formalization, commercialization, and cartelization in the growth and popularity of the dance hall as a modern mass entertainment industry. He depicts the glamor of the luxurious premises as “palaces for the people” and describes the amenities of the dance hall for a new generation of dancers. Hammersmith Palais, opened in 1919 in suburban London, set the trend with a magnificent two-thousand-person capacity hall, bandstands at each end, an expensive “sprung” floor, spectacular lighting, and lavish catering. Launched by American capital to the tunes of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB), Hammersmith attracted celebrities (including the closet banjoist Prince of Wales) as well as the largely working-class and lower-middle-class following of the typical dance hall crowd. The palais formula was quickly duplicated across the country, organized by chain operations, of which the Mecca corporation, with its musicians’ agency (a vital resource), dancing schools, and catering wing, was paramount. The industry was mostly depression-proof until the onset of the jukebox, rock music, solo dancing, and the abrupt redirection of youth culture in the 1960s.

While plainly delivering considerable enjoyment, from the corporeal to the social, palais dancing itself was a very controlled operation. Mecca set and policed behavior through admission, ambience, and couples protocols. Most dance halls were run without liquor licenses. The well-entrenched professional dancing establishment reinforced the code of restraint, striving for a graceful formality that channeled yet greatly tempered the eruptions of physical and erotic energy—“shrug, hug, and wobble”—that characterized American imports of syncopated song and couples dancing. American challenges to the new orthodoxy of “the English Style” continued throughout the reign of the palais, from the ODJB to the Charleston, the jitterbug, and the jive, censured by the establishment as “freakish-

ness.” With Victor Sylvester as high priest, dance professionals laid out correct procedure on the dance floor.

The dancing public were mostly the young of both sexes. Women frequently danced together, while men retained the ritual prerogative of the invitation to dance and balked at refusals. While dancing generated a welcome familiarity between the sexes, it sparked alarm among society’s moral vigilantes in the press, churches, and local government, a replay of Victorian concerns over the necessary probity of leisure and “respectability.” In the aftermath of the First World War, censure was heaviest against women dancers cast in the image of the sexually emancipated flapper, while men were charged with a creeping effeminacy. Misgivings over the Americanization of popular dance demonized its black exponents for “primitivism” (252), a sensual physicality made more offensive with the arrival of American troops in World War II and the mass immigration of blacks from Africa and the West Indies in the post-war years. Dancing and the dance hall became a major site of racial tensions. Inflammatory throughout was the issue of youth’s predilection for the dance hall, the alleged site of drug addiction, gang violence, and a new consumerist self-indulgence in the 1950s. Nott finds such charges mostly unfounded, a middle-class scapegoating of working-class youth in an age of war and social anxiety.

In many ways, *Going to the Palais* stands as an exemplary work of social and cultural history, an extensively informed and illuminating recovery of a widely embraced but understudied leisure pursuit that reveals much of popular values and practice and cultural politics at large. The author is clearly a fan of the palais and dance, celebrated here as youthful, modern, and exhilarating, a force for democracy that put the working class at the center of daily life and left Britain the poorer by its demise. The well-chosen illustrations, though of disappointingly poor reproductive quality, capture something of the exhilaration, the “magic” of the night out at the dance, but other claims are more debatable. While dancing may have given women a new self-confidence, it stopped well short of what Nott emphasizes as “wholly liberating” (182) in a rule-bound regime that instituted the modern beauty contest and its objectification of women. The working class colonized much of the palais, but the courtly values it enshrined may have made it an engine of embourgeoisement. The lived popular modernism of the palais was more likely exemplified in the substantial lower-middle-class contingent for whom the dance hall and its normative “requirements” of dress and manners was the perfect stage for playing out its aspirations to authentic bourgeois status.

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KENNETTA HAMMOND PERRY. *London Is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship, and the Politics of Race*. (Transgressing Boundaries: Studies in Black Politics and Black Communities.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 317. \$49.95.

The idea and practice of subjecthood in the British Empire was simultaneously expansive and restrictive. During

the Don Pacifico Affair in 1850, the British foreign secretary, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, famously declared that “a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England, will protect him against injustice and wrong” (Commons, 25 June 1850, Parl. Debs., cxii, col. 444). The Canadian prime minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, told the 1911 Imperial Conference that “a British subject anywhere is a British subject everywhere” (Maurice Olivier, *Imperial Conferences, Part I* [1954], 86). These liberal ideas of subjecthood form the basis of what Kennetta Hammond Perry terms the myth of British antiracism in her insightful and deeply researched *London Is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship, and the Politics of Race*.

Despite the rhetorical appeals to liberty and freedom proclaimed by Palmerston and Laurier, restrictions on the free movement of non-white British subjects have had a long history. Canadian governments imposed a head tax on Chinese immigrants beginning in 1885 and refused entry to Indian migrants (all of whom were British subjects) who arrived in Vancouver on the *Komagata Maru* in 1914; the Natal Immigration Restriction Act (1897) imposed a diction test on immigrants as a transparent means of restricting non-white British subjects; and Indian migrant laborers (before and after the official end of indentured labor in the British Empire in 1917) faced a wide array of discriminatory mobility restrictions. Thus, while the more inclusive and racially inflected postwar definition of British citizenship developed through the 1948 British Nationality Act and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) marked a decisive shift in British domestic politics, it fit within a longer lineage of racially demarcated imperial citizenship politics. The latter history has been the subject of excellent studies such as Sukanya Banerjee’s *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (2010).

The ideal of race-blind imperial citizenship rights proved hollow after 1945 when black British subjects began to migrate to Britain for the first time in large numbers. These “Black Britons,” as Perry describes them, were exercising their rights as British subjects to move freely throughout the British Empire/Commonwealth. Yet they faced racial discrimination in a postwar British society unaccustomed to having to apply the politics of imperial citizenship to itself. Perry’s book is about the collective efforts of Black Britons to assert and exercise their status as British citizens. As she makes clear, Black Britons were not just objects of postwar British racial politics, but also subjects. Perry’s work joins that of historians such as Jordanna Bailkin (*The Afterlife of Empire* [2012]) in unearthing the consequences of decolonization for postwar British society. Perry’s important contribution is to link these consequences to global discourses and flows of Britishness and imperial migration, themes also evident in Anne Spry Rush’s *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (2011).

Perry adopts her book’s title from the calypso song by Lord Kitchener (Aldwyn Roberts), one of the passengers on the SS *Empress Windrush*, which brought the first black

British migrants to postwar Britain in 1948. Perry argues that postwar black migrants to Britain from the Caribbean saw themselves as British subjects/citizens and expected to be treated as such when they arrived in the imperial metropole. How widespread such expectations were, and whether they were partially naïve given Britain’s long history of imperial racism in its Caribbean colonies, is not fully investigated. What is made clear through the book’s rich archival evidence is that many Black Britons were aware of their citizenship rights and took action (both individually and collectively) when they faced racial discrimination.

The latter was real and widespread in 1950s and 1960s Britain. Perry focuses largely on the period’s well-known immigration history “moments” and racial flashpoints: the arrival of the *Empress Windrush* (itself now a mythologized moment that Perry astutely complicates), the 1948 British Nationality Act, the 1958 Notting Hill race riots, the debates over the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, and the Race Relations Act (1965). If Perry’s analysis of these events covers familiar ground, the granular detail she provides regarding Black Britons’ political agency is novel. A case in point is her study of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD). In the mid-1960s, it advocated for antidiscriminatory provisions such as conciliation, rather than the more blunt tools of prosecution, as a means of changing prevailing social norms and attitudes regarding race. In this sense, it stood for the tradition of racially blind citizenship rights, which Perry demonstrates was central to most postwar Black Britons. However, CARD’s gradualist approach was challenged by more strident Black Britons who called for direct action to confront and overcome anti-black racism in Britain. Splinter groups such as the Universal Coloured People’s Association (founded by the Nigerian writer Obi Egbuna in 1867) adopted for Britain the politics of black power evinced by American civil rights activists such as Stokely Carmichael, one of many important examples of the internationalization of Black Britons’ citizenship campaign, which Perry highlights in the book. CARD’s “Summer Project” in 1965 documented everyday cases of racial discrimination faced by Black Britons in an effort to publicize the problem of racial discrimination and combat systemic racism. Some progressive white Britons, such as the filmmaker Basil Deardon, whose “social problem” films of the late 1950s and early 1960s portrayed the racial tensions of postcolonial British society, were cognizant of the structural barriers faced by Black Britons. Most were not, however, and in retrospect the awareness campaigns of CARD and others stand as Black Britons’ most effective antiracism activities.

The history of Black Britons’ efforts to claim their rights as British citizens in the postwar era and the resistance they faced prefigured the racial politics of contemporary Britain. Perry draws out these connections in a short epilogue, touching on the 1981 Brixton riots and the “institutional racism” (246) surrounding the murders of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and Mark Duggan in 2011. Her richly detailed book is an important contribution to historical debates about race and postcolonial British society, and a

corrective to synthetic survey histories that suggest that the experiences of Black Britons were peripheral.

DANIEL GORMAN

University of Waterloo

CAITRIONA CLEAR. *Women's Voices in Ireland: Women's Magazines in the 1950s and 60s*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. xiv, 189. \$112.00.

Caitriona Clear contributes another book to the historiography on the life of women in twentieth-century Ireland. Having already covered women as nuns, farmers, and housekeepers, she now examines women who were troubled enough about certain aspects of their private lives to bring their worries to the pages of Irish magazines. Set in a later period than her insightful *Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland, 1850–1922* (2007), *Women's Voices in Ireland: Women's Magazines in the 1950s and 60s* analyzes the letter pages, problem columns, advertisements, and other contents of two Irish women's magazines in the 1950s and 1960s. Without Clear or, perhaps, another curious researcher, the voices in question would otherwise be hidden in the pages of these magazines from half a century ago, their particular problems forgotten. However, with this volume, these voices become part of the larger published narrative on twentieth-century Irish women, joining the nationalists, the suffragists, the trades-unionists, the religious, and others more visible in public life. Clear already used some of these magazines in her *Women of the House: Women's Household Work in Ireland, 1922–1961; Discourses, Experiences, and Memories* (2000), and in her 2001 article in *Women's Studies* on the writer Maura Laverty, who sometimes wrote for these magazines and also answered readers' problems.

Clear's study is set in the context of a wealth of scholarship published on women in Ireland over the last thirty years. Indeed, Clear herself was one of the early pioneers with her groundbreaking work *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (1988). In *Women's Voices in Ireland*, she places her work on the magazines in the context of other similar studies of women's magazines on "both sides of the Atlantic" (3). As with these works, she sees herself as retrieving the magazines from the feminist critique. Building upon these non-Irish studies and focusing on an area of women's lives not reflected in the history of activist movements, Clear argues that "a scholarly consensus, therefore, has reinforced something regular magazine readers have always known—that women who read magazines were not stupid, passive dupes of advertisers and ideologues" (3).

Clear states that her book is "an examination of readers' contributions to both magazines—in problems, letters, press releases and, occasionally, small advertisements—in *Woman's Life* in the 1950s and *Woman's Way* in the 1960s" (5). While Irish women read plenty of English magazines, these two magazines were aimed particularly at Irish women and emphasized their Irishness in content, themes, advertising, and pictures, and thus reflected Irish problems. Moreover, *Woman's Way* was the first Irish women's magazine to have a readers' letters page.

In their correspondence, the women bring their most

private problems to the readers' letters pages of these publications. They speak of caring for aged parents, of bypassing marriage opportunities because of commitments in the home, of unrequited love, of sexual abuse, and of sexual ignorance and confusion. The letters are set against the reality of an Ireland (that has been confronted by historians and the media over the last ten years) where unmarried pregnant girls ended up in laundries with other "deviant women" or in other institutions led by religious orders, where they were coerced into giving up their babies for adoption not only in Ireland, but also outside the country to England and the United States; a situation that both mothers and their children are still grappling with today. Indeed, the controversy has captured the attention of call-in radio programs, the media, movies, and literature. The diminishing control of the Catholic Church in Ireland has increasingly allowed for more open discussion, and a push for compensation and legal reforms has provided access to sealed documents on adoption. Indeed, the grip of the Catholic Church is omnipresent throughout the book, underscoring the importance of Clear opening this window not only to historians but also to all of those who are curious about this time period in Ireland. However, Clear does signal that change was taking place as Ireland moved into the 1960s.

It is interesting that out of 1,186 problems written to *Woman's Way* between 1963 and 1969, "queries for information about sex, pregnancy and birth control—a category almost completely absent from the 1950s—made up the largest category of all, just slightly bigger than that of courtship, at 31.5 per cent of all problems published" (81). Other themes that weave their way through Clear's narrative and the fabric of her subjects' lives are the realities of, and consequences of, modernization, emigration, electrification, changes in fashion (including the bikini), the role of women in politics, and the women's rights movement in the 1960s.

The "agony aunts" doing the answering included Angela Macnamara, who not only was giving advice in magazines and a prominent Sunday newspaper, the *Sunday Press*, but also had a show on national radio. Macnamara thus carried some clout and was perceived as a national personality. The answers varied between being sympathetic and being brisk. Clear reports that Macnamara's "usual mild manner left her" when, in 1968, she was asked, "I am going to America and want an answer to this question. Can a girl get pregnant love-making in a car?" and "if it was possible to get pregnant from 'heavy kissing and hugging.'" Macnamara stated that "letters like this make me wonder what parents and schoolteachers are doing about sex instruction. No girl over 13 years of age should have to ask such questions" (82).

Clear has great empathy for her subjects, both the magazines and their readers. Her straightforward and unpretentious writing conveys her own scholarly insights, yet allows her subjects' voices to come through loudly. She does not overanalyze them, nor is she condescending. This is probably the most valuable trait of the book.

She has a helpful glossary for the international reader not familiar with Irish terms and organizations in both the

English and the Irish language, and she also provides valuable notes and an index for future research. The book, though relatively brief (146 pages of text), provides an interesting perspective into the private lives of Irish women in this period and adds to Clear's own significant contribution to Irish historiography.

CLÍONA MURPHY

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E. CLAIRE CAGE. *Unnatural Frenchmen: The Politics of Priestly Celibacy and Marriage, 1720–1815*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. Pp. x, 238. \$39.50.

Celibacy (the state of being unmarried) was a concern of many French economists and social commentators before and during the Revolution. Many of them believed that celibacy was becoming more and more common, partly (some argued) because increasing numbers of men avoided marriage since, in the absence of divorce, it ended only when one of the spouses died. Celibacy, they argued, was a drag on population growth (and thus harmful to the economy and the power of the state) and detrimental to morality: unmarried men were sexually active, and they not only corrupted the women they slept with but added to the growing numbers of illegitimate children.

In *Unnatural Frenchmen: The Politics of Priestly Celibacy and Marriage, 1720–1815*, E. Claire Cage focuses on one aspect of the celibacy issue: the celibacy of priests. Although many priests of the early church married, the practice was questioned and attacked from the fourth century on, and eventually forbidden in the Western church in the twelfth. By the eighteenth century, it was an almost unquestioned doctrine that priests should not marry. Even so, there were some priestly and even more secular voices in favor of priestly marriage. The physical and emotional benefits of marriage were extolled, and Enlightenment writers such as Denis Diderot and Paul-Henri Dietrich, baron d'Holbach, condemned celibacy as "unnatural." Others argued that married priests would be a model to their parishioners.

Cage does a good job of setting out the themes of this pre-revolutionary debate and includes an interesting discussion of the anticlerical literature and pornography that focused on the supposed sexual activities of the clergy. She also positions opposition to clerical celibacy clearly within concerns about celibacy more generally, and the preoccupation with population growth in eighteenth-century France.

During the French Revolution, the issue of clerical celibacy remained alive, but within new cultural and political contexts. There was unprecedented stress on the importance of the family, and new codes of family law tried to eliminate sources of conflict among family members; divorce was legalized, for example, and equality of inheritance among all children was mandated. Marriage was secularized and became regarded as a patriotic duty (there were proposals to make it a crime for a man not to marry by the age of thirty), while celibacy became seen as a social offense. Political attention turned to specific demographics where celibacy was common: the clergy, the army, and the nobility.

Approximately six thousand male clergy (and seven hundred female clergy) married during the Revolution, some because they wanted to, others in order to avoid persecution (married priests were exempted from imprisonment and deportation), yet others because they were forced to. They represented only 1 or 2 percent of all clergy. These married clerics loomed disproportionately large in the discourses of revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries alike. Cage argues convincingly that we should see the campaign in favor of clerical marriage not as a result of the dechristianizing efforts of the Revolution, but as part of a more complex set of issues that include religion, citizenship, the family, gender, and sexuality.

The strongest section of the book is an examination of the petitions filed by married clergy, following the Concordat of 1801, to be reinstated as priests or to have their marriages accepted by the church. Cage has examined these thousands of petitions and sets out the tragic circumstances the families of married clergy faced, such as the wife of a priest who was denied the last rites as she died of cancer. Giovanni Battista Caprara, appointed as papal legate to handle these thousands of petitions, generally took a hard-line position, but many petitioners were just as determined to hold on to their marriages and families. Here we get a real sense of the realities of clerical marriage.

Although *Unnatural Frenchmen* is a comprehensive treatment of the subject, and Cage has mined the sources very well, there is one noteworthy omission: Guillaume-André-René Baston, a French theologian who wrote extensively on the doctrine of marriage and on priestly celibacy before, during (while he was in exile), and after the Revolution. Baston was given the job of recommending how the church should deal with matrimonial issues resulting from the Revolution.

Nonetheless, this is a very effective and well-nuanced study of the theory and practice of priestly celibacy and marriage during the pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and Napoleonic periods. We have known the outlines of the pre-revolutionary debate on celibacy, and we have been aware that many clergy married during the Revolution—some for strategic reasons, others because they wanted to. Cage's achievement has been to marshal the known material, to bring to light new material, and to place clerical celibacy within the broader cultural and political contexts that gave it meaning. Clerical marriage might have been a marginal matter within the Revolution as a whole, but Cage has shown that it fits neatly into much broader narratives.

RODERICK PHILLIPS
Carleton University

RICHARD TAWS. *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013. Pp. xii, 214. \$35.95.

In this stimulating book, Richard Taws explores what he describes as the provisional or ephemeral art of revolutionary France. Unlike the monumental artistic production associated with French medieval Christianity or that stimulated by the absolute monarchs, the revolutionary

era produced little such art as a consequence of the constantly shifting political milieu. According to Taws, this ephemeral art, which included much that traditionally would not be characterized as art (paper money, passports, calendars, almanacs, and representations of transient or demolished monumental structures), provided the “means of negotiating the historical significance of the Revolution” in the midst of its ever-changing political culture (3). The valuable insights that Taws draws from his examination of this art confirm Lynn Hunt’s assertion of the importance of continued and innovative analysis of the visual sources of the Revolution (“The Experience of Revolution,” *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 4 [Fall 2009]: 671–678).

The revolutionary paper currency, the assignat, was the most ubiquitous example of ephemeral art. Introduced to facilitate the sale of the church land, the assignat emerged as a widely circulated representation of revolutionary authority. Numerous symbols were packed into the assignat. Initially displaying a portrait of the king, Louis XVI, the notes also contained revolutionary symbols and became overtly republican in form after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1792. Symbolizing the Revolution’s disdain for the church and resurrecting the fear of paper currency and of resulting economic catastrophe associated with the financial reforms of John Law, the assignat was an easy target for counter-revolutionary satirists whose caricatures belittling the assignat served as a means of challenging the legitimacy of the Revolution itself. The circulation of counterfeit notes provided counter-revolutionary artists with many avenues to launch attacks on the revolutionary enterprise. In contrast, Jacques-Louis David’s inclusion of an assignat in his well-known painting *Marat assassiné* strengthened the association of the journalist with the ideals of the Revolution. As Taws demonstrates, the assignat continued to be a subject of ephemeral art even after its withdrawal from circulation and the public destruction of large quantities of the currency.

The Revolution introduced other printed documents, particularly passports authorizing legitimate travel for reliable citizens and certificates identifying the patriotic individuals who had stormed the Bastille. Both contained revolutionary iconography and were intended to confirm legitimacy regarding an individual’s identity. However, these documents did not generate the onslaught of caricatures stimulated by the assignat except for those satirizing Louis XVI’s attempt to flee Paris with a false passport. As with the assignat, the authenticity of the documents was crucial to their function, but passports varied in form depending on the department from which they were issued. Only during the Napoleonic era did passports become standardized, imitating in certain regards the appearance of the assignat.

Taws’s argument regarding the relationship of the ephemeral to the historical significance of Revolution is powerfully demonstrated in his analysis of the visual representations of the Fête de la Fédération of 1790, which commemorated the fall of the Bastille. The structures for the event, a monumental arch and an altar—before which the king, Lafayette, and the assembly members took an oath to the nation—were hastily built and not designed to

remain permanently on the Champ de Mars. They thus represent the very essence of the ephemeral. Yet the importance of the event and the large attendance at the celebration stimulated the effort to implant a permanent memory of the festival in the public mind. This goal was accomplished by the production of a large number of prints portraying the event and offering various perspectives on the appearance of the festival site and the activities of the day. A number of these prints focused on the popular participation in the preparation of the site.

The Bastille was another ephemeral symbol of the Revolution. To preserve the memory of the Bastille after its demolition, Pierre-François Palloy began to produce replicas of the prison carved from the very stones of the building. Ultimately his workshop produced a variety of commemorative items utilizing the prison’s stones, including images of plans of the Bastille, the king, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. His shop also constructed models of the structure cast with a paste of ground stone. He sent his models of the Bastille to all eighty-three departments for use in civic festivals, and one was placed on the steps of the altar of the Fête de la Fédération. According to Taws, Palloy’s goal was to “impress an indelible image of the past on the revolutionary present” (117).

Perhaps the most intriguing of all the ephemeral art analyzed by Taws is Philibert-Louis Debucourt’s *Almanach national, dédié aux amis de la Constitution*, a colored print containing a space to paste in a calendar. The print consists of a classical image of Minerva drafting the new constitution juxtaposed with a female newspaper vendor, in a similar pose, selling revolutionary pamphlets and journals. Taws’s analysis of this complex work is perceptive and insightful. He presents a detailed explanation of the subject, the relationship of the work to the Revolution, the international influence of revolutionary ideology, the character of the revolutionary calendar, and the nature of time in a revolutionary era.

The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France succeeds as an exposition of the ephemeral art of the Revolution due to Taws’s imaginative choice of objects to be analyzed, his meticulous examination and perceptive analysis of the many, often obscure, features of this art, and his ability to weave his discoveries into a sophisticated and original argument that expands current understanding of the relationship of revolutionary culture to the politics of the Revolution. Not all of the chapters contribute equally to his overall interpretation of this art, but the work as a whole is an impressive achievement that provides scholars of the Revolution with a stimulating analysis of ephemeral revolutionary art.

KENNETH MARGERISON
Texas State University

EMMET KENNEDY. *Abbé Sicard’s Deaf Education: Empowering the Mute, 1785–1820*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xviii, 212. \$100.00.

Emmet Kennedy’s *Abbé Sicard’s Deaf Education: Empowering the Mute, 1785–1820* is a slim volume that examines

the life and works of Roch-Ambroise Cucurron, Abbé Sicard (1742–1822). Sicard was the director of the Institution Nationale des Sourds-Muets in Paris for thirty years and during that time developed foundational methods for the education of the deaf, publishing numerous works on grammar and education. Just that accomplishment would be sufficient to justify a book-length treatment of his activities, but Sicard was also politically active and an influential member of Parisian academia during the revolutionary period and beyond, so his story has extensive historical ramifications.

Sicard entered a teaching order and became a priest as a young man, and although he soon left the order, he remained a priest for the remainder of his life—and a refractory one at that. In 1792 he was arrested but escaped execution during the September Massacres, allegedly because some of the sansculottes recognized that he was the famous teacher of the deaf, and thus indispensable to the state. A year later he was still performing the mass and was arrested again; due in large part to heartfelt letters from his students, he was released. These were the first of many escapes, either lucky or engineered, that saved Sicard through the Terror, the Directory, and the Napoleonic era, until the Restoration period, when he was able to act with less political interference. Throughout the period, Sicard continued to publish his educational treatises and could be found holding positions in the most prestigious academic institutions of the time. Political and educational leaders, as well as men and women from the highest ranks of Europe's aristocracy, came to Paris to meet with Sicard and visit his school, where he gave them demonstrations of his students' abilities to communicate through sign language. Many of these leaders then returned to their own states to establish similar schools for the deaf. Sicard was also visited by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, one of the founders of deaf education in the United States. The question of the day, and one that still engages practitioners of deaf education presently, is whether sign language is preferable to lip reading and oral communication. Under the influence of Sicard, sign language began to be seen as the preferred method. Although Sicard did not entirely invent the sign language that he taught, he certainly expanded and popularized it; without his influence, deaf education would likely look quite different today.

Kennedy's main argument is that Sicard was able to escape persecution and execution, despite being a refractory priest who continued to teach religion and argue for the place of religion in the state, for two reasons. First, Kennedy calls Sicard a *girouette*—a weathervane. The abbé was something of a chameleon, able to change his stripes out of political expediency. He managed to find powerful protectors, and this also helped him weather the political storm of the Revolution and the Napoleonic era. But most importantly, Sicard benefited from the timely nature of his work. Revolutionaries—even if they disagreed with Sicard's religious and political views—saw deaf education as part of the larger philanthropic movement underway during the era. They believed the state should play a greater role in helping the poor and the disadvantaged,

and Sicard was doing just that. The benefit that the school provided for the state thus outweighed the fact that a controversial, refractory priest was at its head.

This argument is a good one, but unfortunately the book as a whole falls short. Sicard's story is fascinating; Kennedy's treatment of that story is not. Sicard must have been an extraordinary personality—his very survival and many successes are proof of that. But Kennedy does little to bring this personality to life. Sicard's story could make an excellent case study on the inner workings of revolutionary politics, but more interaction with that historiography is needed. Likewise, the school itself is only a minor player in the book. Beyond a few details about one or two of Sicard's star pupils, we learn very little about the students themselves. The fact that the school taught both boys and girls is a fascinating fact, but the significant ramifications of this fact are not discussed. The revolutionary period was a time of great upheaval in the field of educational theory, especially in questions of access to education by women and the lower classes, and Kennedy fails to engage with any of the historiography on the subject despite the manifest relationship to deaf education. In chapter 1, he briefly mentions Michel Foucault's work on the institutionalization of the sick and poor, but it is quickly dismissed with the argument that Sicard was truly a humanitarian as well as a representative of state power. The lack of analysis here is troubling, and ultimately unsatisfying. The book is certainly important for the history of deaf education, and provides important details that historians in that field will likely value. Yet there is so little analysis, either of Sicard himself or of the activities he was engaged in, that readers outside of that field may find less to appreciate.

KAREN E. CARTER
Brigham Young University

CAROLINE CAMPBELL. *Political Belief in France, 1927–1945: Gender, Empire, and Fascism in the Croix de Feu and Parti Social Français*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 286. Cloth \$48.00, e-book \$48.00.

This book's title is misleading; *Political Belief in France, 1927–1945: Gender, Empire, and Fascism in the Croix de Feu and Parti Social Français* is not about French political belief. Its subject is the role of women in the Croix de Feu and its successor organization, the Parti Social Français, in France and French territories in North Africa. In the interwar period, the Croix de Feu was the largest right-wing political movement in France.

The Croix de Feu emerged in the 1920s as a militantly nationalist veterans' organization dedicated to revitalizing France via military values—hierarchy, discipline, order—and the spirit of the legendary *union sacrée* of the war effort. Although World War I remained a touchstone for the organization, its leadership turned away from the violent political agitation that had been its hallmark to articulate and embrace a new program in 1934: "Social First!" Campbell argues that this turn transformed the Croix de Feu into a mass movement. The new focus on social ser-

vice drew women into the movement in droves, not only into the ranks as foot soldiers of the social welfare programs, ladling out soup and distributing clothing and medicine, but into its leadership. Although women remained a minority of the membership—at the movement's height in the late 1930s, women comprised about one-third of the members—they ran and staffed the most vibrant aspects of the movement, staging fundraising events and running health clinics, youth centers, sewing workshops, summer camps, and fitness programs. Such an array of social services, even though access to them was largely limited to the organization's members, allowed the Croix de Feu to take on the Popular Front, at least rhetorically, on its own terrain. And women's control of its social programs allowed the organization to continue to function during the Second World War, when German occupation and Vichy repression deprived it of most of its male leadership.

However, Campbell argues that this story was not replicated in France's North African territories of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. Here, where the enemy of French civilization was everywhere apparent in the Muslim majority, the Croix de Feu remained much as it had been at its origin, an organization of veterans waging a violent struggle against all they identified as non-French: communists, Jews, and Muslims. The social turn, dictated from Paris, never made much headway in North Africa; nor did women move into leadership positions there.

While Campbell calls the Croix de Feu in North Africa fascist, she is hesitant to so designate the movement in France. While the organization shared many attributes with Italian fascism in particular, its commitment to Catholicism and especially its gender policies set it apart. A female delegation sent to Adolf Hitler's Germany in 1938 came back impressed by Nazi organizational skill but appalled by the relegation of women to childbearing and domesticity and also disturbed by the lack of free discussion. They did not, however, criticize or even acknowledge the Nazi persecution of Jews and leftists. Thus the Croix de Feu ended up, in Campbell's words, in "a moral quagmire" (200).

Campbell tries throughout to incorporate the issues of race and empire into her study. A paragraph or two contrasting the movement's development in France with its policies in North Africa ends each chapter until the reader reaches chapter 6, which provides a more detailed look at the organization in the Maghreb. But, as Campbell admits in the book's conclusion, although the French "race" figured in Croix de Feu rhetoric, racism had little weight in its ideology. Its definition of Frenchness was religious, cultural, and spiritual, not biological. The movement's confused and shifting position on whether North Africans could ever be French was far from unique and not nearly so interesting as its progressive but ambivalent position toward women's role in society. While trumpeting women's important role in civil society, the Croix de Feu leadership, including many women, refused to support women's suffrage.

There remains an enigma at the heart of this study: Which came first, the turn to the social or women's authority? The timing of the new policy links the decision to

the anti-parliamentary riot on February 6, 1934, that nearly brought down the Third Republic. The riot's failure—or perhaps its near success?—convinced François de La Rocque, the organization's founder, that the Croix de Feu needed a new direction. But was it the influence upon him of women associates that pushed Social First? Or was it La Rocque's decision to promote social welfare rather than vigilante violence that brought women to prominence in the organization? This Campbell never makes clear, and perhaps it is unanswerable. What is clear is that the promotion of social activism turned the Croix de Feu into a mass movement in France, one whose resonance still lingers today.

MARGARET H. DARROW
Dartmouth College

DOROTHEA BOHNEKAMP. *De Weimar à Vichy: Les Juifs d'Allemagne en république, 1918–1940/44*. Paris: Fayard, 2015. Pp. 298. €22.00.

De Weimar à Vichy: Les Juifs d'Allemagne en république, 1918–1940/44 addresses a deceptively simple topic: the exile, in the 1930s, of tens of thousands of German Jews to France, and the very different experiences of French and German Jewry in these interwar republics. In both countries, Jewish citizens hoped the power of patriotic sacrifice in the First World War would lead to acceptance, and indeed these Jews fought (and died) in rather larger numbers than the general population. But, as Dorothea Bohnkamp deftly demonstrates, their postwar experience could not have been more different.

In France, the story Bohnkamp tells is, briefly, an inspiring one. The victory in 1918, however compromised, was seen as the product of the Republic's strength, and the patriotism of France's Jews was a measure of that strength. To summarize this moment, she invokes the famous story of Rabbi Abraham Bloch, a Jewish chaplain who was killed in action, allegedly while praying for—indeed, holding a crucifix over—a wounded Catholic soldier. So powerful was this image that it touched even violent reactionaries such as Maurice Barrès. For France's Jews, still stinging from the betrayal that was the Dreyfus Affair, the sense of redemption was profound. Even the narrowest corridors of the extreme Right had Jewish adherents and maintained respect for Jewish sacrifice during World War I, and this continued until their full Nazification after 1940.

Obviously, as Bohnkamp shows us, the German story was bleaker. Jewish heroism and sacrifice was immediately overshadowed by the nation's postwar neurosis. The defeat became proof that "democracy" had corrupted national values. She argues that the association of Jews with both the late Wilhelmine government and the fecklessness of Weimar made matters worse. The narrative was, briefly, that Jewish treachery had lost the war, Jewish cosmopolitans had imposed the Weimar Republic, Jews had celebrated the Republic's perversion and weakness, and, through all of Germany's troubles, the Jews had prospered. Bohnkamp's account, like much of recent German historiography, sees this narrative less as a creature

of National Socialism and more as a radical continuity of ideas from the Weimar and the Second Empire.

In France, the period from 1914 to 1918 simply affirmed a status the Jews had been steadily gaining since the Revolution. The revocation of that status, after 1941, stands as an aberration in the *longue durée* of French history. As Bohnenkamp argues, for Germany, precisely the opposite seems to be true; the brief moment of 1914–1918 (or perhaps 1914–1916, for the vilification of Jews started even before the war's end) was the aberration. Before and after, Jews struggled against a deeply illiberal sentiment that cast them as wreckers of the fatherland. Or, as the author nicely summarizes, in France, Jewish memory is French, an embodiment of that transcendent moment of the *union sacrée*. In Germany the Jewish sacrifice was problematized to the “point of stigmatization” (37).

Although Bohnenkamp tries not to linger on the military legacy, it is difficult to avoid. As Serge Bernstein puts it in his sharp introduction, the reason we keep returning to 1918 is that at the moment that should have seen the liberation of German Jews, they began their “descent into hell” (7–8). Indeed, the insults began early. Veterans' groups began excluding Jews immediately following the war's end. German Jews were, like their French coreligionists, great believers in the republican establishment and initially threw their support behind the German Democratic Party (DDP). It was, after all, the party of Walter Rathenau, the Jew whose promotion among the wartime imperial elite was, to quote Bohnenkamp, “German Jewry's apogee,” and whose murder a few short years later “was its death knell” (68–69). Their decline in status was egged on, no doubt, by the arrival of many Polish Jews (“Ostjuden”). These refugees tended to be rougher and much poorer than the refined Jews of Germany, prone to the community's extremes (be it orthodoxy or Zionism), and were therefore an embarrassment to the bourgeoisie. Their lack of intellectual refinement and (supposed) association with violent criminality added those qualities to the already complex and contradictory list of “Jewish traits.”

More than half the book is taken up with retelling the general story of these interwar Jewries. This should be quite familiar to any twentieth-century Europeanist, and there are certainly sections scholars need not read. But two things make this book stand out. First, the story is well told, and a student (albeit a Francophone student) with an imperfect foundation in the era will get a good education. And second, Bohnenkamp, who is a Sorbonne researcher, relies extensively on Jewish sources: papers, memoirs, letters, many of which are quite obscure. In particular, her chapter “Being Jewish in the Weimar Republic” makes impressive use of these sources. Naturally, given that German Jewry contained some of Europe's greatest minds, the names read like a Who's Who of interwar intelligentsia, including Martin Buber, Siegfried Kracauer, Franz Oppenheimer, Bertha Pappenheim, Joseph Roth, Gershom Scholem, and Stefan Zweig.

The stories of Germany and France join as Jewish refugees flee to that country, which, Bohnenkamp reminds us, accepted more immigrants than any other (including the

U.S.) during the 1930s. Although the title suggests that this is the book's main focus, it is a small, if impressive, part of the work. In France the German exiles imagined a welcoming republic, a land where, even during the mania of Adolf Hitler's rise, a Jew (Léon Blum) could be the prime minister. France, and in particular Paris, gave them a space to consider a Jewish secularity.

The book achieves a nice balance between its very particular story and the broader political history. Some of the stickiest issues (the debates about being Jewish in modernity or the internecine battles between Zionists and assimilationists) are given life by Bohnenkamp's careful use of archival sources. The denouement after 1940 is, in her book as in history, succinct and shocking. Our tendency, she says in the book's opening, is, quite naturally, to see all these events through the lens of the Shoah. Bohnenkamp reminds us that this tragically brief moment of florescence was no less impressive for having been cut short.

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DOMINIQUE JANICAUD. *Heidegger in France*. Translated by FRANÇOIS RAFFOUL and DAVID PETTIGREW. (Studies in Continental Thought.) English ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 540. Cloth \$85.00, e-book \$84.99.

Heidegger in France is a shortened translation of a two-volume work originally published in 2001. In the original French version, the first volume was devoted to a narrative account of the French Heidegger reception, and the second volume contained interviews with eighteen figures associated with Martin Heidegger, though necessarily with the French debate. In this edition, seven of these interviews have been translated.

French phenomenology distinctively combines interest in G. W. F. Hegel, Edmund Husserl, and Heidegger. Dominique Janicaud was an important French phenomenologist. He is especially known for his early interest in Hegel, his suggestion that French phenomenology turned to theology after Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and his contributions to the French Heidegger debate. The latter took two main forms, including his original contributions to philosophy from a Heideggerean perspective, especially in *La puissance du rationnel* (1985), and in two more critical interventions in the explosive French debate on Heidegger and Nazism: *The Shadow of That Thought: Heidegger and the Question of Politics* (1996) and the present study.

La puissance du rationnel was completed shortly after the debate initiated by the French edition of Victor Fariás's *Heidegger and National Socialism* (1987). Fariás's book brought the relationship between Heidegger's philosophy and his National Socialism into public view, though this relationship had been well known to the French philosophical public at least since the late 1940s, when it was featured in Jean-Paul Sartre's *Les Temps modernes*. When Fariás's work appeared, Heidegger was a central influence in contemporary French philosophy, in which he was understood—in part under the influence of his “Letter on Humanism”—as a humanist thinker of a

new kind. This debate quickly became a cause célèbre, a kind of national scandal in a uniquely French form of intellectual self-examination that resulted in the appearance of a whole series of articles and seven books by prominent French thinkers on the topic (Pierre Bourdieu, François Fédier, Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut, Jean-François Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, and Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe) in the absurdly short literary space of some six months.

The reaction to Farias's intervention took two main forms, including the excited French reaction to his critical examination of the relation between Heidegger's Nazism and his philosophy, which French philosophers almost immediately took as an attack on French philosophy. A more sober effort to separate the wheat from the chaff, to which Janicaud contributed, followed closely thereafter.

Efforts in France and elsewhere to understand the link between Heidegger's philosophy and his politics have long been hindered by the steady effort of his family to prevent or at the very least to delay publication of the relevant documents. The ongoing appearance of Heidegger's so-called black notebooks (*schwarze Hefte*) and the more recent publication of his letters to his brother, Fritz, continue to throw new light on the subject and, in the process, undercut critical analyses.

Janicaud's Heideggereanism combined deep interest in Heidegger's work up to and including *Being and Time* but before the so-called turning in his thought (*Kehre*) with thorough skepticism about Heidegger's later controversial rereading of historical figures. Though Janicaud was himself a kind of critical Heideggerean, his treatment of the theme of Heidegger and politics, and more generally Heidegger in France, was always scrupulous.

In his study of Heidegger's politics, Janicaud argues for a link between Heidegger's philosophy and his political engagement, which, however, goes astray in the unconditional character of the so-called "Historicisme destinal." Heidegger's turn to a history of being allegedly leads to an opposition between nihilism and a future god. Janicaud's approach consists in granting this opposition and in arguing that Heidegger's blindness to the link between his position and Nazism was due to a kind of political blindness. Janicaud sees the later Heidegger's radicalization of his earlier thought—the destinal theory of being announced in the "Letter on Humanism" and other writings—as impeding an understanding of the lessons following from his turn to Nazism. Unfortunately, his effort to save Heidegger from himself comes up short in light of materials that have only recently become available.

In his writings on Heidegger's politics, Janicaud generally follows a line invoked by others, which consists of the idea that Heidegger's turn to Nazism followed from his philosophy. We now know much about Heidegger that we did not previously know, including that his early strong German nationalism, which later led to his Nazism, did not succeed but rather preceded the development of his philosophical theories.

This careful, informed account of the reception of Heidegger in France profits from the fact that Janicaud was an important actor in this series of events, but much like the earlier study it is undercut by the subsequent appear-

ance of crucial texts and a series of more recent events that Janicaud could not possibly have anticipated.

Janicaud, to his credit, provides a fair and accurate account of the French reception of Heidegger up to the time of the Farias scandal. It helps that he not only personally knew many of the principal figures of this affair but was also a participant in his own story. Yet his full telling of the tale is selective in what it takes up. There is, for instance, unfortunately no reference to Robert Faurisson, the French Holocaust denier who seems to have had a link to Heidegger's principal ally in the French debate, Jean Beaufret.

It is unquestionably easier to point to lacunae in a historical account several decades after the fact than to navigate an ongoing series of events. Two examples will suffice. In a series of remarks on Heidegger's "Letter on Humanism" directed to Beaufret, Janicaud, who was always persuaded that Heidegger was not a Nazi in any real sense, remarks that in this text Heidegger was careful to raise his account above "political or national divisions" (80). In a later passage, he concedes that it is no longer possible to contend that Heidegger joined the Nazi Party in a merely "tentative" way and that there is a "troubling terminological analogy" between the ontological vocabulary of *Being and Time* and Nazi political discourse (115). This admission must have been difficult because Janicaud had just argued in *Heidegger's Shadow* that Heidegger's thought was not in any sense intrinsically Nazi. Yet we now know after the recent publication of numerous documents that the situation was in fact much worse than someone unacquainted with key texts that had not yet appeared could possibly imagine.

In sum, this book is informed, interesting, well written, useful, and as accurate as it could have been for someone writing at a time when relevant documentation was being withheld by Heidegger's followers.

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PIERRE BIRNBAUM. *Léon Blum: Prime Minister, Socialist, Zionist*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. (Jewish Lives.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. 218. \$25.00.

Léon Blum: Prime Minister, Socialist, Zionist is another volume in the Yale University Press "Jewish Lives" series, which publishes concise biographies of Jewish figures who left an imprint upon art, literature, the economy, and presumably also politics. However, excluding some ancient biblical figures and some contemporary Israeli politicians, there are few Jews who could be considered major political figures. Pierre Birnbaum has now written a passionate biography of Léon Blum, best known for his short-lived position as prime minister of the so-called Popular Front in France on the eve of World War II. The book reflects Birnbaum's deep admiration for the man, and while reading it one gradually learns the reasons for this admiration and comes to share in it. Blum appears here as an eminently honest person, an idealist always ready to fight for justice, a socialist who chose to focus upon the individual,

and a Jew openly upholding his identity and standing up for his brethren in times of trial. Birnbaum also describes how he was a true-believing Zionist, while always remaining a patriotic Frenchman fully assimilated into French culture and society.

Initially an art critic, a budding poet, and a dandy, Blum confronted his first political choices at the time of the Dreyfus Affair. This, according to Birnbaum, was a test for the Republic as a whole, a formative event for a generation of its future leaders. The French nationalist Right always sought “revenge for the Dreyfus Affair,” explains Birnbaum, finally finding it in Vichy. And Blum, representing the Left, repeatedly came back to the Affair and, like many other French Jews, was deeply stamped by it, especially by what Birnbaum elsewhere has named the “Anti-Semitic Moment” associated with it. At that time, it was Blum who convinced Jean Jaurés to join the Dreyfusards and became his close friend, his most loyal admirer, and, upon the assassination of the Socialist leader, his “natural” heir.

Throughout the nine chapters of this nicely constructed book, often without regard to chronology but with a fine sense of his subject’s psychology, Birnbaum presents us with what emerges as Blum’s most outstanding quality: his ability to combine opposites and live with them in relative peace. We confront him at first as one of those emancipated Jews of France who was holding on to Jewish tradition while at the same time preparing himself for a life in the service of the French state. We then learn to appreciate him as a writer and an aesthete, in the company of Marcel Proust and André Gide, but always eager to prove his virility, even in a series of rather senseless duels. Somewhat effeminate and “girlish,” he could not, according to Birnbaum, boast the impressive physique of a Dreyfus, perhaps, but he could show aggressiveness and courage that stood him in good stead later on in life. As a Socialist, Blum was never a true Marxist. He categorically opposed economic determinism and repeatedly warned against the totalitarian components of Bolshevism. Instead he believed in a humanistic, social-democratic synthesis. Although often challenged by friends and foes in and out of his party, he sternly defended his beliefs under all circumstances. He was an advocate of “peaceful and revolutionary” Socialism, writes Birnbaum, embracing not only deep-seated individualism but a strain of rather unexpected feminism, too. Finally, a loyal Frenchman, Blum was also a devoted Zionist, a member of various Zionist organizations as early as the 1920s. Later, he became a close personal friend of Chaim Weizmann and, until his death in 1950, a firm supporter of the Zionist project in Palestine under the British Mandate. “I am a Zionist because I am French, Jewish and Socialist,” he said in a speech at the Sixteenth Zionist Congress in Zurich in 1929, “because modern Jewish Palestine represents a unique and unprecedented encounter between humanity’s oldest traditions and its boldest and most recent search for liberty” (148). Indeed, as a Socialist, a Zionist, and a Jew, Blum, though thoroughly a political man, was a great dreamer.

And a dreamer he was even when realism and skepti-

cism were particularly needed. Birnbaum describes in some detail and with many fitting quotes the antisemitic waves that repeatedly shook the French Republic during Blum’s lifetime. But Blum’s faith in France and in what he saw as the legacy of the French Revolution remained intact, even as he himself was often viciously attacked, and once almost bitten to death by antisemitic hooligans. He upheld this faith later on, too, even at the time of the German occupation of France and when he was imprisoned in a secluded cottage near Buchenwald. Interestingly, however, his trust in mankind included a rather somber and pessimistic streak. This is what he wrote in a letter to his son in July 1944: “The wave of cruelty we have seen rising in one nation . . . and which today is sweeping across the world exists, I am convinced, in latent form everywhere, and it doesn’t take much for it to bathe the foundation of civilization in its bloody filth . . . A small change of circumstances is enough to awaken the brute in man, in all men.” One then reads with astonishment the optimistic conclusion of this paragraph: “I am convinced that all people can respond to a treatment of reason mixed with kindness, firmness, and trust” (137). Once again Blum was striving to keep opposites together, insisting upon a fair and humanistic synthesis as a guide for both one’s personal and political life.

Birnbaum has written a moving biography that for the first time places the emphasis on the Jewish side of Blum’s personality. He provides us with a shining, although perhaps not sufficiently critical, portrait of a unique politician. *Léon Blum* is a truly heartening reading for our time.

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DANIELLA DORON. *Jewish Youth and Identity in Postwar France: Rebuilding Family and Nation*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 309. Cloth \$45.00, e-book \$44.99.

On June 6, 1944—D-Day—Pierre Mendès-France, the commissioner of finances for the French Committee of National Liberation, sent a telegram to René Massigli, the commissioner for foreign affairs, in which he expressed his support for providing financial assistance to the World Jewish Congress, which had taken responsibility for a dozen children rescued from France by a Jewish organization. He added: “I note that six of the children are French. In my opinion the solution would be to have them sent to North Africa so we can assume responsibility for them. There is no reason to deprive the French nation (which will have a shortage of men in the future) of six children while paying for their support abroad . . . [Y]ou refer to . . . ‘French Jewish’ children. I assume that this is simply a regrettable editorial lapse. So far as I am concerned, these are French children to be rescued; for my part, I do not know any special category of ‘French Jews’” (MAE [French Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Guerre 1939–1945, 1037, 88–89, Algiers, June 6, 1944, Pierre Mendès-France to René Massigli).

This telegram, written by a politician who was born a Jew, and who for many years was the target of especially

vicious antisemitic attacks, illuminates some of the background of the topic that Daniella Doron analyzes so well in *Jewish Youth and Identity in Postwar France: Rebuilding Family and Nation*. Were these children Jewish or were they French? Did they belong to the “French nation”? Or should the Jewish community assume responsibility for them? These questions, and others, raise questions related to both individual and collective identity.

Of the 76,000 Jews deported from France, of whom only 3 percent returned from the death camps, 11,400 were children. None of the children survived, but during the occupation, children were the focus of the underground rescue operations conducted by Jewish organizations with assistance from Catholic and Protestant clergy as well as ordinary Frenchmen and women who were indignant at the barbaric turn the anti-Jewish persecution had taken. These efforts were also promoted by the growing awareness of the danger, which led Jewish parents to search out hiding places for their children before thinking—sometimes only much later—about protecting themselves.

After the liberation, the return to normal life by families that had been dislocated and left with nothing, the reconstruction of a community most of whose leaders had been eliminated, the reintegration of yesterday’s pariahs into their rights as citizens—all these objectives were bound up with the policy adopted with regard to the Jewish children, many of them orphans, who had been harbored by Christian families and become attached to them, or whose parents were incapable, financially and/or emotionally, of caring for them now. In the introduction to her book, which focuses on Jewish children in France from the liberation through the mid-fifties, Doron sums up this complex web and illuminates its broad scope: “To integrate the history of Jewish children in postwar France is not merely a matter of addressing a minor component of postwar Jewish history. Rather, because of their pragmatic and emotional significance, the efforts to rehabilitate Jewish children allows us to narrate the evolving and contested priorities of French Jewry in the decade following the Liberation” (19).

Relying on solid scholarship and offering clear and well-argued analyses, this work is part of the historiography that in recent years has shifted the focus from the war years to the postwar era, which was largely scanted in the past. It is divided into five chapters dealing successively with the controversy about Holocaust memory in France immediately after the war; the custody disputes within the Jewish community as well as those that erupted between the Jewish organizations and French government agencies; the debates about the most appropriate ways of guaranteeing the children’s future (in a family or a collective setting); and finally, how the policy adopted with regard to the children demonstrates—contrary to what has sometimes been asserted—the dynamism of the Jewish organizations during those years.

Doron’s conclusions are clear and her analyses persuasive. The Jewish organizations, far from remaining silent after the liberation, never stopped harping on the massacre of the children, “the innocent victims,” in order to en-

trench the distinction between the Holocaust of the Jews and the fate of the other victims of the war. This seems to have been the only possible way to place the specificity of what was not yet known as the Shoah on the public stage. The debates—those within the community as well as the agitated dialogue between the Jewish organizations and the French institutions—were passionate because they inevitably led to the question of these future citizens’ identity, French and/or Jewish. Doron also shows that the various forms of cooperation that developed among the organizations, despite their fierce political differences, were not due only to the pressure of American organizations that pushed the assistance groups to become more professional if they wanted to receive the financial support the American Jewish community was willing to provide. She shows that the Jewish children, or rather the responsibility for them and the desire to retain them in the community, encouraged the activists to cooperate after a short period when each organization endeavored mainly to reconstruct its prewar institutions. Her examination of the steps that led to the creation of the United Jewish Social Fund (1949) makes this point clear. By the same token, the reconstitution of French Judaism on an ethnic basis was not only linked to the wave of immigration by Jews from North Africa in the early 1960s, but already present in the efforts made on behalf of the children. The idea of the Jewish Community Center, established in Paris in 1955 as a sort of ersatz family that had room for all organizations and was based on a broad and diverse sense of Jewish identity, moved away from the previous view of what Judaism means. Henceforth culture could legitimately replace ritual as a way to attract the younger generation.

Thus, the present volume makes an important contribution to the history of the Jewish family and of French Judaism in the first decade after the war and, in a broader view, demonstrates “the power of youth to affect social policy” (232).

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JEAN-PHILIPPE DEDIEU. *La parole immigrée: Les migrants africains dans l'espace public en France (1960–1995)*. (Pouvoirs de persuasion, no. 8.) Paris: Klincksieck, 2012. Pp. 335. €31.00.

There is a rich literature on immigrants in postwar and contemporary French society. As indicated by Alain Girard and Jean Stoetzel’s *Français et immigrés*, vol. 1: *L’attitude française, l’adaptation des italiens et des polonaise* (1953) and Gérard Noiriel’s *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity* (1996), two texts published decades apart, French scholars across disciplines have treated immigration as a valid subject of research. But in the process they have, for the most part, ignored sub-Saharan African migrants. With *La parole immigrée: Les migrants africains dans l'espace public en France (1960–1995)*, Jean-Philippe Dedieu addresses this shortcoming, detailing how sub-Saharan African migrants have fared in French society, from the dawn of a new independent Africa in 1960 to the start of the *sans papiers* so-

cial movement, which promoted the legalization of illegal migrants in France. In narrating sub-Saharan African experiences, Dedieu focuses on the strategies that these migrants deployed to advance their agenda in the French public sphere. He attempts to record the various sub-Saharan African “political voices” by examining the formation, activities, and struggle of sub-Saharan African community organizations, lawyers, and actors.

In a book that aims to document the presence and political voice of marginalized migrants, it makes perfect sense to examine the activities and formation of community organizations. But the specific focus on lawyers and actors is confusing. While the emphasis on the lawyers’ experience underscores the prevalence of racism in France, readers may question why lawyers are so important in the history of sub-Saharan African people in postwar and contemporary France. Is their story so different from other black professionals from the Continent who also faced racism? Likewise, the focus on sub-Saharan African actors begs for a broader analysis. Indeed, black French, French Caribbean, and sub-Saharan African actors and filmmakers have all been pariahs of the French movie industry. One wonders if analyzing their experiences simultaneously would offer a more nuanced understanding of the lives of sub-Saharan Africans in France.

The chapters on sub-Saharan African organizations and the migrants’ relationship to French labor unions in France during the sixties and seventies are undoubtedly Dedieu’s strongest contribution. He highlights the uneasy relationship between French labor union representatives and sub-Saharan African migrants. He sheds light on the formation and function of various sub-Saharan African organizations in French cities, particularly in the Parisian region and Rouen; he also discusses the leadership of these new organizations, situating them in a postcolonial political climate in which French officials looked at Africa through “third worldist” lenses and African administrations nourished a clientelistic relationship with certain African organizations in urban France. Dedieu depicts a transnational “France *Africain*” that constructed social fields in the Hexagon while remaining politically connected to the homeland. Simultaneously, he demonstrates that the line between the colonial and postcolonial condition was blurred, particularly in the sixties and seventies, when France sought to maintain its hegemony over its former colonies.

While centering his analysis on sub-Saharan African migrants, Dedieu deems it worthy to document the French perspective of postcolonial Africa, the sub-Saharan African migration, and African development. He hints that in the sixties French officials wanted to use African bodies in France to achieve lofty goals of socioeconomic development in Africa. If the book had been published after Amelia Lyons’s *The Civilizing Mission in the Metropole: Algerian Families and the French Welfare State during Decolonization* (2013), perhaps a closer reading of Lyons’s work would have allowed Dedieu to make a stronger connection with the French civilizing mission, a phenomenon that the new scholarship on the African diaspora in postwar France painstakingly analyzes. That said, *La parole*

immigrée successfully demonstrates how the French state transitioned from talking the talk of development in the sixties, to blatantly repressing sub-Saharan African migrants in the seventies (though scholarship on the African diaspora in Paris of the sixties published after Dedieu’s book contends that the repression started at the turn of the sixties).

Drawing from the work of Michel Offerlé, Homi Bhabha, Roland Barthes, and Jürgen Habermas, Dedieu explains how postcolonial sub-Saharan African communities in France navigated the treacherous waters of xenophobia and anti-black racism to settle in French cities and demand to be treated like other immigrant communities. But he does not burden readers with a heavy theoretical load. Historians will be delighted to see that *La parole immigrée* uses evidence from multiple archives to construct an interesting and much-needed narrative about postcolonial sub-Saharan African subjects in the French republic determined to maintain strong connections with their homeland. This transnational analytical approach renders the book useful to African and French historians, as well as to scholars of the African diaspora. There is, however, one glaring omission in Dedieu’s book, one that such notable scholars as Gérard Noiriel (he wrote the epilogue) and Mamadou Diouf (he wrote the afterword) failed to see: the voice of African women.

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CLAIRE JUDE DE LARIVIÈRE. *La révolte des boules de neige: Murano face à Venise, 1511*. (L’épreuve de l’histoire.) Paris: Fayard, 2014. Pp. 355. €22.00.

The “snowball revolt” was a minor event in a small place. It had been snowing on January 27, 1511, when the ceremonial transfer of authority from the old podestà of Murano to the new one took place. An island dependency of the Republic of Venice, Murano had a population between five and six thousand, and its residents lived from fishing or glass making. Protective of the secrets of the glass industry, Venetian authorities kept Murano isolated from outside influences, but it was nevertheless one of the more prosperous communities in the lagoon. The Muranesi detested the outgoing podestà, Vitale Vitturi, who had had a difficult tenure imposing burdensome taxes to finance the War of the League of Cambrai, which since 1508 had pitted the lagoon republic against a changing coalition of major European powers. At the very moment of the snowball fight, German mercenaries occupied portions of the *terraferma*, and for two years panicked refugees from the mainland had periodically flooded the lagoon settlements. At one point a small detachment of enemy troops even landed on Murano itself.

On the morning of the 27th, the new podestà, Giacomo Suriano, disembarked with a company of Venetian patriots who came to witness the ceremonial transfer of power. After passing the baton of authority in the church of Santi Maria e Donato, the two podestàs, their Venetian compatriots, and a group of prominent Muranesi proceeded along the quay to receive the acclaim of the peo-

ple, but instead they were pelted with snowballs from a crowd of youths, fishermen, and workers, who chanted, "Suriano, Suriano, chase away this dog, who has ruined Murano." Vitturi was the dog. He and his retainers boarded their gondolas for a hasty retreat from the island. There was an official investigation of the incident, but the response of the Venetian government was limited. For his part, Vitturi, who was imprisoned some years later for bigamy, seems not to have been an especially able governor and had a modest political career. Compared to the more famous revolts in Flanders or Florence and the violent contemporary rebellions in Friuli and Dalmatia, the snowball fight in Murano was small potatoes.

So why write an entire book about it? Significance is always the challenge of microhistory, but there are important reasons why Claire Judde de Larivière took up the project. Already known for her work on the Venetian maritime economy, she recognized that the "snowball revolt" was a rare occasion when the inhabitants of the Venetian lagoon confronted their government. *La révolte des boules de neige: Murano face à Venise, 1511* becomes an essay on context, an excuse to write a kind of *histoire totale* of an event and of a community of fishermen, artisans, and workers and their politics. The result is a picture of a community not confined to the manifestation of hierarchies and structures but rather of "a multitude of interactions, actions, and discourses—the daily products of the individuals who constituted it" (15–16). The advantage of the approach is that it gets behind the juridical language that defined the *popolo* and the historiographic burden of the "laboring classes." It also allows her to depict the people as generating their own narratives and re-politicizes social history by showing how the inhabitants of Murano took collective action.

The result is an analysis that is both familiar and refreshingly open to new ideas. On the one hand, there are unruly youth, guild organizations, ritual forms of protest, carnival license, and the moral economy of the crowd put into action at the liminal moment when figures of authority changed. On the other hand, there is nothing mechanical about her analysis of these familiar themes. The snowball revolt was spontaneous, a moment when the crowd seized upon the opportunity to express its opinion. The revolt was hardly the expression of lasting popular politics because, according to Larivière, "popular politics does not exist any more than popular culture, and is limited to certain cases of conflict, resistance, and violence" (278). The moment that revealed the dynamics of Murano society became possible only because the Italian Wars imposed financial pressures on the workers, who improvised a symbolic discourse consisting of a snowball fight and calling a detested official a dog.

What can be learned from this book? First, political discourse in the Venetian lagoon operated on multiple levels. There was, of course, the famous myth of Venice embraced by the ruling classes, but that myth had little place among the glassworkers of Murano. Their discourse was one of spontaneous action. Second, justice was negotiated. The workers made their point by humiliating the departing podestà, and the government felt obliged to conduct

an investigation, but its mild response shows that returning to the status quo ante was far more important than making an example of the perpetrators. Third, society was a narrative, not a structure. The stories Muranesi told about themselves certainly differed from those Venetian patricians imagined. For the Muranesi, justice was local and personal. For the Venetian regime, justice was political in the highest sense. Faced with a foreign invasion of its territories, the politicians had to be governors. The workers, however, lived in an entirely different world, isolated from European events until taxes brought the larger world to them.

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DIEGO CARNEVALE. *L'affare dei morti: Mercato funerario, politica e gestione della sepoltura a Napoli (secoli XVII–XIX)*. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, no. 496.) Rome: École française de Rome, 2014. Pp. xiv, 551. €39.00.

As one of the most densely populated cities in early modern Europe, Naples presented formidable challenges of urban administration, maintenance, and planning. Accordingly, *L'affare dei morti: Mercato funerario, politica e gestione della sepoltura a Napoli (secoli XVII–XIX)* clearly illuminates how some of these astounding tasks involved painstaking efforts to manage the dead alongside, and sometimes in direct conflict with, the necessities of the living urban population. Diego Carnevale's highly innovative book places him well within recent scholarly efforts to break away from a generally conservative historiography of southern Italy. This is mostly evident in his choice to examine a succession of historical periods that are traditionally studied in isolation (the Spanish rule, the Austrian viceroyalty, the First Bourbons, the Napoleonic period, and the Second Bourbons down to the eve of Italian Unification), and his willingness to transcend disciplinary boundaries. The latter point is evident in the rich and diverse primary sources (both quantitative and qualitative) employed for the study: ecclesiastic, diplomatic, and administrative correspondence, various ministerial memoranda, religious ceremonial books, memoirs, financial data related to funerary expenses, governmental decrees, sumptuary laws, cemeterial planning projects, and more. Carnevale presents a careful handling of the existing scholarly literature in an impressive range of European languages, including Italian, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Latin.

This well-organized book is divided into seven chapters, and it excels in striking a fine balance between a thematic and a chronological approach. The first two chapters introduce the vicissitudes of the daily relationship between the various stages of a person's final journey—the administration of the last rites, the treatment of the corpse, the funerary procession, and interment—and the type of related services that used to be provided by various religious institutions and confraternities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Carnevale also deftly shows how Naples was topographically distributed into funerary districts

of differing size and importance, which determined what kind of economic profits could be made by the various funerary operators: the secular clergy, the monastic orders, confraternities, and lay providers of funerary services. Of great interest are also the heightened social differences in funerary expenses and the quality of burial existing between the various social statuses—the urban nobility, the common citizens, and the poor—not to speak of those that were denied ecclesiastic burial owing to their exclusion from the urban fabric: criminals, heretics, and religious minorities.

The next five chapters highlight the jurisdictional conflicts between church and state during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (of which provision of funerary services was only one of many areas in which the state attempted to encroach on the Catholic Church's authority), as well as the various programs of funerary reform excogitated by the numerous successive powers that ruled Naples during the long eighteenth century. Particularly interesting in this respect is the author's fascinating exposition of the growing tension between the modern conceptions brought by scientific and medical knowledge and the traditional religious and cultural values. On the one hand, Carnevale describes the new medical understandings in this period, which tried to guide governments and their programs of urban planning in the direction of developing new burial grounds in the city's periphery, as far as possible from the residential areas, in order to prevent contagious diseases. Accordingly, Carnevale skillfully illustrates how major epidemic eruptions (e.g., in 1656, 1764, and 1830), and the related challenges put on funerary operators and urban administrations aided in pressing forward the proposals for *extra moenia* solutions. On the other hand, the author explains the strong resistance coming from both the religious bodies and the general population. The former stood to lose, among other things, the charges levied for interments within their grounds, and the latter refused these alternative venues fearing the strong negative stigmas associated with extramural sepulchers, which were historically designated for marginal or deviant populations. Accordingly, despite the vigorous attempts of governmental reforms, a meaningful change would only take place in the nineteenth century, carried on by the reinstituted Bourbons, following the plans started by their Napoleonic predecessors.

The author offers a remarkably well-written, thoroughly researched, and innovative monograph, supported by useful maps, statistical tables, and graphs. Methodologically, Carnevale aptly fuses the solutions offered by the *Annales* School with the prescriptions of the new social and cultural history. The former allows him to ground the work in solid environmental, economic, and social bases. From the latter, he draws the notion that the subaltern classes should and can be studied alongside the social elites. This method allows him to study cultural practices and political events side by side with socioeconomic considerations. Moreover, he contextualizes the Neapolitan case study suitably by often comparing it with such large European megalopolises as Paris and London. If one may be allowed a slight criticism, it is that this otherwise fine monograph

requires the reader to make a leap of faith in one instance in which the author assesses the funerary expenditures of affluent commoners in the eighteenth century. This is carried out by sampling a single year (1710) and assuring the reader of its representativeness given the supposed homogeneity of the collected data throughout the period (155). But this minor oversight is the exception to the rule. Carnevale's oeuvre is a major accomplishment that sets the standard for any historical study on the many complexities of funerary management and the organization of urban cemeterial spaces in a vast and complicated urban setting. The book will be of obvious interest to scholars of Naples, Italy, and Europe in the long eighteenth century, but it will also be of relevance to anyone interested in original investigations in social, economic, urban, medical, and religious history.

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DANIEL JÜTTE. *The Age of Secrecy: Jews, Christians, and the Economy of Secrets, 1400–1800*. Translated by JEREMIAH RIEMER. English ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 431. \$40.00.

In 1588 the Holy Roman Empire faced a moment of crisis. Archduke Maximilian, the brother of Emperor Rudolf II, was arrested and incarcerated by the Swedish prince Sigismund Vasa during the dispute over the Polish Crown, which resulted in Sigismund becoming king of Poland. In a feverish effort to free his brother from captivity, Rudolf enlisted the help of the duke of Ferrara, who offered to send a prominent magus resident in his court, Abramo Colorni, a Jew from Mantua who had a reputation as a *disprigionatore*: in other words, he could spring people from prison by magic. Colorni said he had learned the art from the *Clavicula Salomonis* (Key of Solomon), a famous medieval magical text that he had translated into Italian. Luckily Colorni did not have to employ his preposterous magical method to free the archduke. The emperor finally had his brother released by more conventional means: negotiation. But Colorni had already made an impression on the emperor, regaling him with tales of magic and the arcane: Rudolf kept him at his court in Prague as a showcase of the exotic and wondrous for almost nine years.

This bizarre episode is one of dozens revealed in Daniel Jütte's engaging and important book. Though practically unknown today, Colorni (ca. 1544–1599) was a famous professor of secrets (*professore de' secreti*). He capitalized on a burgeoning demand for "secrets" to fashion himself as a magus and expert in the esoteric. (The term was coined by the Augustinian friar and social critic Tomaso Garzoni, who certainly had Colorni in mind when he described these avid pursuers of the arcane; in fact, he calls Colorni "a master of secrets" [220].) The robust commerce in secrets—namely alchemy, magic, medicine, cryptography, pyrotechnics, and technology—that Jütte labels the "economy of secrets" provided Colorni with an avenue for advancement in a culture that restricted the participation of marginal and minority groups in the public sphere.

What did it mean that Colorni was also a Jew? That is

the question that Jütte attempts to answer in *The Age of Secrecy: Jews, Christians, and the Economy of Secrets, 1400–1800*, and his answer opens a surprising new window onto early modern culture. Colorni was hardly the only Jewish professor of secrets—nonetheless, like Colorni most are almost completely unknown to historians. Though framed around a biography of Colorni that takes up nearly half the book, Jütte’s finely crafted study profusely documents the involvement of Jews in the trade in “secrets,” which included secret knowledge as well as exotic objects such as unicorns’ horns. To Christians there was something fundamentally secretive about Jews. Catholics and Reformers alike accused Jews of concealing their “perfidious” doctrines and behavior underneath a veil of secrecy. The idea that Jews were harboring secrets persisted throughout the early modern period. Jütte, while dismissing the discourse about a distinctive Jewish mastery of the arcane, nevertheless makes a strong case that the trade in secrets was “central to premodern Jewish economic life” (5).

Conventional historiography has it that printing provided professors of secrets with opportunities for social and economic advancement. And for most professors of secrets that we know about, that was undoubtedly the case. But while that may have been true for Christians, Jütte argues that for Jews the economy of secrets did not prove to be inferior to the system of open knowledge that characterized the Enlightenment. Indeed, Jütte argues, “the premodern economy of secrets was just as attractive, especially to society’s outsiders, as a system that propagated open knowledge” (249).

This argument has important implications for our understanding of modernity, suggesting that the conventional equation of openness with progress and of secrecy with regression needs to be rethought. That assumption turns out to be only relatively true, Jütte argues, because the economy of secrets generated spaces for two-way interaction between minority and majority communities, while also providing Jews with distinct kinds of social capital. Since it was embedded in the system of patronage, the economy of secrets provided Jews with room to maneuver within an otherwise closed system. Colorni was particularly clever at accomplishing this. Deliberately appropriating the figure of the biblical King Solomon as a model, Colorni fashioned himself as a Jewish magus similar to his more famous Christian contemporary, the Neapolitan magus Giambattista Della Porta.

The Age of Secrecy challenges a number of historiographical conventions. For starters, Jütte persuasively argues for the need to identify and assess non-public “spaces of sociability” that served as loci of scientific activity as effectively as the public sphere. Jütte also disputes the “contributory narrative” in Jewish history, namely the question of whether, and to what extent, Jews contributed to the Scientific Revolution. To Jütte, the question is a *question mal posée* because modern historiography has revealed surprising connections between science and the economy of secrecy that Jews were so adept at navigating.

This absorbing and pioneering book, originally published in German in 2012, is an important addition to the

history of early modern Jewish science and culture and to the growing body of scholarship on secrecy and books of secrets in early modern Europe. Jütte moves the subject beyond books, bringing to light a “culture of secrecy” that he argues took shape in early modern Europe. A work grounded in impressive research in archival and early printed sources, *The Age of Secrecy* will be of great interest to historians of science and early modern culture.

WILLIAM EAMON

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KAREN HAGEMANN. *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture and Memory*. Translations by PAMELA SELWYN. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 483. \$34.99.

Karen Hagemann’s impressive and well-written new book opens with two full-color prints, examples of “patriotic art” from an 1816 exhibition at the Berlin Academy of Arts; they set the stage for what follows. The first is Georg Friedrich Kersting’s rendering of three members of the German volunteer militia (*Freikorps*) on “outpost duty.” The second, by the same artist, portrays “The Wreath Maker.” Hagemann argues that Kersting’s “diptych . . . represent[ed] a gendered vision of the German nation that was popular in the patriotic circles of the small elite of educated middle- and upper-class men and women in Prussia and beyond at the time of the wars against Napoleon” (4). That the author chose the latter image for the book’s cover emphasizes her commitment to recounting a gendered history of what scholars typically call the Wars of Liberation; Hagemann usually prefers the term “anti-Napoleonic” wars. But the events of 1813 are only her point of departure. Her canvas is much broader and stretches right up to the eve of the First World War, when a single “national myth” of the liberation had coalesced and come to form the “master narrative of German history” (29). In her extended, subtle, and persuasive analysis of the “contested discourses and symbolic practices by which individuals and groups made political claims in the broadest sense” (7), the author reorchestrates nineteenth-century German history in a different key.

Hagemann’s work is especially timely, not least because it examines a period in German history that has fallen on somewhat hard times. Despite the efforts of major scholars such as Christopher Clark (in his *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947* [2009]) to deal with the nineteenth century seriously, the majority of historical work on Germany today is weighted toward the late twentieth and even early twenty-first centuries. One regrets this “shrinkage” of German history to a mere several decades, first, because it creates an overabundance of young scholars competing for the same few jobs, and second, because it is shockingly ahistorical. Hagemann’s *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture and Memory* challenges historians to reexamine their ideas about “which history” matters. All German historians are, of course, aware of the anti-Napoleonic wars. Some even have acknowledged their criticality, as in Thomas Nipperdey’s remark that “in the beginning was Napoleon”

(*Deutsche Geschichte: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* [1983]), but recent historiography has neglected their relevance and underplayed the abiding influence they exerted. Hagemann goes far toward correcting this. Indeed, in arguing that the anti-Napoleonic wars created the first European experience of mass warfare (in terms of numbers of troops involved but also in how civilian populations had to “pay the costs of” occupation and annexation [12]), she anchors the early nineteenth century firmly in the broader flow of German and European history, making it a central moment in the development of modern states and political systems. Just as significantly, these conflicts provided the raw material for constructing the master narratives and the collective memories of Germany as it took shape.

As significant as re-centering the early nineteenth century in German history and historiography is, Hagemann’s masterful analysis of the formation of two central and contrasting narratives that ascribed meanings to the Wars of Liberation also raises other questions: Were they “simply a struggle for liberation from French rule led by the Prussian king” (15), or were they a movement from below for national liberation *and* political liberty? Her answer is that they were both. The varied ways in which these narratives unfolded and were perpetuated or suppressed (or partly suppressed), constituted the German nation—or at least the perceptions of that nation—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While her discussion centers on Prussia (according to her slightly awkward title), she by no means ignores the other Germanies. Rather, she compares the Prussian narrative(s) with alternative regional experiences and recollections. The Rhinish and Saxon situations diverged from the Prussian one because of their erstwhile alliances with France and Napoleon; they were therefore plotted differently.

Hagemann thus has created nothing less than a full-blown analysis of the rise of the German nation—and the idea of that nation—over the course of a century. Her vision is inherently political, but political in a manner that contrasts with what we traditionally consider political history. Accordingly, her sources differ as well. The introduction sketches out an interpretive framework that links history, historiography, and memory, and discusses her decision to base her analysis on “textual representations and cultural practices” (7). Over the course of some four hundred pages, Hagemann analyzes a wide variety of literary media—novels, poetry, journals, and newspapers—and addresses cultural practices that are not limited to large-scale government-sponsored festivals and rites of commemoration. In exploring memories and their construction, she respects the distinction between “communicative” and “cultural memories.” The first is “based on collective communication” (23) of brief duration, lasting no more than a couple of generations. The latter (of greater interest to the author) persisted longer and were “sustained by social and cultural institutions in the form of buildings, monuments, symbols, rituals, arts and texts” (23). In an extended and mostly textual analysis, Hagemann shows how the Wars of Liberation produced competing narratives possessing both political (conservative-monarchical versus liberal-democratic) and gendered va-

lences. From about the 1880s onward, however, the narratives of political liberty and female citizenship disappeared and were replaced by the more familiar Borussian vision. Responsible for this metamorphosis were a “transformation of political culture and the growing influence of academic historiography, which in Imperial Germany was dominated by Prussianism” (404). Yet the eventual enshrinement of this narrative as “the” German historical metanarrative was by no means inevitable. National memories changed; the ones current in the decades immediately after 1813 and that held on for several more decades differed from that which dominated the pre-World War I era. Hagemann’s great contribution here is to have identified these counter and competing narratives. Her textual mining digs up rich veins of material in famous publications such as *Der deutsche Rundschau* and the *Rheinischer Merkur* as well as far less well known and ephemeral ones like *Deutschlands Triumph oder das entjochte Europa*, in works of popular and academic history, and in novels, great and not so great.

Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon presents a new analysis of nineteenth-century history, advances a manifesto and program for memory studies, and subtly critiques current historiographical trends. Hagemann has crafted a nuanced, judicious, and convincing picture of Prussian history that makes a substantial contribution to what one might call the “new Prussian history” as represented by those who have criticized the *Sonderweg* thesis, by Clark in his *Iron Kingdom*, and by William Hagen in his equally brilliant *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500–1840* (2007).

MARY LINDEMANN
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STEPHEN G. GROSS. *Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890–1945*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 384. \$99.99.

Some months ago, German newspapers reported with a degree of pride that Germany would once again be *Exportweltmeister* (export world champion) in 2016 as measured by the current account surplus and effected primarily through massive merchandise exports. As today, merchandise exports played a pivotal role in the German business model between the early Wilhelminian period and the end of World War II. This period, especially the turbulent decades after World War I, is the focus of Stephen G. Gross’s excellent study *Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890–1945*. Gross explores the trade relations between Germany and two comparatively small, agrarian, and less industrialized southeastern European countries, Romania and Yugoslavia, and skillfully connects them to international politics and the practices of German imperialism. Analyzing the emergence of German “soft power” and trade-driven imperialism in southeastern Europe, the author pays special attention to the previously neglected role of non-state organizations. Drawing on recent scholarship on trade, international relations, and imperialism, which has underlined non-state

actors' often influential role in policymaking, Gross elaborates on the activities of such key non-state entities as the Leipzig Trade Fair, the Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag (an association of German and non-German business elites), and the Mittel-Europa Institut, as well as the academic institutes in Leipzig and in Dresden.

As Gross convincingly demonstrates, these organizations created personal networks that served to complement the trade treaties and clearing agreements Germany arranged with southeastern European states in the 1930s. These networks, as Gross shows, helped overcome and offset typical trade problems regarding information, uncertainty, and high transaction costs. As a consequence, Germany, facing a shattered network of trade representatives and strong distrust in southeastern Europe after World War I, had by the end of the 1930s developed an informal economic empire in the region despite the fact that both Yugoslavia and Romania were key members of the Little Entente. In addition, cultural diplomacy programs set up by these organizations brought young businessmen and engineering students from the Balkans to Germany to foster German export interests and cultural influence. German soft power in southeastern Europe explicitly sought to reach non-German nationalities. Once Jews, who had traditionally played an important role in the foreign trade of these countries, were excluded in the 1930s, non-Jewish elites increasingly started working with Germany. These exchange programs also helped convince southeastern European elites that the division of labor Germany desired—roughly, industrial cutting-edge technology in exchange for foodstuffs and raw material—would be beneficial for their home countries. German organizations and government elites in turn designed specific development programs aiming to intensify the exchange of German machinery for raw materials and foodstuffs from these countries during the 1930s. Interestingly, the economic objectives of these German development programs, as Gross convincingly shows, did not differ significantly from those of other powers, such as Britain, at the time: they were to create a market for industrial products of the industrialized country and shape the production structure, primarily in terms of raw materials and foodstuffs, in the receiving countries according to its needs. Gross shows that even if the initial goals and methods of the interwar architects of German soft power in the Balkans differed from those of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany, they ultimately came to aid and abet Hitler's war machine. After 1940 Germany increasingly shifted from soft power to hard power, even if it differed in degree from country to country. In this context, however, ill-conceived German measures and the general underdevelopment of these countries resulted, as Gross argues, in "a monumental failure" (329) to mobilize these countries' economies for the German war effort. As a result, Gross concludes, southeastern European countries became more of a burden than an asset to the German war economy; with the exception of Romanian oil, critical supplies to Germany never even reached their prewar levels during the war.

It is especially with regard to this final point that some minor reservations must be registered. First, in order to

arrive at a more precise quantitative assessment of whether these countries did constitute a burden, trade figures should have been provided in constant rather than current prices, seeing, as Gross himself emphasizes, the considerable inflation in these countries during the war. Second, the wartime trade numbers provided in table 8.1 are, contrary to the author's belief, not based on German clearing statistics but on trade statistics that do not fully account for the export of goods in favor of Germany (for example, Romanian oil deliveries to the German troops on the Eastern Front). Finally, Gross's argument that deliveries to Germany (with the exception of Romanian oil) never even matched prewar levels must not be generalized for southeastern Europe. If one were to focus on Hungary (also grouped as southeastern European) rather than Yugoslavia—as an important trade partner and the major supplier of bauxite, crucial for the German war economy—Gross's conclusion would not hold. Hungarian bauxite deliveries to Germany during the war, for example, far exceeded those of the 1930s. In general, one would have also expected a more elaborate discussion on why Yugoslavia and Romania, and not other countries, were chosen.

But despite these minor reservations, this is a very well written and deeply researched study that contributes substantially to our knowledge of German trade expansion, the development of soft power, and the emergence of imperialist strategies in southeastern Europe, especially during the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime. It convincingly integrates different perspectives (of business interests, cultural diplomats, and trade policymakers) that are all too often treated in isolation. The book will prove of great value to economic historians, business historians, and diplomatic historians alike.

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DESPINA STRATIGAKOS. *Hitler at Home*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 371. \$40.00.

The historical literature on Adolf Hitler continues to fall into one of two categories: grand syntheses and granular case studies. The former has been well represented by Ian Kershaw's recent multivolume study *Hitler, 1936–45: Nemesis* (2000), while the latter has found expression in works such as Claudia Schmölders's *Hitler's Face: The Biography of an Image* (2006), Timothy Ryback's *Hitler's Private Library: The Books That Shaped His Life* (2008), and Lothar Machtan's *The Hidden Hitler* (2001). Despina Stratigakos's engaging new book *Hitler at Home* follows in the tradition of these latter studies and examines a very specific topic—the Nazi leader's interior domestic spaces—to arrive at larger conclusions about the workings of the Third Reich. Stratigakos pursues several goals: she seeks to expand our understanding of the Nazi regime's architectural policies by focusing on the interiors rather than the exteriors of buildings; she attempts to show how the regime's portrayal of Hitler's domestic life served the propagandistic aim of humanizing him for skeptical German as well as foreign audiences; and she endeavors to explain

why both groups initially embraced, but later abandoned, the official portrait of Hitler's domesticity.

The first part of the book examines the three main residences that Hitler occupied from the late 1920s until his death in 1945. After nearly a decade living a Spartan existence in a one-room apartment on the Thierschstraße in Munich from 1920 to 1929, Hitler moved across town to a much grander apartment at 16 Prinzregentenstraße, where he rented and commissioned the redesign of the entire third floor of a turn-of-the-century building. Around the same time, he also rented a small chalet called the Berghof in the Bavarian alpine retreat of Obersalzberg. Finally, after becoming Führer in 1933, he ordered a major redesign of the Reich Chancellery on the Wilhelmstraße. The three residences were quite different, but Stratigakos convincingly shows how Hitler undertook similar design renovations for similar propagandistic reasons. First, he sought to convey the sense that Germany was experiencing an artistic renaissance by upgrading sites that he described as shabby and downtrodden; this was especially true of the Reich Chancellery, whose allegedly decrepit state Hitler argued symbolized the degeneracy of the Weimar Republic. Second, Hitler tried to impress the German people and foreign visitors by expanding his residences' interior spaces, most famously at the Berghof, which featured a massive retractable window affording a spectacular view of the stunning Untersberg mountain range. Finally, Hitler attempted to allay Weimar-era suspicions about his personal life (he was an unmarried bachelor with a fondness for his young niece, Geli Raubal) by overseeing design projects rooted in modest and reliable German folk tradition, a pattern visible in the frequent use of wooden (read: sturdy peasant) furniture, wall paneling, and ceiling ornamentation. All of these goals were further advanced by the NSDAP's publication of promotional books (such as Heinrich Hoffmann's *The Hitler Nobody Knows* [1932]), which included "candid" photographs of the "private" Hitler enjoying his domestic spaces, conversing with "ordinary" *Volksgeossen*, and communing with animals in the wide-open spaces of nature.

Stratigakos not only skillfully describes but effectively demythologizes Hitler's propagandistic design strategy. She exposes the contradiction between the ostensibly modest aesthetic pursued by Hitler and the great expense required to create it (much of which the Nazi leader foisted onto German taxpayers, despite assuring the public that he was paying for it out of his own pocket). She exposes the hypocrisy of a "man of the people" living such a lavish lifestyle by liberally drawing on left-wing press critiques from the Weimar era. She also reveals fascinating contradictions between Hitler's aesthetic and political values, such as the fact that his Prinzregentenstraße apartment was outfitted with interior furnishings produced by a Jewish-owned furniture factory, M. Ballin. Stratigakos is most convincing, however, in revealing the yawning gap between the aesthetics and ethics of Hitler's "domestic image" by effectively exposing "the horrors clinging to the underside of its coziness" (7). Not only did Hitler sock German taxpayers with the bills for his interior design projects, but he also displaced countless residents at the Obersalzberg who stood in the way of his Berghof expansion campaign (some of

whom were arrested by the Gestapo). Stratigakos further critiques Anglo-American media outlets and their readers for publishing and consuming lavish photojournalistic essays that presented Hitler as a "civilized" English country gentleman without explaining how his grand interior spaces masked his political extremism. The success of these puff pieces reflected not only the profit motive, but also a high degree of wishful thinking on the part of British and American audiences that Hitler was an "ordinary" statesman. Stratigakos concludes her analysis by showing how, with the eruption of war, foreign audiences abruptly adopted a critical perspective toward Hitler's homes. By the time U.S. forces captured the bombed-out Berghof in 1945, the subject of Hitler's domesticity had shifted from the normal to the deviant. As the curtain was lifted and the reality of Hitler's homes was exposed, "[s]ecrecy, luxury, and crime replaced accessibility, modesty, and morality" (283).

Hitler at Home provides many valuable insights about an underexamined area of cultural life in Nazi Germany, but it could further modulate and deepen its analysis in certain areas. First, while Stratigakos is largely correct in claiming that most architectural historians have focused on high-profile monumental building projects, she omits an important exception: Winfried Nerdinger's massive edited volume *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Bayern, 1933–1945* (1993), which comprehensively surveys the "ordinary" buildings of the Third Reich and would have been helpful for contextualizing Hitler's own domestic projects. Moreover, while she is right to emphasize that the physical settings of Hitler's many policymaking decisions have remained underexamined, it remains unclear how unique—that is to say, how "Nazi"—Hitler's furnished spaces really were. A brief examination of how leaders in democratic countries redesign their own political homes (new presidents routinely order the redecoration of the White House) would provide added context for understanding Hitler's decisions. Finally, Stratigakos could engage more fully with some of the issues raised in the larger historiography of Nazi artistic and architectural policies. While she fills a major gap in the literature with her empirically rich case study, she could examine more closely the longstanding scholarly question of the relative "modernity" (the progressiveness or traditionalism) of Nazi cultural policies and the larger question (thematized by Frederick Spotts in *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* [2003]) about the extent to which Hitler viewed art as a means for attaining political ends or regarded politics as a means for attaining artistic ends. These observations notwithstanding, *Hitler at Home* is a highly original and thoroughly convincing study that scholars of Nazi Germany will read with admiration.

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KERSTIN VON LINGEN. *Allen Dulles, the OSS, and Nazi War Criminals: The Dynamics of Selective Prosecution*. Translated by DONA GEYER. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. ix, 328. \$99.00.

The six months between January 1945 and the German surrender in early May was a confusing and complicated

time in the history of World War II. Not only were Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt jockeying for power in the postwar world, they were also trying to balance the moral demands that German wartime atrocities placed on them. High-ranking German perpetrators were doing their own maneuvering, especially to avoid the retribution that was promised to their victims by the Allies in the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943. For example, one survivor of the war was Karl Wolff, Heinrich Himmler's chief of staff and, as some would argue, the "second [highest] man in the SS" (2), who successfully managed to avoid Allied prosecution in the years following the German surrender. Why and how it was possible for one of Germany's highest-ranking SS officers to avoid justice is at the heart of Kerstin von Lingen's latest book about German war criminals who operated in the Italian theater during the war.

While clearly mistitled, *Allen Dulles, the OSS, and Nazi War Criminals: The Dynamics of Selective Prosecution* is a compelling and detailed case study of SS-Obergruppenführer Karl Wolff, the politics of surrender, and the selective prosecution of war criminals for trial in Allied courts. Using recently declassified CIA and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) files as well as other intelligence documents and personal papers, the book tells an intriguing and complex story of how a "network of intelligence officers, lawyers, and occupational authorities" (9) conspired to protect Wolff from prosecution for nearly two decades after World War II. Eventually, in 1964, his good fortune ran out, and the Germans themselves prosecuted him in a Munich courtroom.

Von Lingen's book offers the reader a circumstantial yet convincing case against Wolff as a war criminal. She begins with the establishment of a possible framework for his conviction (remember, Wolff was never prosecuted by the Allies) and the context in which Allen Dulles, as a U.S. intelligence agent, first came into contact with him. It was Wolff's relationship with Dulles, von Lingen argues, that set the path to freedom for the SS leader, who under any other circumstance would have been subjected to immediate arrest and likely prosecution. Von Lingen is specifically concerned to articulate the crimes Wolff likely committed during the war, and while she notes that no definitive documentation exists linking him directly to any one crime, she makes a very convincing case for Wolff's complicity in a myriad of crimes against Italian civilians and possibly Jews as well.

Operation Sunrise, the secret negotiations between Dulles and Wolff that brought the war in northern Italy to an end in May 1945, is the linchpin of von Lingen's case. It was these negotiations, she believes, that resulted in Wolff's immunity from prosecution at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg. However, she is clear to articulate that the agreement contained no overt promises. Even though Wolff was arrested a week after the end of hostilities, evidence seems to suggest he believed he had negotiated a quid pro quo with Dulles. Paralleling the case of another famous SS officer, Otto Ohlendorf, Wolff testified during his extended stay in prison against fellow SS men rather than become the subject of prosecution

himself. He gave expert testimony in both the IMT trial against Ernst Kaltenbrunner and the trial against members of the SS Main Administrative and Economics Office (referred to as the Oswald Pohl Trial). Wolff is distinct from other SS perpetrators in that he seemed to realize early on the value of denial, which von Lingen does not take into consideration as a reason for his good fortune. Wolff never confessed to any transgressions and even protected his fellow SS officers during testimony as he did in the Pohl case. This is somewhat unusual behavior for SS perpetrators at a time before the Miranda rule (1966) was implemented. Many SS officers and even lower-ranking Nazis confessed to crimes they committed during the war, not realizing that their confessions could be used against them in later prosecutions, as happened to Ohlendorf in the Einsatzgruppen trial. Wolff is careful never to do this. If there is any criticism to be made of von Lingen's research, it is here. The book overlooks nearly a decade of scholarship on Allied war crimes trials in Germany. Most notably absent is the work done by international scholars on the twelve subsequent Nuremberg trials (1946–1949), which, had she consulted it, might have elicited a different response to the question she seeks to answer: why some Nazis were prosecuted (Kaltenbrunner, for example) and others were not (Wolff).

This is not to detract from the overall significance of von Lingen's research, which clearly demonstrates the explanatory value of microhistory to larger historical phenomena such as postwar justice. If anything, the strange case of Wolff reinforces something we have known since the end of World War II: that politics and international justice are inextricably linked—no political will, no justice.

HILARY EARL

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DEBORAH PEARL. *Creating a Culture of Revolution: Workers and the Revolutionary Movement in Late Imperial Russia*. (The Allan K. Wildman Group, no. 8.) Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica Publishers, 2015. Pp. 279. \$31.95.

Deborah Pearl's purpose in *Creating a Culture of Revolution: Workers and the Revolutionary Movement in Late Imperial Russia* is to reexamine the history of the Russian revolutionary movement over the period from the early 1870s to 1905, approaching the subject from a different perspective from that used by most scholars who have previously addressed it. She focuses not on the whole range of activity of the leading revolutionary groups (Land and Liberty, the People's Will, the Black Repartition) but on the role of workers in the movement, and on the subculture that developed in the numerous workers' circles that sprang up in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and many provincial towns and cities. Exposed in these circles, or *kruzhki*, to an education that enlightened and revolutionized them, workers formed a utopian vision of a socialist society characterized by solidarity, equality, and social justice. It was a vision they expected the eventual revolution to realize. By studying the revolutionary movement from this point of view, Pearl hopes to show how the workers, usually aided by propagandists from the intelligentsia, developed "the

revolutionary outlook and the level of political consciousness and organizational experience that made them the crucial political and social force in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917" (1).

Given her focus on the workers' experience, Pearl is more interested in the propagandistic literature with which the workers became acquainted than in such documents as the political programs of revolutionary organizations and the memoirs of revolutionaries, on which previous historians of the movement have mainly relied. Her account of this literature is the most original part of her book. She concentrates on four revolutionary "genres." First, she examines revolutionary tales, or *skazki*, didactic texts modeled on the traditional folktale that seek to show peasants and workers how they are exploited by nobles, merchants, priests, and officials. Secondly, she deals with pamphlets that expounded tenets of political economy in popular form and explained to workers and peasants why they were poor. Thirdly, she surveys the poetry that circulated among workers (Nikolai Nekrasov's verse was particularly popular) and the revolutionary songs that functioned as a powerful means of binding the disenfranchised together, especially in the early years of the twentieth century, when the political march and the May Day celebration became common public events. Lastly, Pearl considers certain foreign novels that, when translated into Russian, fired the imagination of workers by introducing them to stories of slave and peasant rebellions, revolutions, movements of national liberation, and the lives of their peers in other times and places.

Discussion of various questions germane to the history of the workers' movement is woven into Pearl's description of this revolutionary literature. She considers the relationship between the revolutionary intelligentsia and the labor movement itself. She takes account of the fact that the Russian working class, in some places and in some of the period in question, was more a collection of former peasants or seasonal workers than a proletariat with what Marxists would see as class consciousness. She reflects on the workers' loss of faith in the tsar, the erosion of religious belief among them, and the demystifying effect that acquisition of knowledge about natural science had on their outlook.

Creating a Culture of Revolution also has a clear and consistent line of argument. Pearl contends that the phases of the Russian revolutionary movement in the first twenty or thirty years of its existence were not so clear-cut as the corpus of historiography to date might lead us to believe. She argues, convincingly, that the ideological boundaries between factions in the early history of the movement were often indistinct. After all, many of the texts she surveys were used by groups whose political orientations seem diverse. Again, various groups that are labeled as "Populist" and yet others that have been characterized as "social-democratic" did indeed have a common interest in conducting propaganda among factory workers. It is also true that high priority was given to that form of activity by the People's Will, especially—but not only—after March 1, 1881 (the date on which the party succeeded in assassinating Alexander II), despite its reputation as a party that

was committed first and foremost to waging political terrorism.

Pearl usefully highlights the amount of revolutionary effort devoted to propaganda in workers' circles; however, she provides a picture of the movement that in places lacks nuance. It may in one sense be true, for instance, that the propaganda activity of the People's Will and the Black Repartition among the workers was "more significant . . . for the growth of the revolutionary movement" than was the assassination of Alexander II (34). Nonetheless, we cannot lightly discount the effect that the terrorist campaign conducted by the People's Will had on the propagandists of the 1880s, on Aleksandr Ul'ianov, Vladimir Lenin's older brother (and what consequences flowed from Aleksandr's execution in 1887!), on Russian revolutionaries in the early twentieth century, on foreign socialists, including Marx, and on Russian and international public opinion. In emphasizing the originality of her own work (e.g., 3–4, 58, 99–100, 239–240), moreover, Pearl is perhaps inclined to understate the extent to which previous historians have noticed such matters as the continuing prominence of epigones of the People's Will in the movement in the 1880s, the importance of revolutionary circles among the workers in that decade, and the blurring of ideological and political boundaries between revolutionary groups then active in Russia.

In sum, this is a thought-provoking and very well documented attempt to construct the mental world of a relatively voiceless section of the population of late imperial Russia. It closely analyzes some fifteen to twenty texts or collections of documents that have barely been examined before, if they have been examined at all. In the process, it challenges some common assumptions about revolutionaries' priorities, the relationship between theory and practice, and the characterization of phases of the revolutionary movement.

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REBECCA MITCHELL. *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*. (Eurasia Past and Present.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 321. \$95.00.

In an influential article published in 1910 ("Orfei i vakhanki: Rasskaz," *Russkaia muzikal'naia gazeta* 1 [January 3, 1910]: 6–15), the composer Vladimir Rebikov used the Greek god Orpheus, who was torn apart by the Bacchae, as a metaphor for Russia being torn apart by modernity (1). Rebikov predicted that Orpheus's spirit would be reincarnated in Russia and would inspire a higher spirituality, revitalize Russian culture, and reunite Russian society. The Orpheus myth, blended with ideas taken from Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), and the Christian theologian Vladimir Soloviev (1853–1900), shaped the "musical metaphysics" embraced by the cultural intelligentsia in late imperial Russia.

In *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, Rebecca Mitchell traces the development and ultimate disintegration of this "musical metaphysics," which regarded music as "the ultimate

transformative and unifying force, capable of overcoming the divisions of modern life and ushering in a new stage in human history" (3), and which was bound up with a search for a shared national identity. Believers formed an aesthetic community with a semiotic language that was heavily indebted to Nietzsche, but they were not his disciples. Rather, they were his orphans, because they rejected key aspects of his thought, his amorality and his anti-Christianity in particular. Their favorite Nietzsche text was *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* (1872), in which he counterposed Apollonian and Dionysian energies and praised the deindividuation induced by the Dionysian rites. Nietzsche's orphans interpreted Dionysus as primordial unity. They sought a new Orpheus, a contemporary composer whose music would bridge the gap between ordinary people (the *narod*) and educated society.

Chapter 1, "Musical Metaphysics in Late Imperial Russia," treats the social and political context in which the metaphysics emerged and developed; the orphans' search for a musical mystery that would transfigure reality; and their attempts to educate the *narod* by offering free or inexpensive concerts and lectures and by founding "people's conservatories." Consonant with the orphans' communal ideal and despite students' interest in personal expression and professional training, the basis of the curriculum was choral singing.

Chapter 2, "Aleksandr Scriabin: Music and Salvation," considers the most celebrated composer of late imperial Russia, viewed by himself and by his promoters as the new Orpheus. Newspapers and journals greeted a performance of a new work by him as a cultural event. Entire weeks were devoted to his music. Scriabin himself believed that his composition "Mystery," to be performed in India, would bring on the apocalypse (80). Contemporaries interpreted his music through the prism of their own needs and visions. The symbolist poet Viacheslav Ivanov viewed Scriabin as a fellow seeker of Christ even though Scriabin himself did not realize he was. Detractors regarded Scriabin as a symptom of contemporary decadence.

Chapter 3, "The Medtner Brothers: Orpheus in an Age of Nationalism," looks at two Germans living in Russia, Nikolai Medtner (1880–1951), the composer, and his brother Emilii Medtner (1872–1936), a cultural critic and philosopher who touted Nikolai as the sought Orpheus. Nikolai Medtner dreamed of melodic fragments and later worked them into compositions. A believer in eternal laws in music, he opposed modernism in music. Intent on unity, he wanted to unite Apollo and Dionysus as well as German and Russian musical culture. His vision of political unity was imperial—different nationalities living in the Russian Empire. Emilii's vision was ethnic and racist. He was a vehement antisemite and an early admirer of Adolf Hitler.

Chapter 4, "Sergei Rachmaninoff: The Unwilling Orpheus," describes Rachmaninoff's resistance to the role of Orpheus bestowed on him by admirers. He refused to discuss his work philosophically, he was not communally minded, and his compositions did not include a transformative mystery. His music had elements of *lichnost'* (the person or personality). The controversies surrounding his music highlight the contradictions in the orphans' meta-

physics. Detractors saw his genuine popularity among the *narod* as evidence of a lack of depth and seriousness. Supporters regarded his ability to express a genuine human voice in the midst of contemporary decadence as giving hope for Russia's future. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Rachmaninoff's music became a unifying force for exiled Russians. The Russian-born novelist Ayn Rand was an ardent admirer of his music. The heroine of Rand's novel *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) listens to music (presumably Rachmaninoff's) to fortify herself and complains that no one writes music like that anymore.

Chapter 5, "Musical Metaphysics in War and Revolution," recounts "the mystery nationalized" (171) and "the death of Orpheus" (180). The Great War inspired calls for Christian renewal and intensified the messianic aspect of Russian culture. It was seen as a holy war, a war of Russian (i.e., Christian) culture versus German barbarism. Some Russians distinguished between the "old Germany" of poets and thinkers and the "new Germany" of "blood and iron."

Scriabin's sudden death in April 1915 was a factor in the "death of Orpheus" (some of his promoters turned against him, one even called him a Satanist), but war and revolution were more to blame for Orpheus's death. Anti-German feeling made the Medtner brothers' position untenable. Nikolai fell into despair and was unable to write. He left Russia in 1921. Emilii ultimately settled in Switzerland (194–195). Rachmaninoff fled Bolshevik Russia in December 1917 (207).

The February 1917 Revolution was greeted with general enthusiasm. The need for a new national anthem was recognized; several were proposed, but none was adopted. On October 24, Viacheslav Ivanov gave a speech titled "Scriabin and the Spirit of Revolution," in which he defended the composer against charges of individualism and Satanism, and called him a "true embodiment of the 'Russian idea'" and one of the "spiritual perpetrators" of the "great Russian Revolution" (206). The Bolshevik Revolution occurred the very next day.

In the epilogue, Mitchell shows that the musical metaphysics persisted both in Soviet Russia and among the exiles as utopianism, memory (of an idealized Russia), or disillusion. No new Orpheus appeared. Russian society was too fragmented, too conflict ridden.

This book is a "must read" for students of late imperial Russia. Mitchell demonstrates the centrality of music (and of Nietzsche) in the culture, the existence of an aesthetic community, and the contradictions in its musical metaphysics. She makes the composers come alive by providing interesting details about their personal lives. Musicologists will appreciate her inclusion of musical passages to illustrate certain points.

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ALFRED J. RIEBER. *Stalin and the Struggle for Supremacy in Eurasia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 420. \$34.99.

Alfred J. Rieber's new book about Joseph Stalin's geopolitics draws an interesting parallel between Rieber's subject

and two other aggressive empire builders of the modern age: Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler. All were born outside of the country they would rule. This fact is central to Rieber's contention that Stalin's Caucasian origins were key to his politics. Thus, Rieber argues that the Georgian-born Soviet leader was shaped by "three interlocking identifications: an ethno-cultural region (Georgia) as a territorial unit, Great Russia as the center of political power, and the proletariat as the dominant class" (10). Together, these three elements formed a worldview that Rieber calls the "borderland thesis." Briefly put, the borderland thesis posits that a multinational empire like the Soviet Union can survive only with a strong center that tightly controls dependent nations on its borders, which provide a defensive buffer as well as the resources to operate autarchically.

Historians have been studying Moscow's approach to its many nationalities in earnest since the USSR's collapse in 1991, an event that led many suddenly to discover that it had been a multiethnic empire after all. (Sadly, the same cannot be said about the historical study of Soviet foreign policy.) Rieber's unique contribution to their scholarship is to tie nationalities to diplomacy. Indeed, the two are closely interlinked and cannot properly be understood in isolation from each other. The result is a survey of Stalin's strategy to secure Russia's borderlands, from the early twentieth century, when Stalin was a Bolshevik conspirator and Vladimir Lenin's chief authority on nationalities, to the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

Stalin and the Struggle for Supremacy in Eurasia is a sequel to the book that Rieber published a year earlier, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War*. If the earlier volume examined the rivalries between Eurasia's great continental empires over the span of several centuries, Rieber's new study has a narrower geographical and chronological focus. But the emphasis remains on the "shatterlands," those regions at the edges of the empires that have been the principal theater of imperial competition. Furthermore, Rieber suggests that Stalin's approach retains many features of his Romanov predecessors, albeit in slightly different ideological garb.

The story begins shortly before the turn of the twentieth century in Gori, the Georgian fortress town west of the capital of Tbilisi where Stalin was born. As a "man of the borderlands" (at the time Georgia was part of the tsars' domains), Stalin was raised in a cultural milieu that combined the nascent nationalism of his fatherland with the great Russian imperialism of the ruling state. Together, these two elements shaped an approach to politics that combined an understanding of minority nationalities with the exigencies of a large multiethnic state. Although Rieber adds Marxism to the blend, he largely neglects the element of class struggle.

If Stalin's earlier schooling was provided by his upbringing in Gori, his "higher education in foreign policy took place during the Civil War [1918–1921] when the line between state-building and revolution became blurred" (43).

Rieber reminds us that, aside from Lenin, Stalin was the only leading early Bolshevik who took an interest in the young Soviet state's minority nationalities. However, unlike his chief, the Georgian strongly opposed national self-determination. As Stalin put it, the latter was "more suitable for the former colonies" of the western imperialists (65). While Stalin permitted national minorities to retain their own language and culture, they could only do so to profess undying loyalty to Moscow. Stalin "recognized the importance of acknowledging a nation's historical and cultural identity . . . just so long as they did not stimulate political aspirations" (233). Rieber might have added that the Soviet leader's priority on securing the regime eventually led to a resurgence of Russian nationalism, a contradiction he never resolved.

The overriding aim of Stalin's foreign policy was to establish concentric circles of protection by nations that were more tightly controlled the closer they lay to the Russian heartland. This meant a strong emphasis on "socialism in one country," even at the expense of communism further afield. The policy occasionally led to apparent contradictions in Stalin's diplomacy, such as his preference for Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek's) Nationalists over Mao Zedong's Communists until the final stages of the Chinese Civil War, his lukewarm support of Western communist parties in the wake of World War II, and his reluctance to back the communist-dominated EAM-ELAS (National Liberation Front–National Popular Liberation Army) in their attempt to seize power in Greece after it was freed from Axis rule, all "attitude[s] perfectly consistent with [Soviet] policy in the outer perimeter" (374). Indeed, Stalin was no great fan of the Communist International (Comintern), and abolished it in 1943.

One of the book's virtues is the close attention it also pays to the Asian borderlands, including Iranian Azerbaijan, Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Unlike Lev Trotsky, Stalin knew that the revolution was unlikely to occur in the more economically advanced states of the West, and he therefore preferred to look to the East. He would have agreed with Fedr Dostoevskii when the writer famously proclaimed that Russia's main outlet was in Asia, adding, "in Europe we were hangers-on and slaves, but in Asia we will be masters" (*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [1984], 29: 36–37).

Stalin and the Struggle for Supremacy in Eurasia, based on primary sources, including those in the exclusive Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF), as well as a thorough reading of the secondary literature, is a major contribution by a master of the profession. My only regret is that Rieber ended the story shortly after 1945 and did not take it up to Stalin's death in 1953. He thereby ignores such important developments as the reduction of much of Eastern Europe to tightly controlled satellites, the split with Yugoslavia, and the Korean War. Nevertheless, the author provides profound insights into the mind of the man he provocatively calls "the last of the steppe politicians" (242).

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ROBERT DALE. *Demobilized Veterans in Late Stalinist Leningrad: Soldiers to Civilians*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. Pp. xvi, 266. \$112.00.

The Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany in May 1945 confronted the Stalinist leadership with unanticipated political dilemmas. The country had made huge sacrifices for the war effort. Nearly one in seven Soviet citizens lost their lives, either in combat, under German occupation, or from starvation and disease on the home front. Some 2.5 million soldiers returned permanently disabled. Not surprisingly, large numbers of people had heightened expectations that victory would bring, if not outright political reform, then at least a relaxation of the tight control and repression of the 1930s. The regime had other plans, however. Its aim was to restore the prewar power relations of the authoritarian Stalinist state. Fairly rapidly it reversed wartime liberalizations in the areas of censorship, the economy, and individual initiative. Living standards continued to be suppressed in the interests of reconstruction; hundreds of thousands of hungry people were sent to the Gulag for petty theft; and political purges made clear to the population that resistance was futile. The outcome of what the novelist Vasily Grossman called "the silent quarrel between the victorious people and the victorious State" ended in "victory" for the latter (*Life and Fate* [2012], 657).

No group of the population was potentially more troublesome than returning veterans. Having endured the greatest hardships, and having forged at the front a strong sense of identity and independence, they expected, at the very least, a reward for their suffering in the shape of housing, jobs, and education; some expected more radical political changes. Veterans had one other characteristic that made them politically suspect in Stalin's mind. Many had fought in Eastern and Central Europe, and had seen that even the most impoverished war-torn regions were far more prosperous than anything they had at home. In short, they realized that the "good life" proclaimed in Soviet propaganda of the 1930s had been a lie.

Returning veterans were promised a number of rewards in the form of benefits and privileged access to housing and employment. By 1947, however, these had been whittled away, and by 1948 veterans found themselves on the same desperate footing as the general population, whose wartime privations continued under the pressures of post-war reconstruction. Many felt betrayed.

In *Demobilized Veterans in Late Stalinist Leningrad: Soldiers to Civilians*, Robert Dale examines this process within the specific context of Leningrad. Leningrad was unique among Soviet cities. It had been besieged by Nazi troops for nearly nine hundred days. At least 800,000 Leningraders starved to death, most during the horrific winter of 1941–1942. Physical destruction from constant bombardment and the need to dismantle anything combustible to burn as fuel was extensive. Understandably, the siege and the ongoing battle for survival had a profound impact on social relations and social psychology. Acts of enormous heroism and endurance coexisted with acts of desperation, selfishness, and criminality. The siege also be-

queathed to Leningraders a distinct sense of identity that gave concrete expression to its officially conferred accolade of "Hero City." Dale's hypothesis is that, given the nature and legacy of the blockade, veterans' experiences, while generally conforming to the picture nationwide, would at the same time display features specific to Leningrad.

Dale pursues this investigation by looking at six topics: how veterans were received during demobilization, access to housing, access to employment, war trauma, crime and disorder, and veterans' political attitudes.

The picture that emerges is, in fact, mixed. In the areas of demobilization, resettlement, housing, and employment, there is little to distinguish Leningrad from anywhere else in the USSR. If anything, conditions in Leningrad, despite the destruction, were better than in many large industrial centers that had seen no fighting, where millions of workers lived in substandard dwellings with no amenities or sanitation. The rapid mobilization of veterans into industry and construction was part of a larger mobilization of people across the country, the status of millions of whom was little more than indentured labor. In this sense, veterans were relatively privileged.

The chapter on trauma and disability is perhaps the strongest in the book. Its account of how disabled veterans, like their able-bodied brothers and sisters, were promised care and support that failed to materialize is not new, but it is artfully illustrated with telling local examples. It breaks new ground in extending the discussion to psychological trauma and the regime's refusal to acknowledge the existence of combat-induced mental illness not immediately referable to a physical injury.

In the chapter on crime, Dale observes that the vast majority of Soviet veterans, like soldiers from other combatant nations, did not return brutalized by the war, despite the incredible violence they had experienced—and perpetrated—while fighting on the Eastern Front and in Eastern Europe and Germany. They sublimated their experiences and traumas and got on with their lives, many refusing to speak about their experiences even to their families. What was different about the USSR was that there was little visible public anxiety or fear that returning veterans would come back brutalized by the war.

Chapter 6 analyzes the attitudes of veterans in the context of the late-Stalinist political clampdown, much of which centered on Leningrad and Stalin's longstanding political distrust of the city. The so-called Zhdanovshchina, followed by the "Leningrad Affair," were instrumental in the re-imposition of ideological and political conformity upon the Soviet population. Although the two actions' direct victims were mainly the intelligentsia and members of the political elite, these crackdowns—like the terror of the 1930s—sent a message to the entire population, including veterans, that dissent was now extremely dangerous.

Overall, the book fails to show that Leningrad was quite the special case that Dale claims for it. He could have chosen any other industrial center, such as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, or Gor'kii, and the picture would have been pretty much the same. However, the research is excellent,

and Dale competently uses local details and stories to illustrate this larger picture.

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CHRISTINE VARGA-HARRIS. *Stories of House and Home: Soviet Apartment Life during the Khrushchev Years*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 289. \$49.95.

From 1917 to 1991, one constant in Soviet life was the shortage of adequate housing. Immediately after the revolution, the Bolsheviks tried to solve the housing problem by expropriating and subdividing bourgeois apartments, thus creating the quintessentially Soviet institution of the communal apartment (*kommunalka*), in which perhaps twenty or thirty tenants shared a single kitchen, bathroom, and toilet. The problem only got worse in the 1930s, as Stalinist industrialization brought millions of new workers into already overcrowded cities. Wartime damage to housing stock exacerbated already acute shortages in cities such as Leningrad, the focus of Christine Varga-Harris's *Stories of House and Home: Soviet Apartment Life during the Khrushchev Years*. Residents returning from evacuation or service in the Red Army whose former homes had been destroyed or were occupied by others sheltered in basements, hallways, and dugouts.

Ten years after the end of World War II, housing remained a pressing practical problem. In the context of the Cold War and de-Stalinization, Varga-Harris argues, housing also constituted an ideological opportunity. When, in 1957, Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, launched the drive to house every Soviet family in a "separate" (single-family) apartment, he aimed "not only to provide living space, but also to regenerate society and create model individuals" (9). With so many waiting for housing, new construction often fell short of state and popular expectations. Nonetheless, Varga-Harris concludes that the regime's efforts to rejuvenate the revolutionary project often succeeded because, at least in the realm of housing, "individual interests in many ways corresponded with state objectives" (213).

In the book's first four chapters, Varga-Harris focuses on "state objectives." Drawing on an impressive array of state-approved representations of "house and home" in newspapers, fiction, and film, she examines how and why the separate apartment, which seemingly encouraged and facilitated a withdrawal into the private sphere, became emblematic of efforts to build a socialist way of life (*byt*). Tasked with building modern, convenient, economical living spaces, Soviet architects and designers embraced many of the same techniques, materials, and aesthetic preferences as did their peers in the West. At the same time, official representations of socialist housing emphatically distinguished it from capitalist housing. Soviet newspapers reported the idealized "housewarming" as offering "evidence of both literal and symbolic movement toward realizing the promises of the Revolution in the sphere of daily life" (56). Even as the state worked to satisfy consumer demands, fiction, film, and professional homemak-

ing advice highlighted the difference between purportedly moderate, tasteful, and socially useful socialist consumption and crass, philistine, and self-indulgent capitalist consumerism.

A particular strength of Varga-Harris's discussion of official representations of new construction is its attention to gender. The mandate to create an appropriately socialist home fell on women, and on the whole, argues Varga-Harris, "the Soviet woman was greatly empowered by her role as homemaker" (85) despite the fact that the experts never trusted her to make rational choices about furnishings without their guidance. Such "essentialized" understandings of women as homemakers coexisted with a commitment to creating spaces—attractive canteens, nearby childcare centers—that would ultimately emancipate women from mundane household chores. Moreover, while a woman was "charged with shaping the character of her household interior, all citizens were summoned" (104) to repair, beautify, and maintain shared courtyards and corridors. In these common areas, the border between public and private blurred, as ideal tenants—male and female—worked collectively to make public spaces homey.

As Varga-Harris notes, gauging ordinary citizens' responses to these official representations is often difficult. She argues both that a "vast" range of motives spurred individuals to maintain and police their apartment buildings (133) and that "ordinary citizens were propelled by a sense of proletarian propriety to participate in voluntary campaigns" (215). Similarly, she suggests that ignoring design professionals' advice, perhaps by adorning one's home with lace doilies, did "not necessarily signify an intentional rejection of the principles of communist morality." In the face of shortages of consumer goods, creative homemakers might have simply been "reinterpreting . . . what it meant to 'live well'" (102).

In the final two chapters, the focus shifts to "individual interests." To chart popular understandings of housing, Varga-Harris draws on more than a hundred of the tens of thousands of complaints and petitions submitted to Soviet authorities by those still living in communal apartments. The complaints provide a stunning catalogue of inadequate and, even allowing for exaggerations, inhumane living conditions. Such narratives "implicitly challenged" official representations of new construction that highlighted the "revival of socialist society" (138–139). Yet even as they criticized the state, petitioners presented themselves as loyal Soviet citizens whose sacrifices in the name of socialism constituted a "valuable currency" (207) in negotiations for better apartments. As Varga-Harris recognizes, it is impossible to say whether such self-presentations indicated "genuine faith" in the system, "clever manipulation of it," or some combination of the two (149). On balance, however, she emphasizes that citizens largely embraced the state's linkage of "material advancement, ideological victory, and . . . the construction of the Soviet home of the future" (170).

That few petitions seem to have yielded the desired result did not, Varga-Harris argues, necessarily produce disillusionment or disappointment. She plausibly reads the petitions as seeking not only housing but also the "valida-

tion" of petitioners' contributions to socialist society. Thus even unsuccessful petitions "revitalized the bond between state and society" (217) that in Varga-Harris's account constitutes a central feature of the Khrushchev years. She does not raise the question of whether and when insufficient material satisfaction began to fray this "tacit socialist contract" (208).

Integrating representations of housing in popular culture and citizens' complaints, Varga-Harris offers a cultural history of housing that researchers and students will find a valuable complement to social histories such as Steven E. Harris's *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin* (2013). Emphasizing citizens' identification with the state's promise of a better socialist future, *Stories of House and Home* offers a useful rethinking of the meanings and possibilities of the thaw.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

NADIA MARIA EL-CHEIKH. *Women, Islam, and Abbasid Identity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 160. \$45.00.

In this slim volume of 121 prose pages, Nadia Maria El-Cheikh argues that "gender-related and sexual imaginings play an important function in self-construction projects, and this is especially true in Islamic history" (3). No argument there, especially at a time when for some scholars in the medieval field the category of "gender" remains anathema. Nor is there much doubt in the extant scholarly literature that "the late Umayyad and Abbasid periods ushered in conditions that debased the position and the conception of women" (6). This devolution has been aptly defined by previous generations of scholars, including, most notably, Nabia Abbott and Leila Ahmed. Thus, less persuasive is the book's overall assertion that where gender and the construction of female Muslim identity are concerned, "the early Islamic period . . . has predominantly been left untouched" (8).

Women, Islam, and Abbasid Identity provides no definitive vision of identity under the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258). Instead, it focuses on the emergence of a Muslim and Sunni sectarian view that "required an array of opposites" (11). These represent interesting choices and include those living during the *jahiliyya* (the pre-Islamic past), deemed by Muslims *ex post facto* as an era of ignorance of the true religion and barbaric human behavior (chap. 1); the Qaramita, a ninth- and early-tenth-century Shi'i splinter group, defined by the Abbasid regime's scholars as heretical military threats within the empire (chap. 3); and the bordering Byzantine Christian enemy empire (chap. 4).

The author includes, less consistently in this oppositional array, a thoughtful male critique of Muslim women's laments in mourning the dead as an un-Islamic practice, a charge that condemned public female displays of grief over time, but never completely eradicated the ritual

(chap. 2). Chapter 5 returns briefly to the issue of Sunni Muslim female ideals found in the Prophet's family.

The impressive first chapter on Hind bint 'Utba depicts the evolution of the colorful and controversial wife of Abu Sufyan, the Prophet Muhammad's Meccan arch-enemy. El-Cheikh describes Hind aptly as "the *jahiliyya* woman par excellence" (18). Hind's *jahili* revenge in the Islamic record is visceral and grimly memorable. Before her conversion to Islam, Hind sought and gained redress for the killing of her father, uncle, and brother by the Muslims at the Battle of Badr by encouraging a slave to kill the Prophet's uncle Hamza at the Battle of Uhud. Famously, when the deed was accomplished, Hind chewed upon Hamza's liver. (To this day, Shi'i Muslims refer to her as "the liver eater.")

El-Cheikh posits Hind's Sunni "rehabilitation" (33), an assertion worthy of further investigation. However, is Hind a real or imagined figure? There is only one account of her presence at the Battle of Yarmuk, fighting the Byzantines in Syria during the Islamic expansion. Because El-Cheikh does not provide a death date for Hind, it is impossible to know if this formidable female actually found an outlet for her martial exuberance in supporting her son, Mu'awiya, the future Umayyad caliph, in battle. (The Battle of Yarmuk may be dated to either 13/634 or 15/636 [this book wrongly provides the date as 13/636 (33)!].) This means Hind, who probably died in 14/635, could not have been present at the battle if it took place at the later date. If the date of the battle defies definitive chronology, so might Hind's rehabilitation as a hyper-Islamized participant.

Hind animates the text, appearing repeatedly. El-Cheikh compares her to 'A'isha bint Abi Bakr, the Prophet's wife, an analogy Muslim authors never attempted, but upon which El-Cheikh insists in relation to both women being accused of adultery (33, 105). However, their vindication is not, in Islamic terms, comparable, since Hind was exonerated by polytheist soothsayers in the *jahiliyya* (what could be more *jahili*?), and 'A'isha, in contrast, by divine revelation recorded in the Qur'an.

When focusing on the Qaramita, El-Cheikh rightly points out that the Abbasid trope of the group as Shi'i heretics who held property and women in common was drawn from Mazdak, the sixth-century Iranian heretic, who first espoused such views. This standard claim about licentious, sexualized enemies sharing women by the late ninth and early tenth centuries was already functioning long before the Qaramita in Abbasid accounts. The false prophet (defined by the Abbasids as both a heretic and a rebel) known as al-Muqanna' had been accused of the same charge, the sexual communality of women, during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–785). Indeed, why consider the one-sided Abbasid views of the heretical Qaramita at all, when the most obvious antithetical divide between the Abbasids and Shi'ism generally emerged earlier in ninth- and tenth-century responses to the more numerous Twelver/Imami Shi'i precedents?

The most nuanced and fascinating chapter is that concerning the Byzantines. The author asserts that Byzantine women were the objects of "a strong inclination toward

generalizations and stereotypes" (85). Further, she states that these women became "the locus of eroticism," which she rightly parallels with the Oriental harem as viewed by Europeans of the nineteenth century (95). El-Cheikh succeeds here in documenting "a rich, diverse, and intricate image of Byzantium" (96), elucidating carefully the bases of real cultural interaction versus erotic imagination, pointing out that Abbasid concubines at court were sometimes of Byzantine origin.

The book's chapter 5 concludes with a condensed excursus on "the sacred stories of the female exemplars" (97). Earlier scholarship has analyzed comparisons between 'A'isha and the Prophet's wife Khadija and his daughter Fatima in relation to Maryam of the Qur'an. To be sure, these female ideals remain the most obvious sources for an Abbasid male elite's didacticism about Sunni female role models; however, new ground is not broken here.

Overall, the author's disparate antitheses comprise a mosaic of intriguing impressions, not an interwoven whole, but one studded with insightful readings of female characters, most notably those of varied Byzantine women and the understudied Hind.

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MIRI SHEFER-MOSSENSOHN. *Science among the Ottomans: The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 246. \$55.00.

The central argument of *Science among the Ottomans: The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge*, as laid out in the introduction, is that science in the Ottoman Empire was distinct culturally from science in the world around it. Ottoman "students" of the physical and natural world may have been practical, but they still were sensitive to their country's religious and social norms. The Ottomans, according to Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, thus tended to be cautious about acquiring, transferring, and applying empirical knowledge. The work is in line with postmodern literature on the history of science since Thomas S. Kuhn (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* [1970]), as it shunned a positivist and progressive understanding of the discipline. The outdated, positivist view of the history of science was most represented in Turkish literature by Adnan Adıvar (1882–1955), a famous early Turkish Republican scholar, politician, and medical doctor in his own right (10–12). The book is undoubtedly rich in terms of current Western literature of the history of science, albeit with a sparser array of Turkish sources, primarily bibliographic and lexicographical dictionaries.

The first chapter of the work, "Framing 'Knowledge' in the Ottoman Empire," posits the idea that the Ottomans were open to borrowing technology and scientific knowledge from a variety of Eurasian and Western cultures within certain cultural constraints. This is best illustrated by the work of Franz de Mesgnien Meninski (1623–1698), a seventeenth-century Habsburg Orientalist who, in his *Thesaurus of Ottoman Turkish* (*Thesaurus linguarum orientium*, 4 vols. [1680–1687]), defined science, or knowl-

edge (*ilm*), in terms of both art and profession. Ottomans, according to Shefer-Mossensohn, instead saw *ilm* as an endeavor not only using logic and reason, experiments and experience, but also seeking divine revelation, following role models, and respecting living traditions (29–31). This definition is borne out by a number of Turkish Ottoman authors, including Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (1385–1468), Evliya Çelebi (1611–1684), Katip Çelebi (1609–1657), and Ahmed bin Mustafa Taşköprüzade (1494–1561).

The second chapter, "Where and How Does Learning Take Place," stresses that the Ottomans emphasized religious virtue in the key pre-modern sites of learning, schools (*mekteb/medrese*), libraries (*kuttāb*), Sufi lodges (*tekke*), the palace, and the imperial harem. The resulting traditional practitioners of Ottoman "science" were guild apprentices, religious authorities, or members of the imperial dynasty. While the state tried to change this dynamic with Western-style military educational institutions during the Tanzimat (a mid-nineteenth-century era of reforms), missionary and non-Muslim minority schools were far more effective in promoting innovation.

The third chapter, "The Transfer of Knowledge to, from, and within the Ottoman Empire," asserts that illiteracy was a constant hindrance to full participation in ongoing published intellectual exchanges, what the author calls "the Republic of Letters" (121–122). Consequently Ottoman "scientists" dabbled in calligraphy, art, and ornamentation rather than in standardizing language and the study of empirical knowledge. The Ottoman reluctance to adopt the printing press was compounded by the essentially pre-modern nature of the Ottoman Turkish language. State-led reform, begun hesitatingly during the last few years of the empire's existence, was simply too little too late. Marginal groups, particularly schools run by Jewish converts to Islam, were often the most successful conduit of Western knowledge.

The fourth chapter, "State in Science," acknowledges that the Ottomans did indeed make technological innovations throughout their history, such as in artillery during the reign of Mehmed II (1444–1446, 1451–1481), architecture during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the adoption of the telegraph, railroads, and quarantines in the last century of the Ottomans' existence. Yet, according to the author, these breakthroughs were once again largely the fruit of marginal actors employed by the state.

The conclusion points to Murtada al-Zabidi (1732–1791) and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753–1822), two related Turkish Ottoman scholars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who, while reacting to foreign scholarship and innovation, never were able to fully participate in these exchanges. They, like Ottoman scholars as a whole, were limited by cultural, social, and linguistic restraints. They remained isolated and ambivalent toward implementing basic modernizing reforms.

The book suffers from Shefer-Mossensohn's coverage of the alleged failure of the Ottomans to join "the Republic of Letters." For instance, when the author discusses the dearth of Ottoman print culture, she does not provide any

in-depth discussion of existing published works in Ottoman Turkish during the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An analysis of those sources often contradicts the author's claim that innovation was almost exclusively the sphere of foreign experts or marginal groups. Hamdan bin Osman (1773–1842) and Ahmet Mithat (1844–1912), two high Muslim Ottoman Turkish functionaries involved in the quarantine reforms during the nineteenth century, were fully fluent in French, and often responded directly to the most recent literature on the topic. Fleeting references to Adıvar as well as Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), the leading Pan-Turkish intellectual, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the founder and first president (1923–1938) of the Republic of Turkey, are no substitute for this analysis.

And while it is true that illiteracy was a problem for the development of a more innovative scientific community, the reasons for it are primarily economic and political, not cultural. This boils down to the lack of a commercial elite that would identify itself as Turkish and Muslim, largely a consequence of Sultan Mehmet II's reliance on the non-Muslims after his conquest of İstanbul and territory in the Balkans and Anatolia, and the fact that the Ottomans never were able to compete with European navies and overseas commercial companies. The Ottomans indeed made belated educational reforms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the establishment of primary schools, but in an age of military crisis and great power encroachment, they simply did not have the budget to support those reforms.

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KEVIN W. MARTIN. *Syria's Democratic Years: Citizens, Experts, and Media in the 1950s*. (Public Cultures of the Middle East and North Africa.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 215. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$35.00, e-book \$34.99.

Kevin W. Martin powerfully traces the coterminous production of citizen and expert in twentieth-century Syria. The “democratic years” began in 1954, when the military dictator Colonel Adib al-Shishakli resigned as president. They end in 1958 with the proclamation of the United Arab Republic, the short-lived union that subsumed Syrian political activity under Egyptian president Jamal ‘Abd al-Nasir’s tight authority. After 1958, governing regimes in Syria would realize increasingly brutal and repressive policies and strategies.

The ephemeral four-year period that frames Martin’s intervention covers the restoration of civilian government, an inclusive constitution, and a free election marked by universal adult suffrage, secret ballots, and private voting booths. Also characteristic of this period were freedoms of speech, association, and the press that remain unprecedented in Syria. These freedoms facilitated a burgeoning production of diverse mass media works, which is at the core of *Syria's Democratic Years: Citizens, Experts, and Media in the 1950s*.

While Martin delves into trial records; U.S. State

Department reports, dispatches, and correspondence; and oral histories, the crux of his sources is approximately thirty Syrian newspapers and journals. Since Syria attained its independence from French mandatory rule in 1946, the state archives of the post-independence period remain closed to researchers. Thus, the periodicals Martin mines are the largest available body of primary sources that recorded daily life. More importantly, perhaps, these newspapers and journals functioned as sites to construct and maintain like-minded collectivities.

Syria's Democratic Years includes seven thoroughly researched and insightful chapters. The introduction is a historical overview that identifies the 1954–1958 period as a turning point of hope and anxiety, just before the consolidation of authoritarian regimes in Syria and the Arab world. What follows are six chapters organized into three parts. Each pair focuses on the discourse produced by or about a single figure. Chapters 2 and 3 detail and analyze the work of the “radio attorney” Najat Qassab Hasan, who functioned as an expert interpreter and reformer of Syria’s legal system (9). Hasan’s pedagogical project sought to produce a “virtuous citizen” who was a rational, self-disciplined, and civic-minded patriarch (6). Chapters 4 and 5 address the story of Colonel ‘Adnan al-Malki, whose assassination on April 22, 1955, became a cause célèbre. Al-Malki’s posthumous lionization served to valorize the ambitious officer class, produce a national martyrology, and represent the “martial citizen” as the penultimate source of power and authority (83). Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the public advocacy of the medical doctor Sabri al-Qabbani in his broadly read and distributed journal *Tabibak* (Your Doctor). Martin carefully shows how this prominent exponent of scientific progress wedded the duty of caring for health and hygiene with that of consuming modern medications and pharmaceuticals. Chapter 7 is one of the book’s most innovative interventions, mapping a “libidinal imaginary” premised on “demarkating the boundaries of the citizen’s normal, “healthy sexual desire and practice” (123).

The ideal citizen that emerges from this account is Arab, male, urban, literate, and heterosexual. He is invested in gender equality on the condition that women remain firmly ensconced in their “natural” and “biological” position. He celebrates the advances of scientific progress, inculcates the law, and maintains Islamic codes and traditions. The ideal Syrian citizen is a Syrian and Pan-Arab nationalist. He champions the Palestinian cause as well as his own people’s longing for dignity and sovereignty. If he is not a military officer, he must show an abiding respect for and cooperation with security forces. He must be selflessly brave and joyfully willing to sacrifice for his nation. He must not masturbate, have sex outside marriage, or entertain homosexual desire, and he should police the “sexual deviances” of the people around him (138).

In detailing this ideal citizen, so contingent on deep exclusions of self and other, Martin makes crucial contributions to Middle East history. He shows that the democratic subject and the authoritarian object are vulnerable, dynamic, and mutually constitutive categories. He also unpacks the binary of religion and secularism by illustrating

the syncretic theories and practices of medical science, the law, and “the arts of war” (9). In so doing, Martin overturns the historiographic insistence on the Six Day War of 1967 as the end of the secular experiment and the rise of political Islam. In sum, Martin’s work is a successful and nuanced account of the historical contingencies that contributed to the resilience of Syrian authoritarianism.

In these contemporary times, when the struggle for Syria has reached what Martin aptly calls “apocalyptic” heights, a study of the formation of citizens and experts in the twentieth century is a much-needed resource for students and scholars of Syria and the Arab world (149). In Syria, the tragic irony is that the democratic experiment lasted a brief four years and foretold the brutality to come. At the same time, the “democratic years” also contained the seeds of what Martin calls a “prospective nostalgia”—the potential to realize new visions of a just future (149).

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JOEL BEININ. *Workers and Thieves: Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Briefs, 2016. Pp. 164. \$12.99.

DAVID DE VRIES. *Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899–1951*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. Pp. xii, 170. \$90.00.

Joel Beinin’s *Workers and Thieves: Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt* draws on his earlier seminal work (Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882–1954* [1987]; Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* [2001]; and Beinin, *The Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt* [2010]), as he offers a comparative, events-driven history of workers’ movements in Tunisia and Egypt that uses the 2010–2011 revolutions as beginning and ending points. Tunisia and Egypt are not only the first sites of recent insurrections in Southwest Asia and North Africa, but also historical sites of working-class activism, a topic too rarely addressed in North American scholarship. Beinin shows both labor activists’ efforts to dissociate their actions from politics and the ineluctably political nature of labor activism. Labor protest appears as a claim for political inclusion in response to policies imposed from above.

Beinin first reminds us of the interconnections between, on the one hand, labor movements and class struggle and, on the other hand, anticolonial, national struggle. Unlike Egypt’s efforts, Tunisia’s trade unions “became a salient, relatively autonomous actor” in the anticolonial struggle (9). In contrast to Tunisia, the relative political autonomy of Egypt favored an alliance between labor and capital in the liberal period (11). Colonial capitalism had an imprint on both Tunisia and Egypt. In most of the “Global South” and beyond, Fordism-Keynesianism (developmentalism) defined the economic policies of the post-World War II period, including through government spending, subsidies, “state planning, import-substitution industrialization, high

tariffs, and public investment” in national development (21). In both cases, in the 1950s–1960s, the state favored the overexpansion of the public sector, much like most successfully industrialized countries (18, 21). Developmentalist reforms produced both benefits (education, gender equality, and social equity) and ambivalent results (22–23). In Egypt, while the power of the ruling classes was curtailed, the private sector shrank, and the military junta established an autocracy. In Tunisia, the large landowners “increased their political power,” and the private sector maintained a “substantial” presence, despite “socialist” policies (23–24).

Following independence, in the 1950s–1960s, trade unions became largely subordinated to, as well as allied with, the government. In Egypt, most national labor federation members became public servants, thus losing any bargaining power (18, 24). In Tunisia, the national labor federation leadership lost its autonomy, while retaining some influence (24). Soon after the defeat of Pan-Arabism, both Tunisia and Egypt adopted policies that favored “liberalization” (privatization of state-controlled industries, foreign imports, etc.). Yet, economic growth in the 1970s was largely artificial, and by the mid-1980s, liberalization policies had mixed outcomes: unequal wealth distribution, unemployment, and rural poverty endured; dependency on foreign goods and the gap between rich and poor rose (38).

In the 1980s, neoliberal globalization, or the “Washington Consensus” (WC), put an end to Keynesianism, and with U.S. support, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank now promulgated, in a vulnerable Global South, the diminution of job security, “reliance on markets, foreign direct investment, and export-oriented manufacturing . . . recalling aspects of colonial capitalism” (39). Neoliberal policies further compounded inequities, provoking worldwide riots. In Egypt, protest was met with violence in the late 1980s–1990s, and protesters lacked the support of political parties and national unions, so that social support shifted to NGOs (47–48). In Tunisia, the national union (UGTT) retained its autonomy vis-à-vis the state, remaining the principal site of contest against the social inequities brought about by the WC. Despite the severity of state repression, in the 1980s the opposition and strikes spiked through “local and regional unions” (51).

By the late 1980s, in both Tunisia and Egypt, as Islamists became the major force of political opposition, the state and trade unions (opposed to Islamists) started collaborating. In Egypt, this resulted in discrediting and incapacitating unions. In Tunisia, this allowed the UGTT to preserve some “bargaining power” (52, 53). By the early 1990s though, despite the fact that Tunisia’s obedience to austerity principles did not bring about the “economic miracle” broadcasted by the IMF and the World Bank, the UGTT leadership had aligned with governmental neoliberal policies (53). Not only was Tunisian growth artificial, but foreign investors remained complacent in the face of human rights abuses in Tunisia (as in Egypt). In both countries, unemployment, poverty, and regional disparities remained excessive, and the diminution in job se-

curity also had the effect of severely reducing workers' incomes (58).

Beinin's discussion of the past fifteen years (chaps. 3–4), much less condensed than earlier sections, provides a thorough political and economic context that is often missing from accounts of the uprisings. Beinin demonstrates that the 2011 upheavals were part of a long series of grassroots political actions, both independent from and preceding the actions of youth and social elites. Thus, workers' protest and their resourceful negotiations played a primary role in altering the status quo. In Tunisia, some NGOs indirectly helped with workers' claims; in Egypt, media coverage indirectly protected workers. In Egypt, women emerged as prominent actors, often much ahead of their male coworkers (68–69, 88, 90). In Tunisia, women supported protest movements at some cost (88, 90). Despite both coercive and coopting measures in both Tunisia and Egypt in the 2000s, grassroots strikes multiplied. As earlier, unions maintained some leveling power in Tunisia, and unemployed workers were able to organize nationally. In contrast, in Egypt, workers did not develop a national movement; unions overwhelmingly remained institutional and membership obligatory (77); and workers tried to steer clear of "political" claims (93, 94). But abundant examples indicate that claims for labor rights and economic equity implicitly and explicitly led to claims for political rights (e.g., Gafsa in Tunisia and Mahalla al-Kubra in Egypt).

Beinin concludes with an account of the 2010–2011 revolutions that acknowledges the role of digital media and youth in the worldwide diffusion of information (99–100), but also demystifies it (as did Julia Clancy-Smith in "From Sidi Bou Zid to Sidi Bou Said: A Longue Durée Approach to the Tunisian Revolution," in Mark Hass and David Lesch, eds., *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* [2013], 13–34). Beinin shows that the 2010–2011 revolutions produced divergent results. Post-revolutionary Egypt has seen what might be the most autocratic and violent episode of its history since the 1950s. After over a year of democratic gymnastics, the military regained its strength, overthrowing the elected president, Mohammed Morsi (June 2012–July 2013), and imprisoning his supporters. The lack of reaction after Morsi's demise did not necessarily mean, as Beinin argues, that workers supported the coup (118), for state brutality, fear, and stupor paralyzed activism. The military junta continues to incapacitate Egyptian unions and has interrupted the democratization process. In contrast, despite the persistence of old patterns, Tunisians have somewhat successfully started building new social and political structures, with labor activists and unions continuing their mediating role.

This "brief" is part of a series that offers concise essays, with minimal references, on present issues. As a result, it is at times overly dense and makes sacrifices: it does not discuss how colonial mobilization had the effect of unionizing and politicizing North African and other colonial labor forces during World War I; it omits Egyptian geographical disparities; it necessarily overlooks long-term processes; and it does not problematize data. Yet, this book provides, with minutiae, a very informative micro- and meta-narra-

tive that underscores the contingent nature of revolutions, and the multifarious agencies of men and women and organizations oftentimes left out of the story.

In contrast, David De Vries's book *Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899–1951* focuses, as its title indicates, on one particular aspect of workers' collective action—strikes in private Jewish industries—and on one particular role of labor movements—the construction of Jewish nationalism during the Mandate of Palestine and the first five years of the state of Israel. De Vries argues that the history of strikes in Palestine reveals, first, the flourishing of a Jewish private capitalist industry; second, the fragility of the labor movement both in mediations and in representing workers; and, third, the assimilation of "strikes" as a normative process of collective action, which spread to the public sector after Israeli statehood. De Vries argues as well that there was a correlation between the occurrence of strikes and economic growth or recovery (which might seem counterintuitive), as workers demanded their share of benefits.

In a first period (1899–1914), De Vries writes, Jewish workers developed a culture of protest against paternalism and authoritarianism. Strikes, albeit small, became a "multifunctional" tool for social and political intervention, furthering both collective rights and nationalist goals (e.g., "labor market exclusion" or preferential hiring for Jews and imposition of Hebrew in the workplace) (23). The following transitional period (1918–1930), during the establishment of British rule, saw a surge in strikes. Notably, the influx of Jewish capital and migrants transformed urban demography and Palestinian labor. The labor organization Histadrut (ca. 1920) emerged then as the main representative of Jewish workers. The 1920s were also a period when strikes assumed an overwhelmingly nationalist purpose. Employers' "Zionist obligation," workers claimed, was to provide proper wages, help modernize the country, and inspire Jewish immigration (33–34). Unorganized labor protest, however, threatened Histadrut power in the 1920s and later. Thus, in the name of "national union," the Histadrut sought to prevent "independent action" and "monopolize negotiations" between workers and employers (42–43). In fact, the Histadrut adopted a rather conservative line, promoting strikes as a civil right, yet opposing leftists (communists) and their transnational(ist) propensities. Strikes were thus a powerful yet limited tool in "Zionist-oriented" struggles (47).

De Vries notes that 1931–1940 witnessed further politicization and the "radicalization" of strikes among both Jews (right-wing) and Arabs (nationalist) (48). While the Arab working force grew, De Vries argues, "cross-national" collective action remained marginal. Thus, De Vries does not examine Arab organizations and disregards Arab agencies (what were "Arab unions"?), in contrast to Zachary Lockman's inclusive work (*Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948* [1996]). De Vries thus alludes to but does not describe "urbanization," "economic expansion," and their effect on Palestinians. He does not explicate the Great Depression and its impact on the local economy or on Arab landownership/dispossession (50, 52, 60, 87). De Vries does, how-

ever, detail the growing influence in the 1930s of Revisionists (Jabotinskists), whose anti-strike, pro-arbitration position conflicted with the Mapai/Histadrut. Beitar and Histadrut partisans thus engaged in unprecedented violence. Strikes now became “markers of political division” within the Yishuv (55–56), and strike violations, now “prevalent,” came to signify support for Revisionism (59).

In fact, government, Revisionists, and industrialists all worked at delegitimizing strikes in the 1930s (65). After the Arab strikes and uprising of 1936, the British criminalized strikes in the public sector and rigidified the anti-strike law in the 1940s (64, 71). By the 1940s, strikes thus became an internal, “depoliticized” part of the social structure, functioning independently from the social and political context. The peak of strikes during the 1940s underscored the “frailty” of the Histadrut in containing labor protest, despite impressive union enrollments (76, 78).

The last section (1947–1951) discusses post-Mandate changes: the Israeli state, controlled by the Mapai, became a “huge employer”; strikes spread to the public sector; the Histadrut was empowered; and the government sought private employers’ collaboration (95). Yet, as earlier, one is left starving for elaborations: What exactly were Israeli political and economic structures? After 1948, what consequences did the “vanishing” of Arab workers and the reappropriation of Arab capital, property, and businesses have on Israeli labor and capital?

This points to the shortcomings of this book. De Vries successfully outlines the diversity of the Jewish working force, while scholars too often lump workers together. He thus underscores the divergent interests and strategies of skilled, high-income workers and low-income workers. He shows the ideological conflicts between workers’ rights and “national interests.” Yet, what was “the social transition the country was undergoing” between 1899 and 1904 (16)? What exactly was the structure of the “government”? What lies behind the laconic “number of casualties to both societies, the expulsion of many” (95) with which De Vries explains away 1948? Problematizing Palestine’s boundaries, acknowledging regional family and commercial networks, recognizing the mobility of ideas and manpower in the Bilad al-Sham, or including Arab agencies and sources, and so forth, would have produced a more persuasive account. This work evades such questions and rather presumes that Israel is the natural continuation of a Palestine reconstructed as a self-contained “country,” adopting a “dual society model” (Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies*, 4) in which both the Yishuv and Palestine seemingly operate independently from history.

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JENNIFER JOHNSON. *The Battle for Algeria: Sovereignty, Health Care, and Humanitarianism*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 270. \$75.00.

Jennifer Johnson’s groundbreaking book *The Battle for Algeria: Sovereignty, Health Care, and Humanitarianism* expands our understanding of the Algerian struggle for inde-

pendence by focusing, as her subtitle reminds us, on several heretofore underexamined or unexamined aspects of the war. Johnson uses her subtitle to highlight interrelated elements of the Algerian leadership’s strategies to gain recognition and legitimacy among both the Algerian people and the international community. Although chapter outlines or a road map would have been useful in the introduction, the threads eventually come together. The book is essentially divided into two parts. The early chapters examine how both sides—the French and the Algerians—set about “winning the hearts, minds, and bodies” (37) of the Algerian people by providing much-needed health and welfare services. Johnson’s research on France’s Special Administrative Sections and a handful of smaller complementary programs underscores the dual approach of Governor-General Jacques Soustelle (1955–1956) and his successors. Here Johnson makes a much-needed contribution to a burgeoning literature that examines social services during decolonization in Algeria and beyond. She shows us how French officials linked a public-facing integrationist agenda, which included doctors and nurses who offered desperately needed medical assistance to “poor, hungry, and malnourished Algerians” (57), with information collection. By providing mobile medical units, the French state could underscore its benevolence with publicity pictures of doctors treating Algerian children—made available internationally—while obscuring that “these medical programs were first and foremost” part of a larger “military project” that intended to rout the enemy and retain control of French Algeria (61).

Subsequently, Johnson explores the creation of domestic medical services by the Front de libération nationale (FLN, the Algerian independence party) and the Algerian Red Crescent as part of a multifaceted strategy to convince Algerians and the international community that the FLN was ready to lead an independent nation. Here, Johnson’s argument about sovereignty—that Algerian nationalists understood that they had to prove they were capable of managing an independent, functioning state—is critical to Johnson’s story and to the nationalists’ overall strategy. Once nationalists overcame internal divisions, they projected powerful messages of concern about and a desire to care for the Algerian people. Even if Algeria’s health services and personnel remained ill-equipped and under constant threat of arrest, Johnson argues that nationalists succeeded in appearing as a “modern disciplined” movement and as advocates for the people’s needs (92).

The second half of the book examines the role of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations in the Algerian conflict. Johnson connects the Algerian struggle, used as a case study, to the larger historical context, and explores why this conflict was “a watershed moment in decolonization” (199). Her chapter on the Algerian Red Crescent acts as a bridge between the two halves of the book. It connects Johnson’s arguments about the FLN’s strategy to gain legitimacy with her use of the Algerian case as a model for thinking about how international organizations navigated decolonization. To that end, she argues that the FLN created the Algerian Red Crescent in 1957 to expose the French Red Cross’s

close relationship with the military, to demonstrate nationalists' commitment to humanitarian principals enshrined in the Geneva Conventions, and to secure meetings with the ICRC, which would implicitly acknowledge the FLN's legitimacy. Specifically, the FLN sought to counter French depictions of Algerians as "savage" (107) and instead demonstrate that the FLN was ready and willing to commit to the Geneva Conventions even as the French violated the laws of war.

Chapter 5 continues Johnson's examination of the ICRC. It is framed as a demonstration of the "moral and practical obstacles" (128) that the Red Cross faced in implementing its mission during the wars of decolonization. Johnson uses its ten Algerian missions between 1955 and 1962 to explore a "pivotal moment in ICRC history" (155)—as the ICRC tried to learn how to approach the "anticolonial nationalism . . . sweeping Asia and Africa" (133) and to work with non-state actors who sought recognition in the post-1945 landscape.

Johnson concludes with an examination of the role of the United Nations in the Algerian war, the one topic well studied in previous scholarship. Using a range of sources, including the archives of the Algerian Provisional Government, she emphasizes the FLN's "platform of internationalizing the conflict and swaying public opinion" (158), and insists on the pivotal role of FLN leaders in getting their message about the horrors of the war and Algeria's right to independence out to sympathetic voices in Asia, Africa, and New York. Yet, other events and actors, from Hungary to Suez and from Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir to Charles de Gaulle, still seem to have played a larger role in determining precisely why and when the quagmire and bloodshed ended in Algeria.

The Battle for Algeria is a welcome contribution to an already rich historiography that has not yet fully examined the roles that welfare, healthcare, and humanitarian organizations have played in the Algerian conflict (and beyond). Johnson's work, which convincingly argues that Algerian decolonization is "part of human rights history" (11), will no doubt inspire researchers and serve as a model for scholarship. Johnson highlights our need for a better understanding of the scope of the Algerian conflict and its actors' awareness and self-conscious use of the discourses of humanitarianism in their struggle. Moreover, she positions her work as a contribution to a growing body of scholarship that takes into account "local, national, and international perspectives" (7) to better integrate decolonization, and the Algerian case, into the global history of this era.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ANNA GREENWOOD and HARSHAD TOPIWALA. *Indian Doctors in Kenya, 1895–1940: The Forgotten History*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. x, 266. \$95.00.

Much of the work on medical professionals in Africa highlights the work of physicians and to a lesser degree nurses,

midwives, and pharmacists. Extant publications on doctors in sub-Saharan Africa mostly include books that highlight travel accounts of European colonial medical personnel and monographs on African medical practitioners. The field continues to expand, and *Indian Doctors in Kenya, 1895–1940: The Forgotten History* adds a new perspective to work on medical professionals in colonial Africa. The authors, Anna Greenwood and Harshad Topiwala, seek to restore the voices of Indian doctors who practiced in Kenya and argue that Indians should be central to the "history of medicine in colonial East Africa" (1). Topiwala has a background in chemical engineering and is an honorary research fellow in the history department at the University of Kent. He is also the son of an Indian doctor who practiced in Kenya. Greenwood specializes in British imperial history and has written previously on medical professionals in East Africa. The authors chronicle the experience of the doctors throughout the book by examining themes on empire, migration, race, medicine, and professional negotiations.

Between 1895 and the 1920s, Indian doctors, while a minority in number, were critical members of the colonial health service. These doctors would continue to offer services, though primarily through private practice between the 1920s and 1940. The Indian doctors were trained in India and funneled into British colonial service. Between 1903 and 1940, records show that Indian doctors averaged one-third to one-half of the physicians in Kenya, and in 1920, they outnumbered European doctors almost two to one. Like most physicians throughout the world, the majority were men at that time. The authors did identify two women, Mary de Sousa and Helen Figueiredo, who practiced in Kenya in the 1920s.

Indian doctors in Kenya were biomedical intermediaries between their European and African counterparts. Similarly, in colonial French Africa, medical professionals from other parts of the colony performed similar roles. In Senegal, for example, Lebanese doctors and pharmacists practiced. Unlike their Indian counterparts in Kenya, some of them continued to work in postcolonial Senegal. Indian doctors held similar roles as intermediaries, and this made their situation precarious as they were deemed "both valuable intermediaries" and "suspicious collaborators" between their Kenyan and British counterparts (16).

This precarious status impacted the Indian doctors in their professional and private lives. Indian medical personnel, even those with the highest degrees, were held to a different standard. Indian doctors were "Native doctors, Assistant Surgeons, and Sub-Assistant Surgeons" (37). They had a higher social ranking than most of their African counterparts, but due to racial discrimination, they often were not afforded standards of living that corresponded with their status. At the same time, since most Kenyans were skeptical of them, they maintained a dubious social space in their personal lives as well as in their standing in British colonial service. Indian doctors would be pushed out of the medical field in Kenya by the early 1940s. During this time, there was a move to "Africanize" the profession and so doctors from Kenya and other East African countries were becoming favored. One reason be-

hind the push to “Africanize” the profession likely correlated to the growth of medical training facilities in Uganda in the 1920s and Kenya in the 1930s. The authors do not elaborate on the reasons behind this trend, however.

Indian Doctors in Kenya offers new insight on a previously ignored historical development. Through careful analysis of colonial records, the authors are able to successfully reconstruct the history of Indian doctors in Kenya. Greenwood and Topiwala are very precise in discussing their medical contributions, their negotiations with the state, and their experiences navigating the colony through race and class. However, the book would have benefited from an inclusion of oral interviews to really illuminate the voices of the Indian doctors. Since the study concludes in 1940, many of the doctors might not have been available, but it would have been great to see a few quotes from them as well as from their descendants, colleagues, or patients. This would have further enriched the study.

All in all, this monograph makes significant contributions to studies on the history of medicine, colonial history, African history, and diaspora studies. It offers a new lens into medical practice in the African colony and raises new ideas about the history of South-South global biomedical intervention.

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SARAH VAN BEURDEN. *Authentically African: Arts and the Transnational Politics of Congolese Culture*. (New African Histories.) Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 372. \$34.95.

Authentically African: Arts and the Transnational Politics of Congolese Culture examines the circulation of African cultural goods within the web of those imperial and postimperial contexts of which the former Belgian Congo was, and is, a part. Sarah Van Beurden argues that this circulation has been and is still regulated by various criteria of meaning, of taste, of evaluation, and, not least, of speculative waves, and that in the end, all are reflections of power relationships that impose their weight from above, in an ever-adapting search for the “real,” “authentic” African cultural heritage.

The argument is neatly developed in six chapters, the first two dealing with Belgian efforts at using the rich cultural heritage of the Congo as a prop to colonial propaganda. Van Beurden describes a deeply decadent modern African society, unable to safeguard by itself its own historical patrimony. More chapters deal with the place of art and culture in the decolonization process, and in particular with the grandeur and decline of the colonial as well as postcolonial attempts at domesticating culture for the benefit of particular political alignments.

In this process, extending over several generations, one follows the concept of art as it was applied in the West, first to carved wooden or iron objects, and more recently to painting on canvas from the Congo area. Van Beurden presents various stages in colonial and postcolonial interpretations, culminating in Joseph-Désiré Mobutu’s failed

attempt to displace Belgian institutions from their ambition to legitimize their role as guardians, material and moral, of Congo’s cultural patrimony. During the dictatorial regime of Mobutu, new cultural poles emerged for the definition and evaluation of what is “real,” “authentic” African art. As a result of new American interests, Congolese cultural goods took fresh meanings: they not only reflected the hegemonic position of North America on the global art market, but, in the U.S., became a stake in the definition of an African American identity.

When presented with force, an argument may leave little room for alternative valuable perspectives, and Van Beurden does not always avoid this pitfall. In the early modern history of African cultural productions, imperial geopolitics were doubtlessly relevant, but they did not exercise full control, and it is best to remember that “transnationality” was not always politically minded.

Straddling as it does colonial boundaries as well as several ethnic groups in both Congo and Angola, the Tshokwe cultural area has struck this reviewer as a case in point. Over the years under scrutiny here, the quality of Tshokwe production was a choice theme in colonial anthropological and artistic programs. Both the Tervuren Museum in Belgium and the Diamang, a major mining enterprise in Portuguese Angola, with important Belgian capital interests, played their part in the growing introduction of Tshokwe sculpture to international attention. These institutions, each in their own way, were part of the overall colonial order. Yet, when pinpointing Tshokwe art, their effort laid less stress on colonial identities than on the unity of an African cultural area that overstepped borders. Angola is not mentioned in the index of this book, presumably because the author forces the “invention” of West Central African art into a single Belgian imperial strategy. Jan Vansina’s *Art History in Africa: An Introduction to Method* (1984) is oddly absent from the extended bibliography of *Authentically African*. Vansina’s book would have brought some qualifications to the part played by power politics in the Western approach to African art.

In fact, when it moves to the postcolonial era, the present book readily recognizes the failure of political ideology to effectively take control over the cultural processes at work in Congo. The same caution might have been applied to colonial ideologies, accused of closing avenues for artistic innovations, then commonly regarded as “decadent.” Yet, out of the grasp of some colonial theoreticians, the first major successes of modern Congolese artists on “transnational” art markets have been due to local painters, first in the 1930s (Lubaki, Djilatendo) and again, in the 1950s, with the Elizabethville workshop of P. Romain Desfossés (Pilipili Mulongoy, Mwenze Kibwanga, and Mode Muntu). All of these artists emerged independently of colonial structures. Is this why they are ignored in this book?

This silence is intriguing. It cannot conceal that political ideology did not, after all, hold all the keys to the fascinating presence of art and *artisanat* in the otherwise deeply materialist atmosphere of Belgian colonialism. This presence has indeed distinguished Congo from its neighbors in partitioned Africa, and we are thus led to ask further questions. It might be that the Arts and Crafts movement, orig-

inally born in nineteenth-century England but deeply influential in Belgium, eventually extended to the colonial habitat broadly speaking. The cultural dimension of “Belgian Congo” may owe as much to the metropole’s fascination with arts and crafts as to its self-conscious efforts at legitimizing power.

This well-informed book is the result of a careful inquiry carried out “on the spot” in Congo, Belgium, and North America. Fortunately for us, the wide-ranging bibliography is not confined to the literature in English. *Authentically African* successfully shows how colonial tensions between politics and creativity left their imprint on colonial as well as on postcolonial Congo. In all fairness, while some of Van Beurden’s choices may have been too exclusive, this book remains a necessary introduction to some key chapters in the rich and complex entrance of *arts premiers* into world cultural histories.

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JEANNE MARIE PENVENNE. *Women, Migration, and the Cashew Economy in Southern Mozambique, 1945–1975*. Oxford: James Currey, 2015. Pp. xix, 281. \$80.00.

Jeanne Marie Penvenne’s *Women, Migration and the Cashew Economy in Southern Mozambique, 1945–1975* builds on her research into the lives of urban workers in the port and railway sectors in the capital city of Lourenço Marques (renamed Maputo at independence in 1975). Penvenne’s initial research focused on male laborers. However, after a disturbing encounter with some angry Mozambique women questioning why their lives and experiences did not appear in her research, Penvenne decided to develop a major project on women in Lourenço Marques’s urban workforce, particularly during the final years of colonial rule from 1960 to 1975. She discovered that records on women’s employment in Lourenço Marques in this period were sparse and incomplete. It became clear that the cashew-shelling industry (*caju industrial*) labor force, which was predominantly female, was the best site for investigating women’s labor in the capital city. Given the limitation of formal records, Penvenne focused on interviews, speaking to over one hundred women and seven men. Most interviews centered on employees of the Chamanculo factory, which was the oldest factory with the most retirees available for interviews. The interviews were carried out in 1993 with former employees who had experienced independence, internal conflicts, and increasing poverty. The interviewees’ struggles with poverty and insecurity no doubt affected their recollections of working in the cashew industry—a factor Penvenne incorporates into her analysis.

Penvenne discovered that the published and archival sources on labor in Mozambique often ignored, skewed, and even erased African women’s agency and productivity in the cashew factories. Her female informants, however, emphasized their central role in the industry. Their narratives and songs provided “rich, amusing and deeply astute perspectives on migration, urban labor and social history in the late colonial era” (34). The interviews highlighted

the importance of specific factors such as age, ethnicity, fertility, civil status, education, and relative prosperity on women’s experience of labor in the cashew industry. Yet broader patterns also emerged, revealing the central role of gender in the economic and social history of Lourenço Marques. Most of Penvenne’s female informants moved to town only when they had reached the conclusion that their struggles with poverty and identity could not be solved. While male workers often left their children at home and rarely discussed them in interviews, Penvenne’s female informants placed their children at the center of their narratives. The double day, balancing childcare and work, was a major preoccupation. Many were single mothers. Others lived in blended households. Childcare was an everyday challenge for working women, made worse by appalling living conditions in the barrios where the workers lived. These challenges are rarely mentioned in government records, yet clearly preoccupied women working in the cashew industry. The need to deal with these challenges helps explain why secure access to and control over one’s home, children, and possessions preoccupied so many of her female informants. The informants’ narratives reveal varied success in reaching these goals. Some women developed strong social networks that enabled survival. Others failed to achieve these goals. But all of the women Penvenne interviewed sought to ensure their own and their children’s security and safety and believed in the importance of that struggle.

Women, Migration and the Cashew Economy thus challenges labor history’s preoccupation with the male experience in colonial Africa, including Mozambique. Penvenne’s in-depth research into the lives of over one hundred women working in the cashew industry in Lourenço Marques demonstrates the central role of gender in urban labor experiences. She leaves no doubt that women experienced urban labor differently than most male workers, and that they forged new ways of being women, mothers, and heads of households that challenged many traditional assumptions about gender roles and relations. Her research provides a crucial baseline for asking further gendered questions. More extensive case studies require a foundation to build on. Penvenne’s pathbreaking book provides that foundation, both through the inclusion of women’s narratives, songs, and broader cultural gendered practices in its analysis and through the powerful narratives revealing women workers’ lives, dreams, and frustrations. *Women, Migration and the Cashew Economy* demonstrates the importance of these more eclectic research methods and the centrality of gender for understanding urban life in colonial Africa.

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MHOZE CHIKOWERO. *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*. (African Expressive Cultures.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 346. \$35.00.

African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe is an absorbing study of the role of music and dance in shaping

African identities in Zimbabwe during the twentieth century. While it is published in an edited series about ethnomusicology, Mhoze Chikowero is broadly interested in music's integral contribution to cultural identity among African peoples living under colonial rule. As Chikowero puts it, the book "is not merely about 'culture,' or song and dance, but also about a history of subject making, the coloniality of power and self-liberation" (7). As such it sheds as much light on the history of nationalism and the emergence of a Zimbabwean identity as it does on the evolution of musical genres. The author is interested both in European attempts to manipulate African experiences of music and in the ways in which Africans successfully resisted these efforts. Thus the book "explores on the one hand, ways in which colonists rationalized their harnessing of cultural expression, particularly music, as a weapon to undermine African sovereignty and, on the other, how Africans similarly deployed their musical cultures to tell their own stories, reclaim their freedom, and reconstitute their being" (2).

The initial chapters explore the role of Christian missionaries in shaping African experiences of music in the colonial era. Chikowero asserts that the destruction of African culture and identity was central to the missionary project in Africa, and that no form of African culture was under greater stress than indigenous forms of music and dance. The author has little patience with scholars who credit individual missionaries and particular denominations with popularizing and preserving indigenous forms of music. Nor does he commend efforts by allies of the missionaries, be they members of the Native Affairs departments, agents of social welfare organizations, or academics, to preserve and promote African music. Rather, he sees these actors as no different from other colonial collectors of anthropological artifacts who were more interested in imperial spectacle than preservation. To Chikowero, the most well-intentioned of these colonial agents was complicit in a project whose ultimate goal was the obliteration of African culture and identity.

After establishing the enduring power of African music to withstand this missionary assault, the author turns to an examination of the forms of dance and music that proved popular in the growing African townships of Southern Africa after the 1920s. He describes an array of musical and dance traditions that drew on both African and Western styles, instruments, and arrangements. This part of the book is richly documented, and features interviews with key figures from Zimbabwe's musical history, including Thomas Mapfumo, Kenneth Mattaka, and many others who popularized new forms of music and performance. The author also draws on interviews and published writings of many postwar Zimbabwean elites, including Nathan Shamuyarira, Lawrence Vambe, and Stanlake Samkange. Particularly engrossing is his extended interview with Jane Lungile Ngwenya, which is presented in an unedited, stand-alone chapter. Ngwenya was one of a handful of Zimbabwean women to serve in a leadership role in the liberation struggle, and the interview is rich in anecdote. This transcript illuminates the lived experience of colonialism and provides insights that extend far beyond the topic of popular music.

In reinterpreting the history of music in Zimbabwe, the text wades into several contentious debates. Regarding the periodization of Zimbabwean history, the author argues against nationalist historians who identify a lull in the emergence of a national consciousness between the two Chimurenga wars (1896–1899, 1966–1979). To Chikowero, music and dance were key components of the national identity that opposed minority rule in Rhodesia. By continuing to perform and create indigenous forms of music during the interwar period, the subject population of Rhodesia kept alive and strengthened an identity and sense of self that would become central to postwar anti-settler resistance. All musical performance, by encouraging a sense of shared African culture, was therefore political, regardless of its lyrical content or the context of performance.

Overall, the book encourages a stimulating rethinking of the role of music in colonial societies. It is therefore recommended for readers with a broad interest in African history. However, the text in places assumes that the reader has a basic knowledge of Zimbabwean, and specifically Shona, culture and of the history of the state that was known alternatively as Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia, and Zimbabwe. While the author persuasively argues that the musical traditions of Southern Africa are shaped by linkages that transcend linguistic, ethnic, and geographical boundaries, much of the narrative is focused on Shona music and dance as performed in Zimbabwe.

The text's one glaring limitation is that it does not easily allow the reader to sample the music or watch the dance performances it describes. According to the preface, the book is part of Indiana University Press's "Ethnomusicology Multimedia" collaboration with the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which provides audio excerpts for the other texts in the series. Unfortunately there is currently no online companion to the book, though there are a handful of references to online content on sites such as YouTube included in the text.

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ALLISON K. SHUTT. *Manners Make a Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910–1963*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, no. 65.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 245. \$110.00.

Bridging the gap between the history of respectability politics and the growing field of the history of emotions, Allison K. Shutt's *Manners Make a Nation: Racial Etiquette in Southern Rhodesia, 1910–1963* carves out a new path. She mined colonial archives, personal correspondences, and newspaper articles to identify key moments when government officials, settlers, African elites, and nationalists in Southern Rhodesia employed the concept of what Shutt calls "racial etiquette" to negotiate the terms of colonialism between 1910 and 1963. While racial etiquette more often than not implied the racist, paternalist, and masculinist ethos of white settler society, Shutt reveals the ever-expanding cracks in its façade.

The book consists of six main chapters and an introduction. Chapter 1 provides the historical framework for legal debates over “insolence” and establishes the book’s central narrative: that prevailing ideas about racial etiquette shifted with the rise of nationalism after World War II. In chapter 2, Shutt closely analyzes two cases of minor disputes over manners from the 1930s: one that arose when a government official knocked the hat off an African urban elite man, the other when the wife of an officer interfered with the work of a junior official to cull African-owned cattle herds. The two cases provide a rich and nuanced glimpse into colonial society and the role of hats, gestures, glances, and interpersonal space in shaping racial etiquette. This chapter vividly illustrates that racial etiquette in Southern Rhodesia was a “work in progress” involving arbitrations over race, gender, class, and dignity. Chapter 3 offers a unique look at the tensions that arose when older white settlers sought to induct “newcomers” into local rules of racial etiquette, sometimes unsuccessfully. This chapter offers a brief but important look at cleavages in Southern Rhodesia’s white society during the 1940s and 1950s. Debates about racial etiquette moved into a more public and political space during the 1950s, the focus of chapters 4 and 5. Here, Shutt argues that the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 sparked new debates in which African nationalists demanded more respect from whites. Ultimately, Africans and their allies launched a formal “courtesy campaign” during the early 1960s that highlighted the tensions around desegregation of public places. Shutt’s discussion of conflicts over integration at municipal swimming pools in chapter 5 is particularly rich in identifying the racialized and sexualized undertones of white fears about desegregation. Chapter 6, which serves as a sort of epilogue in lieu of a conclusion, briefly addresses the impact of these debates about manners in the early 1960s prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the white Rhodesian government in 1965.

Manners Make a Nation speaks to studies of honor and respectability, such as John Iliffe’s *Honour in African History* (2005) and Robert Ross’s *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony* (1999), as well as recent work by Lynn Thomas and Elisabeth McMahon. Shutt also makes a valuable theoretical contribution to colonial studies in that she successfully pivots between close analysis of individual cases and broader historical changes in the politics of colonial racial etiquette. This tactic allows the reader to grasp the subtlety of these shifts as well as the shock that white settlers must have felt as wider recognition of African dignity crept up on them. Early challenges to the settlers’ and government officials’ understandings of racial etiquette, such as Lennox Njokweni’s 1934 protest against the official who knocked off his hat, imply that colonial domination was never complete—that Africans and others who refused to allow white privilege and violence to go unchecked had been reshaping definitions of respect, courtesy, and dignity throughout the colonial era.

Though Shutt does not cite Michel Foucault, her study of intricate interpersonal conflict offers a demonstration of Foucault’s theory of power transfer and the fragility of

domination. Her detailed analysis of the role of hats, facial expressions, bodily positions and movements (standing, sitting, and different manners of walking) and small but not insignificant acts of violence (what may be called microaggressions) move beyond a discursive analysis to reveal nonverbal communications and miscommunications buried in the archival record. Humor, anger, and frustration became the means for challenging authority and opening up new paths for interpreting race and politics through etiquette. In this way, *Manners Make a Nation* exposes some of the everyday performances of race, class, gender, and age that gradually shifted the colonial terrain of rank and respectability.

The book has its shortcomings. For example, while Shutt claims that “Africans were as much a part of composing racial etiquette as officials” (57), “racial etiquette” reflected the values of the white settler society. Africans were engaged in the debates with some measurable results; however, the terms of behavior under debate were those defined solely by white settlers and officials. In fact, the book offers little in the way of the concepts of respect, insolence, and courtesy that informed Africans’ responses to colonial racial etiquette. Also, Shutt does not provide clear definitions of her working concepts other than insolence, leaving one to ponder: How did “respect” or “dignity” differ from “deference” and “courtesy”? What legal distinctions, if any, existed between “rudeness” and “violence”? Overall, these faults do not detract from Shutt’s very convincing argument that “manners mattered” in Southern Rhodesia.

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LUISE WHITE. *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 343. \$30.00.

Luise White has written an extraordinarily detailed book about Rhodesia’s years of illegal independence from Britain (1965 to 1980) under the rule of the Rhodesian Front (RF) party. White’s main objective is to examine “how Rhodesians debated what it meant to belong to that nation and what they would do in order to belong to it” (xii). To achieve this goal, she examines contestation about the African franchise in federal and territorial franchise commissions and debates covering five constitutions: 1961, 1965, 1969, 1979, and 1980. In addition, White looks at sanctions-busting deals and military conscription in the 1970s during the guerrilla war. The breadth and depth of this history is impressive, as is the use of wide-ranging sources. White gathered material from archives and libraries in southern Africa, the U.S., and the UK; held interviews in all of these places; drew on Rhodesian memoirs and novels and journalists’ accounts; and used secondary sources.

Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization claims that it is wrong to see the fourteen-year rule of the RF as simply a period of racism or white supremacy (25). White states, “I argue that being white in Rhodesia was never in and of itself the right to

rule or to do much else. What mattered was being white and laying claim to the history of civilization and responsibility that had so capably maintained standards for the last forty years" (35). Because the white population was so small, some Africans had to be included in political life in order to make the government work, and to provide Rhodesian politicians and their supporters in London with evidence that "theirs was not a wholly racist regime" (35). The book challenges conventional understanding on innumerable issues.

At the outset, White warns readers that she has no interest in conventional strategies for writing Rhodesian/Zimbabwean history. Disregarding her editors' counsel, she does not provide a list of abbreviations of either political parties or the country's changing names and their dates; she also rejects presenting any broad chronology (x, xiii–xiv). The decision to forgo such basic guides contributes to confusion. Moreover, although White's writing is playful and engaging, imprecision and inconsistencies are too frequent, making it difficult to follow the extremely detailed narratives.

To overcome the experience of drowning in detail, I randomly selected chapter 6, which focuses on the debates about the 1969 constitution, to consult a couple of White's sources. In chapter 6, White's errors, inconsistencies, and misrepresentations of sources are omnipresent. Chief Sigola, one of two African commissioners appointed to the five-man Whaley Commission in 1967, is referred to as Chief Signola (152, 163); Lord Graham was not minister of agriculture (167, 170), a position he had once held, but minister of external affairs; and in 1968 William Hostes Nicolle is described as being director of internal affairs in one place (157 n. 18) and secretary for internal affairs in another (170). On the June 1969 referendum, White refers to referenda as if there were separate referenda for each of the two questions; the percentages for those who voted for the new constitution and those who voted for the republic should be 72 percent and 81 percent respectively, but they appear as 81 percent for the new constitution and 72 percent for the republic; and White's percentages refer to the electorate rather than to registered voters (175). The lack of precision on detail is a problem throughout the book.

White depicts the key question of the Whaley Commission as whether Rhodesia should continue as a monarchy or become a republic (152, citing R. Hodder-Williams, "Rhodesia's Search for a Constitution: Or, Whatever Happened to Whaley?," *African Affairs* 69, no. 276 [1970]: 217–235). But White's source says the Whaley Commission "tactfully sidestepped the issue [monarchist], pointing out . . . what had already become widely accepted, that Rhodesia was a *de facto* republic regardless. The debate now centered upon the prospective constitutional order and the distribution of power envisaged by the Report. Herein lies its [the Whaley Commission's] prime importance" (Hodder-Williams, 225). White says that Stanley Morris, a member of the Whaley Commission, was called "Bantustan Morris," because of his segregationist views (151); but White's source (152 n. 5, citing Hodder-Williams, 223) says his critics called him "Bantu-Stan Morris"

because of his approach to nationalists and championing of chiefs as the true representatives of African people.

White says the Whaley Report "proposed a constitution based on seats in legislative bodies, not on votes, as Hodder-Williams pointed out years ago: this eroded the entire idea of an African electorate" (169). But African representation based on seats rather than votes does not mean that Africans would lose their vote in the house, or that the Whaley Report "removed Africans from the institutions of representative government" (168). Indeed, her key source says the report's "fundamental proposal was that 'the only acceptable solution must be one based on ultimate racial parity [of seats] of political representation'" (Hodder-Williams, 225). Even then, at one point White says the report did not recommend parity (158). Such misunderstandings of sources and inconsistency are problematic.

In one final example, White claims that Larry Bowman saw debates about the Whaley Report's franchise recommendations "as part of earlier struggles over the meaning of UDI [Unilateral Declaration of Independence]: was it a grandiose stand for Western civilization—and segregation— . . . or was it an unfortunate rift with Britain." White calls this understanding "too binary" to characterize debates that were "more layered and more specific" (168). Some, according to Bowman, saw UDI "as a major Western stand against Communism," and Bowman says nothing about Western civilization and segregation (Larry Bowman, "Strains in the Rhodesian Front," *Africa Report*, December 1968, 17). Moreover, Bowman covers succinctly the franchise debates in the Whaley Report and the internal RF debates following its publication. Indeed, Bowman presents no binary argument. Such distortions of her sources call into question White's claims to have an alternative narrative.

The constitutional and African franchise debates that White seeks to capture are indeed complex, though White makes them even more complex, creating difficulties for readers to follow. The lack of precision—in use of language, sources, and simple facts—mars this prodigiously researched book. Still, White's volume should generate interest in interpreting the constitutional and franchise history of Rhodesia.

NORMA KRIGER

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GRAHAM DOMINY. *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontiers: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison*. (The History of Military Occupation.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016. Pp. xxiv, 279. \$45.00.

In *Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontiers: Fort Napier and the British Imperial Garrison*, Graham Dominy delivers a wide-reaching and interesting account of the nineteenth-century garrison at Pietermaritzburg that guarded Natal and its settlers from the real and perceived threats posed by Trekboers, Zulu, Hlubi, and others on the frontier of the developing British colony in South Africa. Dominy attempts to reveal how the rhetoric of British imperialism was manifested in local power, class, and economic struc-

tures and how the garrison served to provide political and economic security and strengthen British identity in a period that witnessed Boer state formation, the decline of powerful African polities, and great social and economic change in the region. An ambitious book, *Last Outposts on the Zulu Frontiers* should be of interest to all scholars working on the British Empire in the Victorian period.

Upon reading in the acknowledgments that this work grew out of his dissertation research more than twenty years ago, my immediate fear was that Dominy may have blown the dust off the binding and handed it in to the new University of Illinois Press series, *The History of Military Occupation*. This is certainly not the case. Dominy's research is up to date, drawing from a number of primary and secondary sources, which have since become available, and his writing is top-notch. The analysis also seems fresh: Dominy examines issues of class, labor, gender, ethnicity, and group identity all in the context of settler society and British empire. The *History of Military Occupation* series is off to a fine start.

Last Outpost on the Zulu Frontiers is organized into thirteen chapters. It presents the history of Fort Napier and its garrison alongside the development of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, and South Africa over a long chronological arc that starts in the 1830s and ends with the Union of South Africa in 1910. In an epilogue, Dominy includes observations about how the fort is remembered today and what has become of its physical presence.

The British garrison arrived in Pietermaritzburg when the South African frontier was still open. Boers had left the Cape Colony in the mid-1830s as part of the Great Trek. Some had moved eastward along the coast. As hostility between the Trekboers and the Zulu developed in Natal, the British moved quickly, although not decisively, to safeguard their strategic interests. Natal was annexed and Port Natal (Durban) was secured in 1842. The fate of the interior, however, had yet to be decided. The British were still not strong enough to establish their presence there. That changed with the arrival of reinforcements, the advance to Pietermaritzburg, and the construction of Fort Napier in 1843. The garrison provided skills, labor, economic demand, and security. As Dominy writes, it served as the engine of transformation.

Fort Napier rarely saw active campaigning and was often too weak to be effective against stronger foes. Yet for seventy years, the presence of the garrison served as a reminder of British authority in the region to those who might challenge its presence. Dominy shows how the British demonstrated their strength through a mixture of bombast, pageantry, and bluster. But those same displays and routine public ceremonies not only served to protect the colony, but also acted as a vehicle for social cohesion and group membership. The garrison helped create and shape settler identity, and as the frontier closed, the garrison's purpose for being there changed. With Union in 1910, rising costs, and greater demands for manpower in Europe, the garrison departed South Africa.

Perhaps *Last Outposts* at times is too ambitious. It mentions, for example, subjects like prostitution and issues of sexuality, but Dominy can only do so much in a two-hun-

dred-page book. Even the role Fort Napier played during the Second Boer War (South African War) seems overshadowed by other discussions, some of which may seem trivial, like the 1887 garrison mutiny, to historians who are interested in the imperial implications of the British presence on the frontier as opposed to the history of the garrison itself. Despite these shortcomings, Dominy has done a wonderful job of examining the history of a garrison, a people, a colony, and an imperial idea.

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ANNE-MARIA MAKHULU. *Making Freedom: Apartheid, Squatter Politics, and the Struggle for Home*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xxiii, 228. \$23.95.

Making Freedom: Apartheid, Squatter Politics, and the Struggle for Home focuses, variously, on "the steady expansion of periurban settlements on the outskirts of Cape Town from the 1970s to the early 2000s" (4), "a history of battles for access to the city for and on behalf of African migrants" (5) with "particular attention to practices of settlements and homemaking . . . [in] informal settlements" (11), and "getting by and making do" (130). This analysis is accompanied by frequent commentary on South Africa's economy and criticism of the country's neoliberal macroeconomic policies and outcomes.

There is considerable literature on these topics, but a book that draws together and contextualizes this literature would provide a valuable service. In addition, in a context of ongoing, but rapidly slowing, African migration to Cape Town, understanding the travails of homemaking and getting by is of ongoing interest.

Does the book provide the service of introducing the reader to these topics? Markedly lacking are an introduction to the implications for housing policy of a democratic South Africa and a constitution wherein housing became a right, the geography of apartheid and informal settlements in Cape Town, and the data pertaining to the scale and timing of African migration.

The period covered stretches from when the government sought to prevent African migration to Cape Town and the construction of informal settlements, to a post-apartheid constitution wherein all low-income households have a right to housing. The government has provided free housing at scale, but not at a rate sufficient to do away with the housing backlog, and has also provided municipal services to informal settlements. Anne-Maria Makhulu presents housing policy as intended to ensure the commodification of housing, as a commitment to neoliberalism. She ought to have devoted a few pages to the constitution and described the policy implications of the change from Africans not having a right to the city to having a right to the city, free housing, free basic services (consumption to a "basic" level above which there are charges), and exemption from paying rates.

As regards the geography of apartheid, in the prologue Makhulu describes standing on the mountain and looking over the Cape Flats and the visual impress of racial segregation. The reference is only to the African and white popula-

tions, but most of what she will have seen was the housing of the coloured (a word correctly used in the South African context) population. So markedly absent from the book is a map of Cape Town, the persistent, albeit somewhat declining, racial segregation, and the location of informal settlements. Since the author essentially focuses on the informal settlement of Crossroads as a case study, which is no longer on the city fringe, the reader is not provided with an understanding of the expansion of African informal settlements on the city fringe. In addition, the reader is not introduced to the racial demographics of Cape Town.

The African population grew rapidly during the 1980s up to the early 2000s and, in 2011 (the census) constituted 39 percent of the city's population. Despite a context where 44 percent of the African population lacks formal housing, the politics of Cape Town embodied in the Democratic Alliance and the coloured and white vote has resulted in the construction of new housing no longer being a priority of the city.

For a book published in 2015, it is surprising that changes in the nature and location of informal settlements are not reported. Most new informal housing occurs in the back and front yards of formal housing, which generally has the advantage of being closer to economic opportunities and social services. It is also surprising that the author does not introduce, in particular, the Development Action Group, a NGO that was formed in 1986 in response to forced removals from, and the destruction of areas in, Crossroads and, over time, assisted communities with, *inter alia*, "accessing land, housing and tenure rights" (<http://www.dag.org.za/about-dag/history.html>).

A particular distraction arises when the author refers to the "denial of basic material necessities" (157) for squatters, comments on households in South Africa as being "caught in the crosshairs of market reform" (136), and speculates that President Nelson Mandela got rid of the Reconstruction and Development Programme ministry

due to being "swayed by shifting ideological tides" (159). Writing from close experience with the ministry and with policymaking, I know that the ministry was unable to "get the money out." Following the demise of the ministry, a member of the Department of the Treasury, in response to a position advanced by the reviewer regarding the location of free housing and the development consequences for South Africa's cities, replied that "nothing must be allowed to slow getting the money out." The claimed denial of basic material necessities reflects, *inter alia*, problems with implementation accentuated by the African National Congress's appointment of party cadres to positions better served by engineers and bookkeepers, among others.

To this point the book review reflects the frustration of the reviewer, who knows the apartheid and post-apartheid legislation and policies and who also knows the areas referred to. Where are there merits in the book?

While the book has failings in the depiction of the big picture of apartheid and post-apartheid housing policies and struggles, its strength and contribution lie in the particular. Makhulu's recounts and comments with insight on the stories told by some squatters, mostly in respect of Crossroads. The author discusses what led to the occupation of Crossroads; the familial implications of the separation of mostly male migrants from their wives left in the Bantustans (tribal reserves, for want of a better way of describing it); how migrants coped with government efforts to get rid of Crossroads; the eventual delivery of services; leadership within informal settlements and the circumstances that led to a traditional leadership system opposed to anti-apartheid activists; gendered politics in the informal settlements; a review of the how the Struggle in the 1980s played out in Crossroads; the economic difficulties confronted by households; and the importance of savings schemes. There is much in this book that is of interest.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JÜRGEN KOCKA and MARCEL VAN DER LINDEN, editors. *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. ix, 281. \$112.00.

YOUSSEF CASSIS, Economic and Financial Crises. ANDREA KOMLOSY, Work and Labour Relations. VICTORIA DE GRAZIA, The Crisis of Hyper-Consumerism: Capitalism's Latest Forward Lurch. PATRICK FRIDENSON, Is There a Return of Capitalism in Business History? HAROLD JAMES, Finance Capitalism. ANDREAS ECKERT, Capitalism and Labor in Sub-Saharan Africa. IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, Capitalism as an Essential Concept to Understand Modernity. GARETH AUSTIN, The Return of Capitalism as a Concept. SVEN BECKERT, The New History of Capitalism.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

BRIGITTE MIRIAM BEDOS-REZAK and JEFFREY F. HAMBURGER, editors. *Sign and Design: Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE)*. (Dumbarton Oaks Symposia and Colloquia.) Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016. Pp. x, 294. \$75.00.

ANNE-MARIE CHRISTIN, Visible/Legible: An Iconic Typology of Writing. ELIZABETH HILL BOONE, Pictorial Talking: The Figural Rendering of Speech Acts and Texts in Aztec Mexico. IVAN DRPIĆ, *Chrysepes Stichourgia*: The Byzantine Epigram as Aesthetic Object. BÉATRICE FRAENKEL, Rebus-Signatures. THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS, From Many into One: The Transformation of Pre-Columbian Signs into European Letters in the Sixteenth Century. HERBERT L. KESSLER, Dynamic Signs and Spiritual Designs. VINCENT DEBIAIS, From Christ's Monogram to God's Presence: An Epigraphic Contribution to the Study of Chrismons in Romanesque Sculpture. KATRIN KOGMAN-APPEL, The Role of Hebrew Letters in Making the Divine Visible. IRVIN CEMIL SCHICK, The Content of Form: Islamic Calligraphy between Text and Representation. IRENE J. WINTER, Text on/in Monuments: "Lapidary Style" in Ancient Mesopotamia. ANTONY EASTMOND, Monograms and the Art of Unhelpful Writing in Late Antiquity. CYNTHIA HAHN, The Performative Letter in the Carolingian Sacramentary of Gellone. DIDIER MÉHU, The Colors of the Ritual: Description and Inscription of Church Dedication in Liturgical Manuscripts (10th–11th Centuries).

ECKART CONZE, MARTIN KLIMKE, and JEREMY VARON, editors. *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. xvi, 370. \$120.00.

ECKART CONZE, MARTIN KLIMKE, and JEREMY VARON, Between Accidental Armageddons and Winnable Wars: Nuclear Threats and Nuclear Fears in the 1980s. WILFRIED MAUSBACH, Nuclear Winter: Prophecies of Doom and Images of Desolation during the Second Cold War. NATASHA ZARETSKY, Atomic Nightmares and Biological Citizens at Three Mile Island. ECKART CONZE, Missile Bases as Concentration Camps: The Role of National Socialism, the Second World War, and the Holocaust in the West German Discourse on Nuclear Armament. WILLIAM M. KNOBLAUCH, "Will You Sing about the Missiles?" British Antinuclear Protest Music of the 1980s. MARTIN KLIMKE and LAURA STAPANE, From Artists for Peace to the Green Caterpillar: Cultural Activism and Electoral Politics in 1980s West Germany. THOMAS GOLDSTEIN, A Tenuous Peace: International Antinuclear Activism in the East German Writers Union during the 1980s. STEPHEN MILDER, The "Example of Wuhl": How Grassroots Protest in the Rhine Valley Shaped West Germany's Antinuclear Movement. MICHAEL STEWART FOLEY, No Nukes and Front Porch Politics: Environmental Protest Culture and Practice on the Second Cold War Home Front. SUSANNE SHREGEL, Global Micropolitics: Toward a Transnational History of Grassroots Nuclear Free Zones. PATRICK BURKE, European Nuclear Disarmament: Transnational Peace Campaigning in the 1980s. SEBASTIAN KALDEN, A Case of "Hollanditis": The Interchurch Peace Council in the Netherlands and the Christian Peace Movement in Western Europe. LAWRENCE S. WITTNER, Peace through Strength? The Impact of the Antinuclear Uprising on the Carter and Reagan Administrations. TIM GEIGER and JAN HANSEN, Did Protest Matter? The Influence of the Peace Movement on the West German Government and the Social Democratic Party, 1977–1983. KATRIN RÜCKER, Why Was There No "Accidental Armageddon" Discourse in France? How Defense Intellectuals, Peace Movements, and Public Opinion Rethought the Cold War during the Euromissile Crisis. ENRICO BÖHM, Building Trust: The G7 Summits and International Leadership in Nuclear Politics.

ANNE-MARIE KILDAY and DAVID NASH, editors. *Law, Crime and Deviance since 1700: Micro-Studies in the History of Crime*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xii, 324. \$29.95.

DAVID S. NASH, The Uses of a Martyred Blasphemer's Death: The Execution of Thomas Aikenhead, Scotland's Religion, the

Enlightenment and Contemporary Activism. SARAH WILSON, *History, Narrative and Attacking Chronocentricism in Understanding Financial Crime: The Significance of Micro-history*. ADRIAN AGER, *The Limits of Government Intervention: Caroline Wybrow and the Scandal of the Contagious Diseases Acts*. CLIFFORD WILLIAMSON, *The Bonnie and Clyde of the Blackout: The Short Criminal Careers of Gustav Hulten and Elizabeth Jones*. KATHERINE D. WATSON, *Love, Vengeance and Vitriol: An Edwardian True-Crime Drama*. ANNE-MARIE KILDAY, *Constructing the Cult of the Criminal: Kate Webster—Victorian Murderess and Media Sensation*. DAVID J. COX, “Hand in Glove with the Penny-a-liners”: The Bow Street “Runners” in Factual and Fictional Narrative. ANJA JOHANSEN, *Citizens’ Complaints and Police (Un)accountability: The Career of a Parisian *Commissaire de Police* of the *Belle Époque**. RACHAEL GRIFFIN, *Bobbies, Booze and Bagatelle: Policing Vice in Early Victorian London*. HELEN JOHNSTON, BARRY GODFREY, and JO TURNER, “I Am Afraid She Is Perfectly Responsible for Her Actions and Is Simply Wicked”: Reconstructing the Criminal Career of Julia Hyland. HELEN ROGERS, *Making Their Mark: Young Offenders’ Life Histories and Social Networks*. VIVIEN MILLER, *Reflections on the Chain Gang and Prison Narratives from the Southern United States*. NEIL DAVIE, “Nothing Kept Back, Nothing Exaggerated”: Piety, Penology and Conflict; Joseph Kingsmill, Prison Chaplain (1842–60).

MARTIN KLIMKE, REINHILD KREIS, and CHRISTIAN F. OSTERMANN, editors. *Trust, but Verify: The Politics of Uncertainty and the Transformation of the Cold War Order, 1969–1991*. (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press/Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 313. \$60.00.

SERGEY RADCHENKO, *Untrusting and Untrusted: Mao’s China at a Crossroads, 1969*. SARAH B. SNYDER, “No Crowing”: Reagan, Trust, and Human Rights. J. SIMON ROFE, *Trust between Adversaries and Allies: President George H. W. Bush, Trust, and the End of the Cold War*. ARVID SCHORS, *Trust and Mistrust and the American Struggle for Verification of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1969–1979*. MICHAEL COTEY MORGAN, *Trust and Transparency at the CSCE, 1969–1975*. NICHOLAS J. WHEELER, JOSHUA BAKER, and LAURA CONSIDINE, *Trust or Verification? Accepting Vulnerability in the Making of the INF Treaty*. JENS GIESEKE, *Whom Did the East Germans Trust? Popular Opinion on Threats of War, Confrontation, and Détente in the German Democratic Republic, 1968–1989*. JENS BOYSEN, *Not Quite “Brothers in Arms”: East Germany and People’s Poland between Mutual Dependency and Mutual Distrust, 1975–1990*. NOËL BONHOMME and EMMANUEL MOURLON-DRUOL, *Institutionalizing Trust? Regular Summitry (G7s and European Councils) from the Mid-1970s until the Mid-1980s*. REINHILD KREIS, *Trust through Familiarity: Transatlantic Relations and Public Diplomacy in the 1980s*. EFFIE G. H. PEDALIU, “Footnotes” as an Expression of Distrust? The United States and the NATO “Flanks” in the Last Two Decades of the Cold War. SANDRA BOTT and JANICK MARINA SCHAUFELBUEHL, *Switzerland and Détente: A Revised Foreign Policy Characterized by Distrust*.

CHRISTIAN WIESE and CORNELIA WILHELM, editors. *American Jewry: Transcending the European Experience?* New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xi, 379. \$39.95.

CHRISTIAN WIESE, *Europe in the Experience and Imagination of American Jewry: An Introduction*. SUSANNAH HESCHEL, *The*

Myth of Europe in America’s Judaism. JUDAH M. COHEN, *Trading Freedoms? Exploring Colonial Jewish Merchanthood between Europe and the Caribbean*. LAURA ARNOLD LEIBMAN, *Early American Mikva’ot: Ritual Baths as the Hope of Israel*. ELI FABER, *Early American Jewry and the Quest for Civil Equality*. KATHLEEN NEILS CONZEN, *German Jews and the German-Speaking Civic Culture of Nineteenth-Century America*. CORNELIA WILHELM, *Unequal Opportunities: The Independent Order B’nai B’rith in Nineteenth-Century Germany and in the United States*. CHRISTIAN WIESE, *The Philadelphia Conference (1869) and German Reform: A Historical Moment in a Transnational Story of Proximity and Alienation*. KARLA GOLDMAN, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery? Women’s Changing Roles in Nineteenth-Century American and German Judaism*. YAAKOV ARIEL, *Something Old, Something New . . . Something Blue: Negotiating for a New Relationship between Judaism and Christianity in America, 1865–1917*. CHRISTIAN WIESE, *Translating *Wissenschaft*: The Emergence and Self-Emancipation of American Jewish Scholarship, 1860–1920*. DAVID E. KAUFMAN, “Shul with a Pool” Reconsidered. JEFFREY S. GUROCK, “Resisters and Accommodators” Revisited: Reflections on the Study of Orthodoxy in America. TONY MICHELS, *Exporting Yiddish Socialism: New York’s Role in the Russian Jewish Workers’ Movement*. ARTHUR A. GOREN, *Zionism in the Promised Land*. GIL RIBAK, “You Can’t Recognize America”: American Jewish Perceptions of Anti-Semitism as a Transnational Phenomenon after the First World War. JONATHAN D. SARNA, *From Periphery to Center: American Jewry, Zion, and Jewish History after the Holocaust*. HENRY FEINGOLD, *Can Less Be More? The American Jewish Effort to “Rescue” German and Soviet Jewry*. MICHAEL E. STAUB, *American Jews and the Middle East Crisis*. STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD, *The Meaning of the Jewish Experience for American Culture*. HASIA R. DINER, *Looking Back on American Jewish History*.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

MICHAEL NELSON, BARBARA A. PERRY, and RUSSELL L. RILEY, editors. *42: Inside the Presidency of Bill Clinton*. (Perspectives from Oral History.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2016. Pp. xx, 324. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

RUSSELL L. RILEY, *Introduction: History and Bill Clinton*. MICHAEL NELSON, *Redividing Government: National Elections in the Clinton Years and Beyond*. BRUCE F. NESMITH and PAUL J. QUIRK, *Triangulation: Position and Leadership in Clinton’s Domestic Policy*. SEAN M. THERIAULT, PATRICK T. HICKEY, and MEGAN MOELLER, *Compromise and Confrontation: Clinton’s Evolving Relationship with Congress*. BRENDAN J. DOHERTY, *Root Canal Politics: Economic Policy Making in the New Administration*. ANDREW RUDALEVIGE, *The Broken Places: The Clinton Impeachment and American Politics*. MICHAEL NELSON, *Clinton and Welfare Reform: An Oral History*. BARBARA A. PERRY, *Hillary Rodham Clinton: Recasting the Role of First Lady*. SPENCER D. BAKICH, *The Reluctant Grand Strategist at War: Diplomacy and Force in Bosnia and Kosovo*. ROBERT A. STRONG, *Peacemaker’s Progress: Bill Clinton, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East*. SIDNEY M. MILKIS, *Conclusion: Clinton’s Legacy for Politics and Government*.

BEVAN SEWELL and MARIA RYAN, editors. *Foreign Policy at the Periphery: The Shifting Margins of US International Relations since World War II*. (Studies in Conflict, Diplo-

macy, and Peace.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017. Pp. vi, 384. \$55.00.

ROBERT J. McMAHON, *How the Periphery Became the Center: The Cold War, the Third World, and the Transformation in US Strategic Thinking*. DAVID EKBLADH, *Peripheral Vision: US Modernization Efforts and the Periphery*. ANDREW J. ROTTER, *Narratives of Core and Periphery: The Cold War and After*. ALAN McPHERSON, *US Government Responses to Anti-Americanism at the Periphery*. SIMON DALBY, *Peripheral Places/Global War*. MARY ANN HEISS, *Whistling in the Dark: US Efforts to Navigate UN Policy toward Decolonization, 1945–1963*. RYAN IRWIN, *One World? Rethinking America's Margins, 1935–1945*. PHILIP DOW, *Accidental Diplomats: The Influence of American Evangelical Missionaries on US Relations with the Congo during the Early Cold War Period, 1959–1963*. DUSTIN WALCHER, *Structuring the Economy on the Periphery: The United States, the 1958 Argentine Stabilization Agreement, and the Evolution of Global Capitalism*. TANYA HARMER, *Dialogue or Détente: Henry Kissinger, Latin America, and the Prospects for a New Inter-American Understanding, 1973–1977*. CHRISTOPHER R. W. DIETRICH, *Uncertainty Rising: Oil Money and International Terrorism in the 1970s*. DAVID RYAN, *The Peripheral Center: Nicaragua in US Policy and the US Imagination at the End of the Cold War*. HAL BRANDS, *Enlargement and Its Discontents: Core and Periphery in Clinton-Era Foreign Policy*. MARIA RYAN, *The War on Terror and the New Periphery*.

ANDREW L. SLAP and FRANK TOWERS, editors. *Confederate Cities: The Urban South during the Civil War Era*. Foreword by DAVID GOLDFIELD. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 302. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$30.00.

ANDREW L. SLAP and FRANK TOWERS, Introduction: Historians and the Urban South's Civil War. J. MATTHEW GALLMAN, Regionalism and Urbanism as Problems in Confederate Urban History. DAVID MOLTKE-HANSEN, Urban Processes in the Confederacy's Development, Experience, and Consequences. FRANK TOWERS, To Be the "New York of the South": Urban Boosterism and the Secession Movement. T. LLOYD BENSON, Gender and Household Metaphors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Nation-Building Cities. MICHAEL PIERSON, Stephen Spalding's Fourth of July in New Orleans. KEITH S. BOHANNON, "More like Amazons than Starving People": Women's Urban Riots in Georgia in 1863. ANDREW L. SLAP, African American Veterans, the Memphis Region, and the Urbanization of the Postwar South. JUSTIN BEHREND, Black Political Mobilization and the Spatial Transformation of Natchez. HILARY N. GREEN, African Americans' Struggle for Education, Citizenship, and Freedom, in Mobile, Alabama, 1865–1868. WILLIAM A. LINK, Invasion, Destruction, and the Remaking of Civil War Atlanta. JOHN MAJEWSKI, Freeing the Lavish Hand of Nature: Environment and Economy in Nineteenth-Century Hampton Roads. ANDREW L. SLAP and FRANK TOWERS, Conclusion: Cities and the History of the Civil War South.

PATRICK SPERO and MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN, editors. *The American Revolution Reborn*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. ix, 411. \$55.00.

PATRICK SPERO, Origins. MICHAEL A. McDONNELL, War Stories: Remembering and Forgetting the American Revolution. TRAVIS

GLASSON, *The Intimacies of Occupation: Loyalties, Compromise, and Betrayal in Revolutionary-Era Newport*. AARON SULLIVAN, *Uncommon Cause: The Challenges of Disaffection in Revolutionary Pennsylvania*. KIMBERLY NATH, *Loyalism, Citizenship, American Identity: The Shoemaker Family*. DENVER BRUNSMAN, "Executioners of Their Friends and Brethren": Naval Impressment as an Atlantic Civil War. NED C. LANDSMAN, *British Union and American Revolution: Imperial Authority and the Multinational State*. KATHERINE CARTÉ ENGEL, *Revisiting the Bishop Controversy*. BRYAN ROSENBLITHE, *Empire's Vital Extremities: British Africa and the Coming of the American Revolution*. MARK BOONSHOFT, *The Great Awakening, Presbyterian Education, and the Mobilization of Power in the Revolutionary Mid-Atlantic*. ZARA ANISHANSLIN, "This Is the Skin of a Whit[e] Man": Material Memories of Violence in Sullivan's Campaign. DAVID C. HSIUNG, *Environmental History and the War of Independence: Saltpeter and the Continental Army's Shortage of Gunpowder*. MATTHEW SPOONER, *The Problem of Order and the Transfer of Slave Property in the Revolutionary South*. AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN, *The United States and the Transformation of Transatlantic Migration during the Age of Revolution and Emancipation*. EDWARD G. GRAY, *First Partition: The Troubled Origins of the Mason-Dixon Line*. DAVID S. SHIELDS, *The Power to Be Reborn*. MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN, *Beyond the Rebirth of the Revolution: Coming to Terms with Coming of Age*.

DAVID K. WIGGINS and RYAN A. SWANSON, editors. *Separate Games: African American Sport behind the Walls of Segregation*. (Sport, Culture and Society.) Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2016. Pp. xvi, 272. \$32.95.

LESLIE HEAPHY, *Cuban Giants: Black Baseball's Early Sports Stars*. SUSAN J. RAYL, *Smilin' Bob Douglas and the Renaissance Big Five*. J. THOMAS JABLE, *The Philadelphia Tribune Newsgirls: African American Women's Basketball at Its Best*. CARROLL VAN WEST, *The Tennessee State Tigerbelle: Cold Warriors of the Track*. ROBERT PRUTER, *The National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament: The Crown Jewel of African American High School Sports during the Era of Segregation*. THOMAS AIELLO, *The Black Heart of Dixie: The Turkey Day Classic and Race in Twentieth-Century Alabama*. TODD GOULD, *Gold and Glory Sweepstakes: An African American Racing Experience*. ROB RUCK, *The East West Classic: Black America's Baseball Fiesta*. DAVID K. WIGGINS and CHRIS ELZEY, *Creating Order in Black College Sport: The Lasting Legacy of the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association*. SUNDIATA DJATA, *Game, Set, and Separatism: The American Tennis Association, a Tennis Vanguard*. RAYMOND SCHMIDT, *Pars and Birdies in a Hidden World: African Americans and the United Golfers Association*. SUMMER CHERLAND, *Basement Bowlers: The National Negro Bowling Association and Its Legacy of Black Leadership, 1939–1968*.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

J. P. BOWEN and A. T. BROWN, editors. *Custom and Commercialisation in English Rural Society: Revisiting Tawney and Postan*. (Studies in Regional and Local History, no. 14.) Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 310. \$37.95.

CHRISTOPHER DYER, *Tawney and Postan: Two Pathways to Understanding the Pre-industrial Economy*. ALEXANDRA SAPOZNIK, *Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy: A Study of*

the Iron Industry in Medieval England. JOHN BROAD, English Agrarian Structures in a European Context, 1300–1925. SHEILA SWEETINBURGH, Farming the Kentish Marshlands: Continuity and Change in the Late Middle Ages. JAMES P. BOWEN, “The Struggle for the Commons”: Commons, Custom and Cottages in Shropshire during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. TOM JOHNSON, The Economics of Shipwreck in Late Medieval Suffolk. WILLIAM D. SHANNON, Custom and Competition for Woodland Resources in Early Modern High and Low Furness, Lancashire. SIMON SANDALL, Custom, Common Right and Commercialisation in the Forest of Dean, c. 1605–40. A. T. BROWN, A Money Economy? Provisioning Durham Cathedral across the Dissolution, 1350–1600. JOHN GAISFORD, Elizabethan Entrepreneurs: Three Clothiers of the Frome Valley, 1550–1600. DAVID ROLLISON, “The Fellowship of the Town”: Constituting the Commonality of an English Country Town, Cirencester, c. 1200–1800.

ADRIAN JOBSON, editor. *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 284. \$99.00.

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MENDOLA, LOUIS, translator. *Sicily's Rebellion against King Charles: The Story of the Sicilian Vespers*. New York: Trinacria Editions, 2015. Pp. xxxii, 295. \$36.00.

PLUTARCH. *The Age of Caesar: Five Roman Lives*. Translated by PAMELA MENSCH. Edited by JAMES ROMM. Introduction by MARY BEARD. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2017. Pp. xxviii, 393. \$35.00.

SIDER, DAVID, editor. *Hellenistic Poetry: A Selection*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017. Pp. xx, 579. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$49.50.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

HALL, STUART. *Selected Political Writings: The Great Moving Right Show and Other Essays*. Edited by SALLY DAVISON et al. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017. Pp. 368. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$27.95, e-book \$27.95.

LOCKE, JOHN. *Second Treatise of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Edited by MARK GOLDIE. (Oxford World's Classics.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xlvi, 201. \$15.95.

POTTER, CHARLES, editor and translator. *The Resistance, 1940: An Anthology of Writings from the French Underground*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016. Pp. vii, 262. Paper \$35.00, e-book \$35.00.

TROLLOPE, ANTHONY. *The Way We Live Now*. Edited by FRANCIS O'GORMAN. (Oxford World's Classics.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xl, 794. \$15.95.

VON LOEBELL, FRIEDRICH WILHELM. *Friedrich Wilhelm von Loebell: Erinnerungen an die ausgehende Kaiserzeit und politischer Schriftwechsel*. Edited by PETER WINZEN. (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, no. 75.) Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag, 2016. Pp. xv, 1255. €89.00.

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AL-SHA'RANI, 'ABD AL-WAHAB IBN AHMAD IBN 'ALI. *Advice for Callow Jurists and Gullible Mendicants on Befriending Emirs*. Translated by ADAM SABRA. (World Thought in Translation.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2017. Pp. xi, 241. \$65.00.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

- ANDERSON, MAXWELL L. *Antiquities: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. xxi, 250. \$16.95.
- BLOK, ANTON. *Radical Innovators: The Blessings of Adversity in Science and the Arts, 1500–2000*. English ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017. Pp. x, 235. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$26.95, e-book \$21.99.
- BRUGHMANS, TOM, ANNA COLLAR, and FIONA COWARD, editors. *The Connected Past: Challenges to Network Studies in Archaeology and History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 200. \$100.00.
- GOTO-JONES, CHRIS. *Conjuring Asia: Magic, Orientalism, and the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. x, 327. \$29.99.
- KUUKKANEN, JOUNI-MATTI. *Postnarrativist Philosophy of Historiography*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. ix, 239. \$95.00.
- LOUGHRAN, TRACEY, editor. *A Practical Guide to Studying History: Skills and Approaches*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xiii, 333. \$34.95.
- MACK, BURTON L. *The Rise and Fall of the Christian Myth: Restoring Our Democratic Ideals*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2017. Pp. 310. \$28.00.
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COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

- ANTOS, ZVJEZDANA, ANNETTE B. FROMM, and VIV GOLDING, editors. *Museums and Innovations*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. ix, 241. £52.99.
- BEAUVOIS, FRÉDÉRIQUE. *Between Blood and Gold: The Debates over Compensation for Slavery in the Americas*. Translated by ANDRENE EVERSON. (European Expansion and Global Interaction, vol. 10.) New York: Berghahn Books, 2017. Pp. xii, 282. \$130.00.
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- BROWN, CALLUM G. *Becoming Atheist: Humanism and the Secular West*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. x, 231. \$29.95.
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- CUEVA, EDMUND P., and DEBORAH BEAM SHELLEY, editors. *Lessons in Mythology: A Comparative Approach*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. xi, 186. £45.99.
- DOUTHWAITE, JULIA V., editor. *Rousseau and Dignity: Art Serving Humanity*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017. Pp. xvi, 274. \$50.00.
- FINK, CAROLE K. *Cold War: An International History*. 2nd ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2017. Pp. xxx, 319. Paper \$32.00, e-book \$22.99.
- HEUSER, BEATRICE, and EITAN SHAMIR, editors. *Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies: National Styles and Strategic Cultures*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. ix, 388. \$34.99.
- HORTA, PAULO LEMOS. *Marvellous Thieves: Secret Authors of the Arabian Nights*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017. Pp. 363. \$29.95.
- JOHNSTON, SETH A. *How NATO Adapts: Strategy and Organization in the Atlantic Alliance since 1950*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. Pp. xii, 252. \$29.95.
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- KHITERER, VICTORIA, and ABIGAIL S. GRUBER, editors. *Holocaust Resistance in Europe and America: New Aspects and Dilemmas*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. xviii, 222. £52.99.
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- MASUR, MATTHEW, editor. *Understanding and Teaching the Cold War*. (The Harvey Goldberg Series for Understanding and Teaching History.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017. Pp. xi, 364. \$34.95.
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- PIMENTEL, JUAN. *The Rhinoceros and the Megatherium: An Essay in Natural History*. Translated by PETER MASON. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017. Pp. 356. \$29.95.
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- BYINGTON, MARK E. *The Ancient State of Puyö in Northeast Asia: Archaeology and Historical Memory*. (Harvard East Asia Monographs, no. 392.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016. Pp. xv, 398. \$59.95.
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- RATH, ERIC C. *Japan's Cuisines: Food, Place and Identity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016. Pp. 278. \$45.00.
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- ABEL, EMILY K. *Living in Death's Shadow: Family Experience of Terminal Care and Irreplaceable Loss*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. Pp. 172. \$39.95.
- ADAMS, MELVIN R. *Atomic Geography: A Personal History of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation*. Foreword by ROY GEPHART. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 140. \$22.95.
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- BRONSTEIN, CAROLYN, and WHITNEY STRUB, editors. *Porno Chic and the Sex Wars: American Sexual Representation in the 1970s*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 366. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$28.95.
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- CLAVIN, TOM. *Dodge City: Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and the Wickedest Town in the American West*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017. Pp. xiii, 384. \$29.99.
- COOPER, CHRISTOPHER A., and H. GIBBS KNOTTS. *The Resilience of Southern Identity: Why the South Still Matters in the Minds of Its People*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Pp. xii, 134. Cloth \$29.95, e-book \$28.99.
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- DANDO-COLLINS, STEPHEN. *The Big Break: The Greatest American WWII POW Escape Story Never Told*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017. Pp. xvii, 252. Cloth \$27.99, e-book \$12.99.

- DAVIS, KATRINELL M. *Hard Work Is Not Enough: Gender and Racial Inequality in an Urban Workspace*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 179. \$27.95.
- DELANY, MARTIN R. *Blake: or, The Huts of America*. Edited by JEROME MCGANN. Corrected ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017. Pp. xxxviii, 334. \$19.95.
- DEPPE, MARTIN L. *Operation Breadbasket: An Untold Story of Civil Rights in Chicago, 1966–1971*. Foreword by JAMES R. RALPH JR. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017. Pp. xxxv, 258. Cloth \$81.95, paper \$26.95.
- DIRCK, BRIAN R. *Lincoln in Indiana*. (Concise Lincoln Library.) Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2017. Pp. ix, 132. \$24.95.
- DONALDSON, GARY A. *When America Liked Ike: How Moderates Won the 1952 Presidential Election and Reshaped American Politics*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017. Pp. vii, 137. Cloth \$38.00, e-book \$37.99.
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- GORDAN, JOHN D., III. *"This Practice against Law": Cuban Slave Trade Cases in the Southern District of New York, 1839–1841*. Clark, N.J.: Talbot Publishing, 2016. Pp. xv, 117. \$49.95.
- GORSKI, PHILIP. *American Covenant: A History of Civil Religion from the Puritans to the Present*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017. Pp. xiii, 320. \$35.00.
- GRANT, H. ROGER. *Electric Interurbans and the American People*. (Railroads Past and Present.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 174. Cloth \$50.00, e-book \$49.99.
- HAYDEN, MICHAEL V. *Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror*. Paperback ed. New York: Penguin Books, 2016. Pp. xiv, 450. \$17.00.
- HAYDEN, TOM. *Hell No: The Forgotten Power of the Vietnam Peace Movement*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2017. Pp. 159. \$25.00.
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- KRAUSE, P. ALLEN. *To Stand Aside or Stand Alone: Southern Reform Rabbis and the Civil Rights Movement*. Edited by MARK K. BAUMAN. With STEPHEN KRAUSE. (Jews and Judaism: History and Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2016. Pp. xviii, 402. \$49.95.
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- LAGO, DON. *Where the Sky Touched the Earth: The Cosmological Landscapes of the Southwest*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2017. Pp. 210. \$24.95.
- LEHRMAN, LEWIS E. *Churchill, Roosevelt and Company: Studies in Character and Statecraft*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 2017. Pp. xi, 459. \$29.95.
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- MILLER, ADRIAN. *The President's Kitchen Cabinet: The Story of the African Americans Who Have Fed Our First Families, from the Washingtons to the Obamas*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Pp. xvii, 261. \$30.00.
- MILLWARD, JESSICA. *Finding Charity's Folk: Enslaved and Free Black Women in Maryland*. (Race in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900.) Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Pp. xxii, 130. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.
- MODY, CYRUS C. M. *The Long Arm of Moore's Law: Microelectronics and American Science*. (Inside Technology.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2017. Pp. x, 284. \$45.00.
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- HELLER, SARAH-GRACE, editor. *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Medieval Age*. (A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion, vol. 2 of 6.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xiv, 235. \$550.00.
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- ASHWORTH, WILLIAM J. *The Industrial Revolution: The State, Knowledge and Global Trade*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xi, 333. \$29.95.
- BAXTER, DENISE AMY, editor. *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Age of Empire*. (A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion, vol. 5 of 6.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xiv, 271. \$550.00.
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- BRIANT, PIERRE. *The First European: A History of Alexander in the Age of Empire*. Translated by NICHOLAS ELLIOTT. English ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017. Pp. viii, 482. \$35.00.
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- DEGRAFFENRIED, JULIE K. *Sacrificing Childhood: Children and the Soviet State in the Great Patriotic War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014. Pp. xiv, 248. Cloth \$34.95, e-book \$34.95.
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- LEHNSTAEDT, STEPHAN. *Occupation in the East: The Daily Lives of German Occupiers in Warsaw and Minsk, 1939–1944*. Translated by DBMEDIA. English ed. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. Pp. xi, 306. \$130.00.
- MCNEIL, PETER, editor. *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Age of Enlightenment*. (A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion, vol. 4 of 6.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xiv, 268. \$550.00.
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- RITCHIE, STEFKA. *The Reformist Ideas of Samuel Johnson*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. xvi, 305. \$57.99.
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- TREMLET, GILES. *Isabella of Castile: Europe's First Great Queen*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. ix, 607. Cloth \$35.00.
- UTRECHT, DANIEL. *The Lion of Münster: The Bishop Who Roared against the Nazis*. Charlotte, N.C.: TAN Books, 2016. Pp. xiii, 404. \$16.95.
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- WAGNER, KATHRIN, JESSICA DAVID, and MATEJ KLEMENČIĆ, editors. *Artists and Migration, 1400–1850: Britain, Europe and beyond*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. x, 209. £52.99.
- WILLIAMSON, DANIEL C. *Anglo-Irish Relations in the Early Troubles, 1969–1972*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xi, 248. \$114.00.
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- BOOTH, MARILYN. *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History through Biography in fin-de-siècle Egypt*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. v, 466. \$120.00.
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- FORTNA, BENJAMIN C. *The Circassian: A Life of Eşref Bey, Late Ottoman Insurgent and Special Agent*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 341. \$34.95.
- KHAKPOUR, ARTA, MOHAMMED MEHDI KHORRAMI, and SHOULEH VATANABADI, editors. *Moments of Silence: Authenticity in the Cultural Expressions of the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–1988*. New York: New York University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 290. \$30.00.
- KURBAN, VEFA. *Russian-Turkish Relations from the First World War to the Present*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. Pp. vii, 306. £63.99.
- PARKER, GEOFFREY, and BRENDA PARKER. *The Persians*. (Lost Civilizations.) London: Reaktion Books, 2017. Pp. 208. \$25.00.
- WOOD, GRAEME. *The Way of the Strangers: Encounters with the Islamic State*. New York: Random House, 2017. Pp. xxix, 317. \$28.00.

Digital Primary Sources

This recently established feature serves as a preliminary guide to freely accessible online collections of primary sources. The sites identified here draw on the expertise of *AHR* staff and the Board of Editors, but we also solicited submissions from a small group of readers to test a larger crowdsourcing initiative that will drive the list of archives in the future. We intend to add to this section with each issue, with the complete list to be available online at historians.org/digital-primary-sources. Readers are encouraged to use the form available there to submit their own favorite primary-source archival collections.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

CORNELL DIGITAL WITCHCRAFT COLLECTION (Cornell University Library)

<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/w/witch/digital.html>

"An online selection of 104 English language books" from Cornell University Library's Witchcraft Collection, which "documents the earliest and the latest manifestations of the belief in witchcraft as well as its geographical boundaries, and elaborates this history with works on demonology; criminal law and investigation of criminal cases and social violence; the use of censorship, torture, exorcism, and the medical treatment of possession or madness; and sexuality. Especially after the late seventeenth century, many books express skepticism and recommend moderation concerning witchcraft beliefs, paganism, etc."

Geography: Western Europe, United States

Period: 1400s–1800s

DAVID RUMSEY MAP COLLECTION (Cartography Associates)

<http://www.davidrumsey.com>

"Contains more than 150,000 maps. The collection focuses on rare 16th through 21st century maps of North and South America, as well as maps of the World, Asia, Africa, Europe, and Oceania."

Geography: World

Period: 1500s–present

WILSON CENTER DIGITAL ARCHIVE (Wilson Center)

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org>

"Collects the research of three Wilson Center projects which focus on the interrelated histories of the Cold War, Korea, and Nuclear Proliferation" and "contains once-secret documents from governments all across the globe, . . . providing fresh insights into the history of international relations and diplomacy."

Geography: World

Period: 1866–2010

VOYAGES: THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE DATABASE (Emory University)

<http://www.slavevoyages.org>

Details of almost 36,000 transatlantic slave voyages, including information about vessels, enslaved peoples, slave traders, and estimates of the overall size and direction of the traffic.

Geography: Americas, Africa, Western Europe, Caribbean

Period: 1514–1866

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

FOUNDERS ONLINE (National Archives and University of Virginia Press)

<https://founders.archives.gov>

Transcribed and annotated writings from "George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams [and family], Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison." The comprehensive collection contains thousands of items, including diaries, correspondence to and from, and other significant drafts and essays.

Geography: United States

Period: 1706–1836

PRELINGER ARCHIVES (Library of Congress, Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division)

<https://archive.org/details/prelinger>

Founded "to collect, preserve, and facilitate access to films of historic significance," it holds "approximately 11,000 digitized and videotape titles (all originally derived from film) and a large collection of home movies, amateur and industrial films."

Geography: United States

Period: 1903–2016

THE WALT WHITMAN ARCHIVE (edited by Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price)

<http://whitmanarchive.org>

Digital images and searchable transcriptions of Whitman's published works, including the six editions of *Leaves of Grass*, as well as fragments, essays, letters, marginalia, and more.

Geography: United States

Period: nineteenth century

W. E. B. DU BOIS PAPERS (University of Massachusetts)

<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/collection/mums312>

"Over 100,000 items of correspondence (more than three quarters of the papers), speeches, articles, newspaper columns, nonfiction books, research materials, book reviews, pamphlets and leaflets, petitions, novels, essays," and much more.

Geography: United States
Period: 1803–1999

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR SOURCES FOR SLAVE SOCIETIES (Vanderbilt University)

<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/esss/>

“Dedicated to identifying, cataloguing, and digitally preserving endangered archival materials documenting the history of Africans and Afro-descended peoples in the Iberian colonies. ESSSS currently has projects in Colombia, Cuba and Brazil.”

The project has since added records from Spanish Florida.

Geography: Caribbean, South America

Period: 1500s–1800s

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

FOURTH-CENTURY CHRISTIANITY (Wisconsin Lutheran College, Asia Lutheran Seminary)

<http://www.fourthcentury.com>

Promotes “the study of the Church and its environment in the Fourth Century.”

Geography: Europe, Middle East

Period: ca. 250–450

IRISH SCRIPT ON SCREEN (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies)

<https://www.isos.dias.ie/>

Digitized Irish manuscripts; the majority of the collected materials are either medieval in origin or copies of medieval texts.

Geography: Ireland

Period: 700s–1800s

PARTHIAN SOURCES ONLINE (hosted by Jake Nabel and Cornell University)

<http://parthiansources.com>

“Assembles and translates the precious few pieces of documentary evidence that survive from Parthian territory. It includes texts in Greek, Latin, and (most importantly) Parthian.”

Geography: Mediterranean, Middle East, Iran

Period: 148 B.C.E.–262 C.E.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

DISSENTING ACADEMIES ONLINE: VIRTUAL LIBRARY SYSTEM (Queen Mary Centre for Religion and Literature in English)

<http://vls.english.qmul.ac.uk/>

“A union catalogue which represents the holdings and loans of selected dissenting academies in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It has been compiled from a range of sources, including historic catalogues, shelf lists, loan registers, and surviving books from the academy libraries.”

Geography: England

Period: 1700s–1800s

EARLY STUART LIBELS (Early Modern Literary Studies)

<http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html>

“A web-based edition of early seventeenth-century political poetry from manuscript sources,” edited by Alastair Bellany (Rutgers University) and Andrew McRae (University of Exeter). “It brings into the public domain over 350 poems, many of which have never before been published.”

Geography: England

Period: 1603–1640

STALINKA (University of Pittsburgh)

<http://images.library.pitt.edu/s/stalinka>

“Visual materials and artifacts relating to Stalin: photographs, posters, paintings, banners, sculptures, chinaware, pins, etc.”

Geography: Russia

Period: 1902–2007

A letter to the editor will be considered for publication only if it relates to an article or review published in the *AHR*. Letters should not exceed 1,000 words. They can be submitted by e-mail to ahr@indiana.edu, either as a Microsoft Word attachment or within the body of the message. Publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/american-historical-review/letters-to-the-editor>.

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

It is shocking that the *American Historical Review* would ask Raymond Wolters to review Ansley Erickson's *Making the Unequal Metropolis* (*AHR*, February 2017, 210–211), and more so that it would print the review. Wolters is an avowed white supremacist who claims that school desegregation cannot overcome racial achievement gaps (<http://www.npiamerica.org/research/why-school-reform-failed>) because of cultural and genetic inferiority, and that “people of all races prefer the company of people like themselves” (<https://www.toqonline.com/blog/white-identity-review/>). That is why he concludes his review of Erickson's work with references to inevitable achievement gaps and “sociobiology,” a term that has no standing in our field or any of the social sciences. *Making the Unequal Metropolis* is an important scholarly work, relevant to urban, civil rights, and educational history. It deserves thoughtful criticism. Instead, *AHR* made the book a platform for a fringe, bigoted crank. Our field deserves better.

CAMPBELL F. SCRIBNER
University of Maryland

TO THE EDITORS:

I was deeply distressed to see your august publication run Raymond Wolters's review of Ansley Erickson's *Making the Unequal Metropolis*. As someone who reviewed the book for the University of Chicago Press prior to its publi-

cation, I can attest to its rigor, creativity, and scholarly importance. Erickson's remarkable sensitivity to local struggles around Nashville schools and national processes of racial re-segregation promises to expand the conventional scholarly focus on busing or the 1954 *Brown* decision and to elevate K–12 and vocational education to a more prominent and deserving place in the history of American politics. The book will do for education, in short, what books like Arnold Hirsch's *Making the Second Ghetto* or Rhonda Williams's *The Politics of Public Housing* did for housing history. In many ways it already has. I've taken *Making the Unequal Metropolis* as my default starting point for understanding the history of education in my own teaching and research.

Sadly, the value of Erickson's book will likely be lost on your readers. This is only partly the fault of Raymond Wolters. Certainly, his preoccupation with so-called “sociobiology” represents a poisonously ideological and misguided framing of the debates about racial equality. His basic knowledge, too, of the historical events contributing to the dismantling of black professional and education networks during desegregation proves lacking to the point of disqualification. And his dogmatic faith in IQ and standardized tests as accurate measures of not just human intelligence, but human *potential* is beyond mistaken. It is baldly racist.

Yet, as should be clear by now, that Wolters felt compelled to traffic in racial pseudoscience is only part of the problem. Worse, perhaps, your editorial team felt it permissible to provide a platform to someone of clearly outmoded thinking. Perhaps the term “sociobiology” did its work and concealed its true meaning—eugenics. Perhaps the writers Wolters brought to bear on Erickson's book—polemical, right-wing sociologists—seemed an appropriate standard against which to measure historical scholarship. Perhaps the reviewer and reviews editor missed one of the most critically acclaimed books in recent years, Ibram X. Kendi's *Stamped from the Beginning: A History of Racist Ideas in America*. That book, which won the 2016 National Book Award, gained prominence via its ability to demolish lingering attachments to racist thought dating back to the age of chattel slavery, thought that Wolter resurrects in your pages. (In the interest of time, you can view Kendi's piece “Why the Academic Achievement Gap Is a Racist Idea,” <http://www.aaihs.org/why-the-academic-achievement-gap-is-a-racist-idea/>).

News of Wolters's review reached me this evening, and, thus, I felt compelled to write. I'm certain I will not be the only one. From emails and text messages I've just received, many experts in the field, tonight, have begun openly questioning the broad editorial quality of the *American Historical Review*. History as a discipline lies diminished under such questioning. This is not about academic freedom. This is not about freedom of speech. This is not about creating room for debate. This is about whether the *AHR* remains a place where professional historians can still safely expect professional handling of their work. In an age of salacious news and click-bait, no serious scholar should expect as bad-faith a review in such an important professional venue as what I read this evening.

I encourage you—no, implore you—to retract the Raymond Wolters review and to issue, at minimum, an apology to Ansley Erickson.

N. D. B. CONNOLLY
Johns Hopkins University

TO THE EDITORS:

I am deeply dismayed by your decision to publish Raymond Wolters's review of Ansley Erickson's book *Making the Unequal Metropolis* in the February 2017 issue. Wolters uses the review, and the platform your publication provided, to traffic in racist theories about educational achievement, most notably referencing the possible "sociobiological" causes of racial inequality.

We should not be surprised that Wolters would give credence to thoroughly discredited ideas about race and biology, or that he would use a book review in an academic journal as an opportunity to advance his own racist beliefs. His views are widely circulated online, as a simple Google search of his name would have revealed. This is also not the first time that Wolters has used a review in an academic journal to spout racist theories of educational inequality. In 2012, the *Journal of American History* published his review of Zoe Burkholder's book *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954*. In it, Wolters insinuated that "[g]enetic information . . . showing that people with different continental ancestries have different distributions of DNA" could explain racial differentials in educational performance, and made the ludicrous claim that "the jury is still out" on the question of whether race is a social construct or biological category.

For white readers such as myself, your decision to give the stamp of authority to Wolters's racist beliefs is infuriating. For many of your readers of color, it is also devastating. Insinuating that "sociobiology" explains differences in educational performance is the definition of racism, as any reader with even a basic knowledge of the history of racist ideas knows. And, as any scholar or student of color knows all too well, these beliefs form the ideological foundation for practices that have historically justified their exclusion from the academy, the marginalization of their work, and the questioning of their intellectual capabilities. We have all become accustomed to encountering this kind of racist claptrap in the comments sections of online publications. But

we should never accept or tolerate it gaining an audience by way of the flagship journal of the historical profession.

At the very least, you must retract Wolters's review, issue an apology to Ansley Erickson, and solicit another, more suitable, reviewer for her book. But the problem here goes deeper than one racist troll finding his way into the pages of your publication. To that end, I call on the *AHR*'s editorial board (and the editorial boards of the other major journals of our profession) to reassess its current standards and procedures for vetting reviewers and evaluating submitted reviews.

ANDREW W. KAHRL
Carter G. Woodson Institute for African and
African-American Studies

TO THE EDITORS:

At the conclusion of his review of Ansley Erickson's book *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits*, Raymond Wolters takes her to task for neglecting "sociobiology" as an explanation for ongoing racial segregation and for achievement gaps between different racial groups. I had no idea what he meant, so I consulted Wolters's publications and speeches on the subject.

To Wolters, sociobiology indicates that "people of different continental ancestries differ statistically in the distribution of some important aptitudes," to quote a speech he gave in 2015. Earlier that year, he wrote an article claiming that races are marked by "differences in musculature and brain size and differences in genes that influence behavior, intelligence and personality." To put it most bluntly, Raymond Wolters thinks that some races are smarter than others. "Earlier generations understood that nature is not stupid," Wolters added. "They knew that different groups had developed different aptitudes that were suited to their respective environments."

I served on Ansley Erickson's doctoral committee, so admittedly I read Wolters's remarks on her book with more attention than I give most other reviews. Perhaps all of us should be scrutinizing our professional work more carefully than I have done, to find the places where discredited racial doctrines continue to infect it. I am not suggesting any kind of ideological litmus test for historians, who must be free to explore the past and to frame any theories that can be supported with evidence. But there is no evidence—none—for the scientific racism that Raymond Wolters is trying to revive. The problem with his ideas is not that they are racist and offensive, although they are surely that. The problem is that they are false.

JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN
University of Pennsylvania

TO THE EDITORS:

I write out of great concern for the review you published of Ansley Erickson's *Making the Unequal Metropolis*. By choosing Raymond Wolters as a reviewer and allowing him to air his "theory" of sociobiology as a criticism of

Erickson's book, you both unfairly treat her work and misrepresent the state of U.S. history and the history of education. As a historian of education of the same era Erickson studies, I have spent a great deal of time learning about her research and engaging with her work. Her arguments about the impact of desegregation policy and how it was adjudicated on the ground in Nashville place her at the forefront of the field of history of education, not, as Wolters incorrectly suggests, among a tradition that consistently fails to see the impact of "sociobiology" rather than policy; biological explanations of racial inequality lost favor except with the fringe racist Right decades ago. The notion that this twenty-first-century version of scientific racism is a legitimate body of thought from which to critique Erickson or any other scholar is preposterous, dangerous, and shocking from the *AHR*. To put it in perspective, Wolters has been an invited speaker at the white supremacist American Renaissance conference, along with the likes of Richard Spencer. Is this the intellectual community in which *AHR* aspires to participate? I strongly doubt it. I recommend that you issue a retraction and an apology to Erickson and your readership.

NATALIA MEHLMAN PETRZELA
The New School

TO THE EDITORS:

I am writing to express my profound disappointment that you have published an academic book review by a known white supremacist, Raymond Wolters. In his review of Ansley Erickson's book *Making the Unequal Metropolis* in the February *AHR*, he stated that her history of school desegregation in Nashville did not adequately take into account "sociobiological" racial differences between black and white students, a clear reference to what he apparently believes to be white racial superiority.

I have encountered Wolters before on a professional basis. I reviewed his book *Race and Education in Teachers College Record* in 2009. At that time I pointed out that he not only cited inadequate and outdated evidence for his so-called "scientific" claims of white racial supremacy, but also that he had granted a personal interview to a website called *vdare.com*, which is classified as a "white nationalist hate website" by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Since that time, Wolters has published additional essays, often in the shadier corners of the Internet, claiming that there is scientific proof of white racial supremacy and black racial inferiority—a fact which he uses to argue against school integration.

I am concerned about two aspects of the book review process at *AHR*. First, it is inappropriate and unfair that you selected a white supremacist who believes in black racial inferiority to review a civil rights history book. Wolters's views are no secret—in fact, they are well known among historians of education. Second, it is an act of both racism and sexism to publish this review without editorial comment. It is racist because this review implies there is a science of racial difference that Erickson legitimately did not take into account, when you know perfectly well that is

not true. It is sexist because you handed over a published book of a junior, untenured female faculty member to a white, male, senior scholar in the field to review when there was plenty of available evidence that he would not be able to offer an accurate and fair review. His review is biased and unfair, yet it is published in our discipline's most prestigious journal. Female scholars have enough trouble getting tenure and advancing in academia without the added burden of prejudicial book reviews, a burden you just placed on Erickson.

I can only assume that this was all a terrible mistake—that you did not realize who Wolters was when you asked him to review Erickson's book, and that no one on your editorial board read his review before you published it.

I think the readers of *AHR* and Erickson deserve an explanation for your editorial actions. Perhaps this was a simple oversight, or perhaps institutionalized racism and sexism go deeper in academia that we have been willing to acknowledge. I hope it is the former, but until you publish a response, your readers will never know. I encourage you to clarify this situation as soon as possible.

ZOE BURKHOLDER
Montclair State University

THE *AHR* EDITOR RESPONDS:

The *AHR* deeply regrets both the choice of the reviewer and aspects of the review itself. As for the choice of the reviewer, I have reviewed the process by which he was placed on our "pick list" of potential reviewers, and I have been reassured that we were not aware of his publicly aired and published views when he was selected. His university webpage reveals him to be a legitimate scholar with a fairly long and solid publication record; our database also confirmed his status as an academic who has published in credible scholarly venues. It is absolutely true, of course, that a little more digging would have turned up evidence that would have—and has—discredited him as a legitimate scholar. Regrettably, we did not dig further. Worse yet, we did not investigate his views even when his review was flagged for my perusal. This is entirely on me. I recall lingering over that last sentence where he mentions sociobiology, wondering whether it was appropriate. In retrospect I should have lingered longer. As well, this sentence should have prompted me to look into his recent publications, which would certainly have convinced me to pull the review. Alas, I did neither, for which I owe both Professor Erickson and our readers an apology. We will be commissioning another review of her book.

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, INTERIM EDITOR

ERRATUM

In the review of Aleksei Tikhomorov's book "*Luchshii drug nemetskogo naroda*": *Kul't Stalina v Vostochnoi Germanii (1945–1961)* (*AHR*, February 2017, 273–275), we incorrectly transliterated the author's given name as Alexey. The error has been corrected in the online issue.

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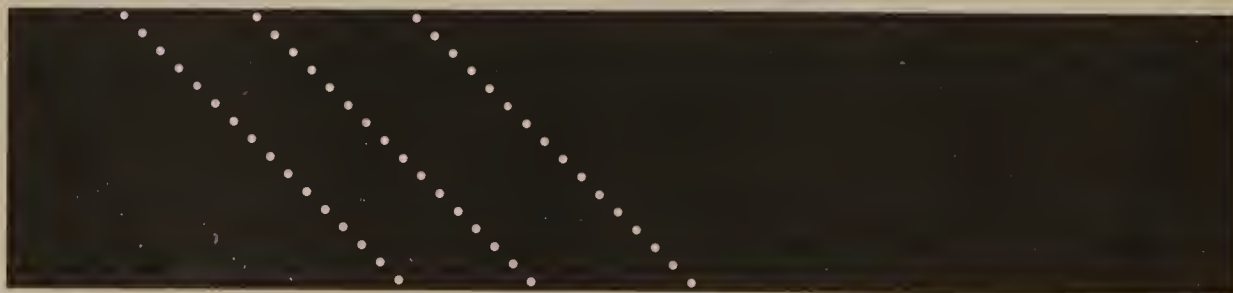
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American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003

President: Tyler Stovall, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
President-Elect: Mary Beth Norton, *Cornell University*
Executive Director: James R. Grossman

MEMBERSHIP: Anyone with an interest in historical studies is invited to join the AHA. The present membership total is approximately 13,000 and includes both individual and institutional membership categories. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting will take place January 4–7, 2018, in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and is sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives on History* (a newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of booklets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an alumni career tracking service, discounts on publications, a mentorship program, and access to resources. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES FOR PUBLICATIONS: The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* for the best book in European history from ancient times to 1815 (even years) and from 1815 through the twentieth century (odd years). The *George Louis Beer Prize* for the best book in European international history since 1895. The *Jerry Bentley Prize* for the best book on world history. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* in American history for a distinguished book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada, from 1492 to the present. The *Paul Birdsall Prize* for a major book on European military and strategic history since 1870 (biennial). The *James Henry Breasted Prize* for the best book in any field of history prior to 1000 C.E. The *Albert B. Corey Prize* for the best book dealing with the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries (biennial). The *Raymond J. Cunningham Prize* for the best article published in a history department journal written by an undergraduate student. The *John H. Dunning Prize* for the most outstanding book in U.S. history (biennial). The *John K. Fairbank Prize* for the best book in East Asian history since 1800. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize* for the best book in the field of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history since 1485. The *Leo Gershoy Award* for the best book in the fields of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western European history. The *William and Edwyna Gilbert*

Award for the best article on teaching history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* for the best book in Latin American history by a Latin American (quinquennial). The *J. Franklin Jameson Award* for outstanding achievement in the editing of historical primary sources (biennial). The *Friedrich Katz Prize* for the best book in Latin American and Caribbean history. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize* for the best book in women's history and/or feminist theory. The *Martin A. Klein Prize* for the most distinguished work of scholarship on African history published in English. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* for the most outstanding reference tool in the field of history (quinquennial). The *Littleton-Griswold Prize* for the most distinguished book on U.S. law and society, broadly defined. The *J. Russell Major Prize* for the best book in English on French history. The *Helen & Howard R. Marraro Prize* for the best book in Italian history. The *George L. Mosse Prize* for the best book on the intellectual and cultural history of Europe since 1500. The *John E. O'Connor Film Award* for outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The *Eugenia M. Palmegiano Prize* for the most outstanding book on the history of journalism. The *Premio Del Rey* for the best book in English in the field of early Spanish history (biennial). The *James A. Rawley Prize* for the best book on the integration of Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *John F. Richards Prize* for the best book on South Asian history published in English. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching and learning of history in any field for public or educational purposes (biennial). The *Dorothy Rosenberg Prize* for the best book on the history of the Jewish diaspora published in English. The *Roy Rosenzweig Prize* for innovation in digital history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize* for the best book on African diaspora history. Prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries for the AHA should be addressed to Executive Director, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Our e-mail address is aha@historians.org. Our web address is <http://www.historians.org>.

Inquiries for the *AHR* Editorial Office should be addressed to Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Our e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu. Our web address is <http://americanhistoricalreview.org>. Guidelines and policies for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* can be found on our website. **Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.**

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As the umbrella organization for the history discipline, the American Historical Association offers a wealth of publications that are indispensable tools for historians—directories, newsletters, essay series, guides, pamphlets, reports, and more. Sign up your department, program, or office for an institutional membership in the AHA and ensure that you and your colleagues have timely access to the AHA's valuable resources.

Your institutional membership supports all of the AHA's work on behalf of history and historians. Recent advocacy includes:

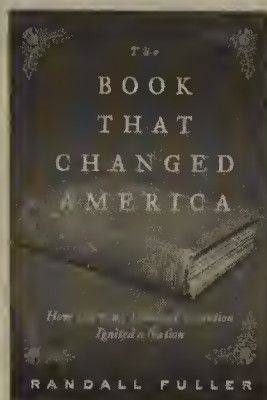
- Being a public voice for academic freedom in Wisconsin, and defending historians' interests in other states including Georgia, Virginia, and Iowa
- Promoting a historical perspective on marriage equality in an *amicus* brief to the Supreme Court in *Obergefell v. Hodges*
- Launching Career Diversity for Historians, a three-year grant funded initiative to help departments prepare doctoral students for a wide spectrum of career opportunities
- Working with community college faculty to bring global perspectives to the U.S. history survey
- Publishing popular resources for students about the benefits of getting a BA in history
- Partnering with history departments at 146 institutions across the country to improve post-secondary history curricula
- Urging Congress to restore funding for K-12 history and civics education
- Joining teachers, students, and parents to support the revised AP U.S. history framework

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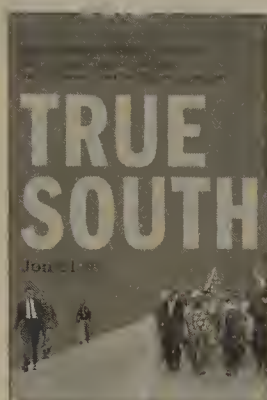
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- Print copies of *Perspectives on History* (1 to 5, depending on institution type)
- A copy of each new booklet from AHA Publications and the member discount for additional purchases
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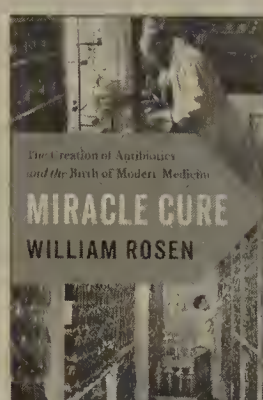
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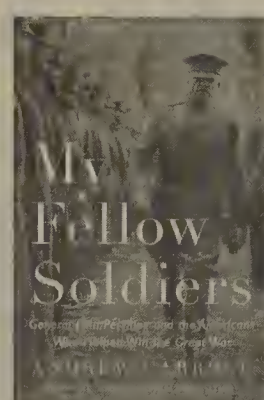


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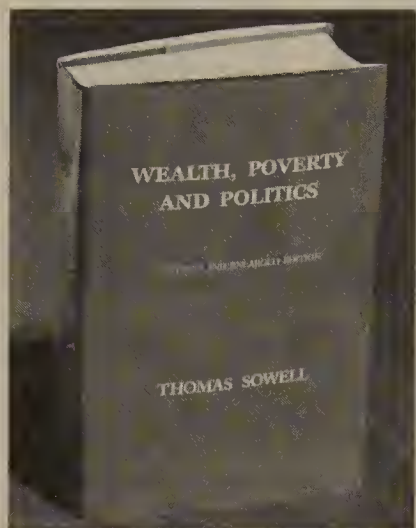
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and POLITICS

It's a scandal that economist Thomas Sowell has not been awarded the Nobel Prize. No one alive has turned out so many insightful, richly researched books. His latest is another triumph of crackling observations that underscore the ignorance of our economists and policymakers. His take on how culture, geography, politics and social factors affect how societies progress—or don't—will rile those addicted to political correctness but leave everyone else wiser.

(Steve Forbes, *Forbes* magazine)

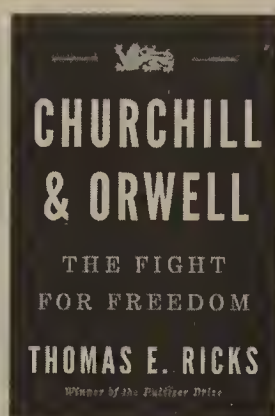
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Had such an approach been available in this reviewer's student days, his understanding of the world would be that much better.

(*Library Journal*)

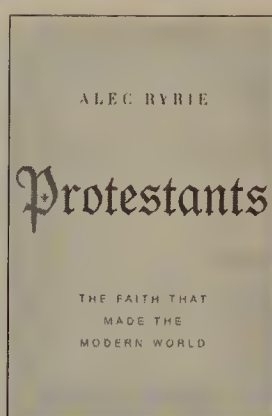
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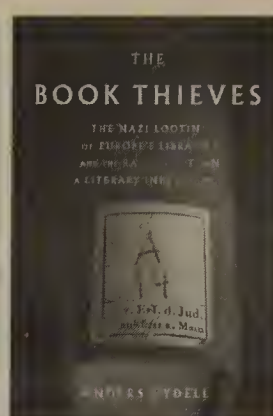


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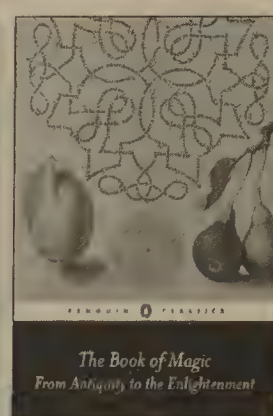
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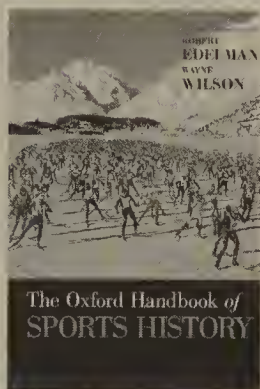
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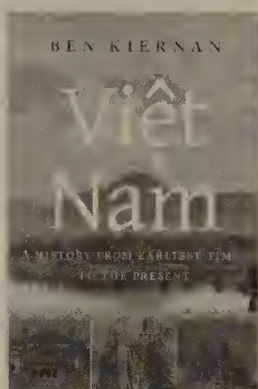
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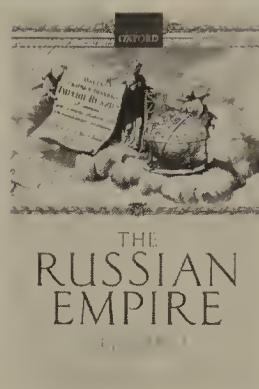
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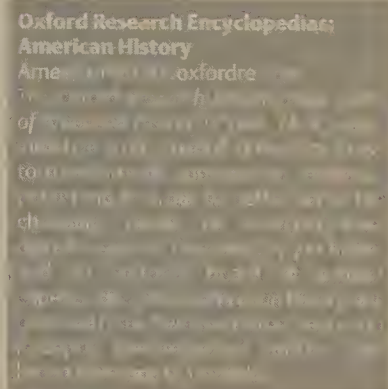
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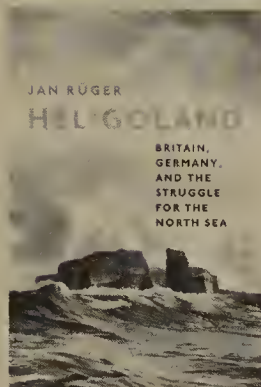
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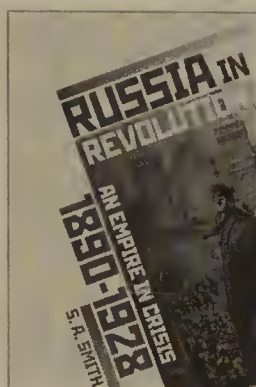
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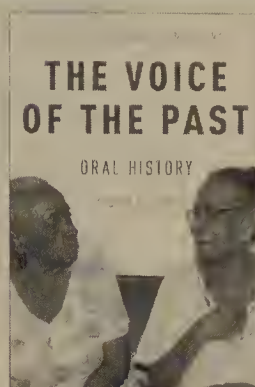
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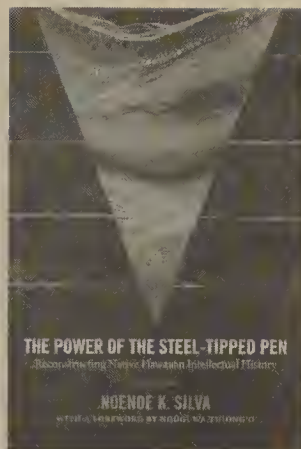
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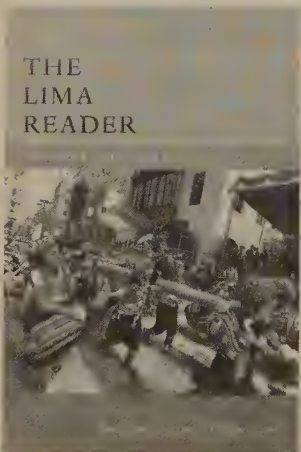


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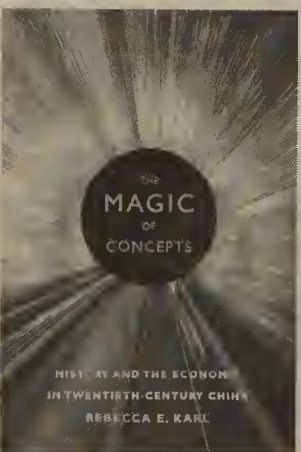
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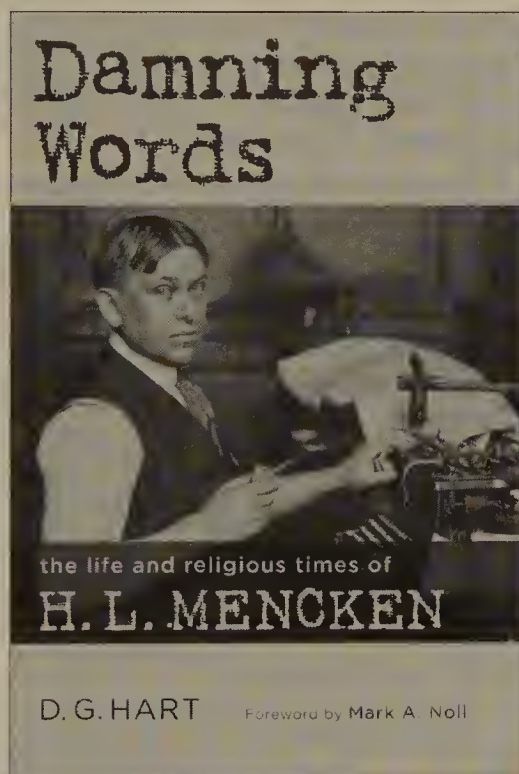
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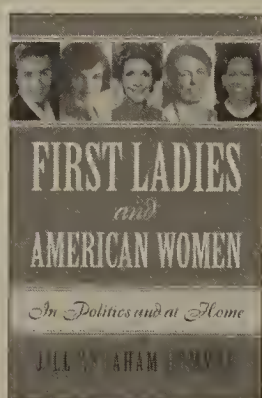
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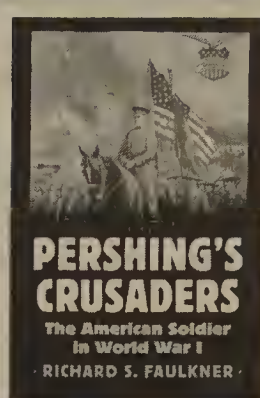
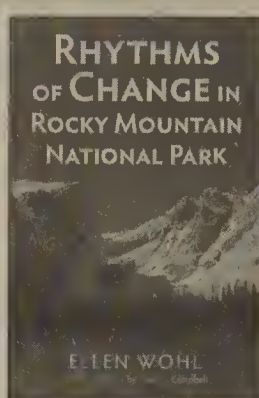
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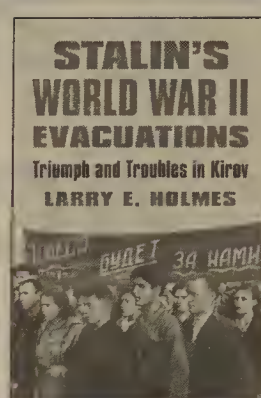
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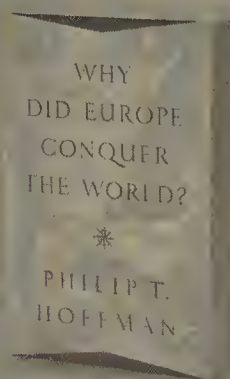
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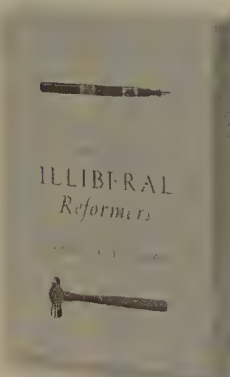
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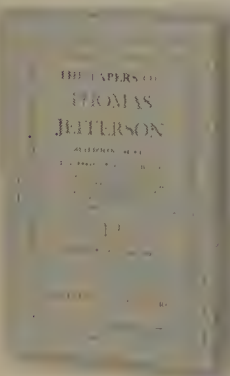
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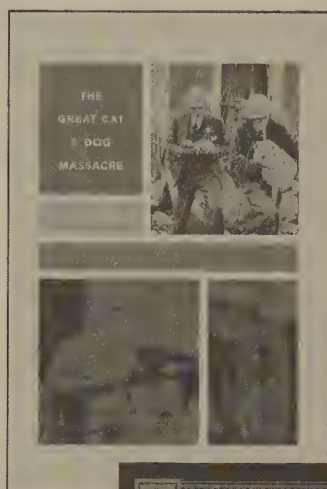
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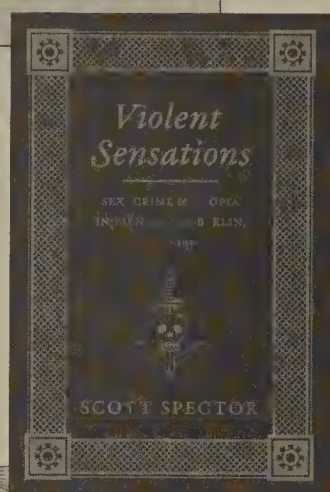
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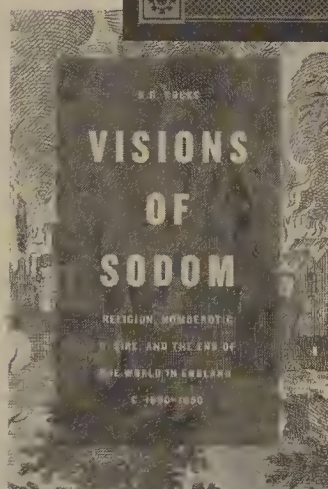


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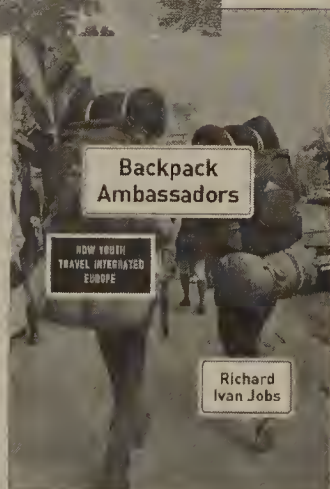
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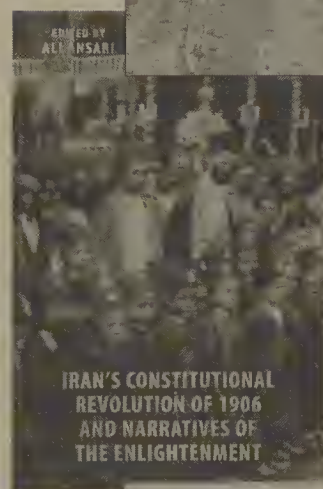
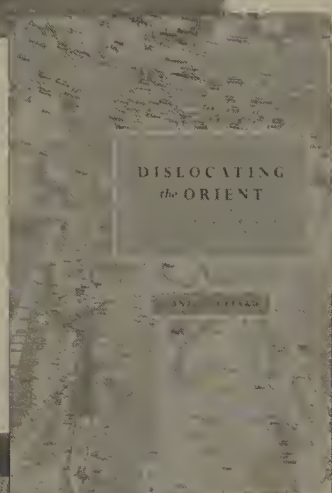
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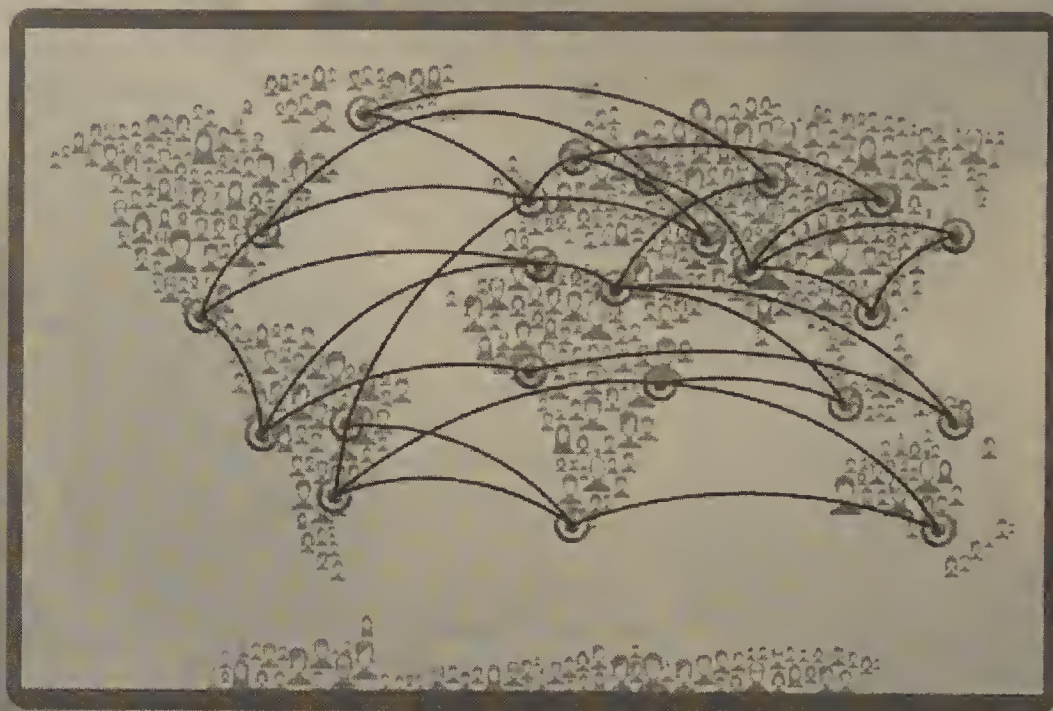
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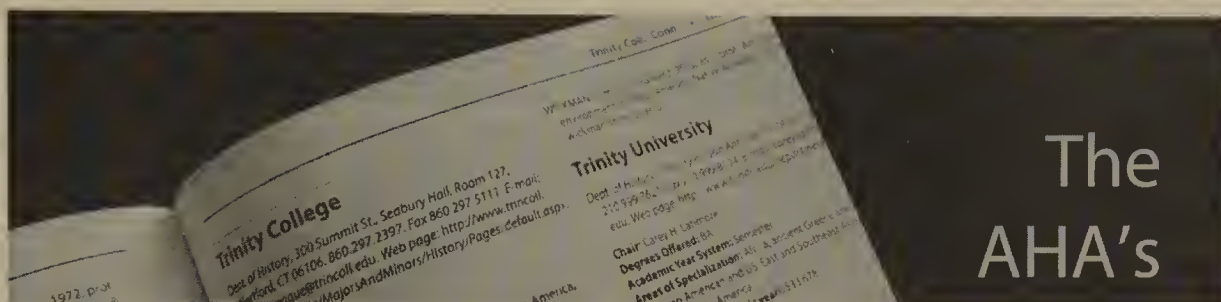


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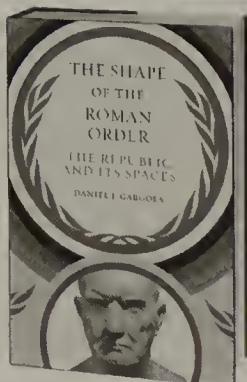
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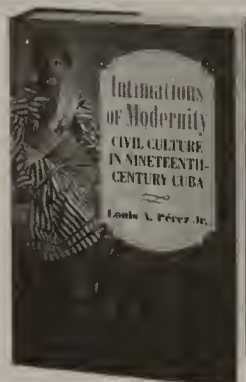
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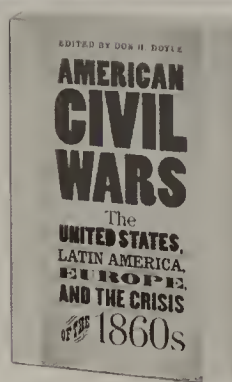
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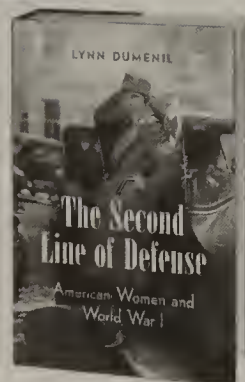
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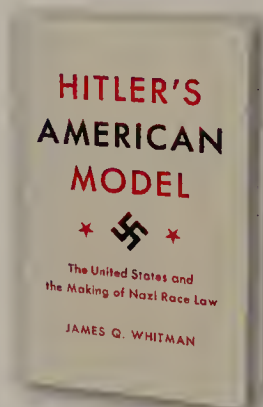
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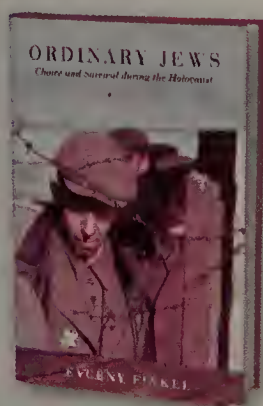
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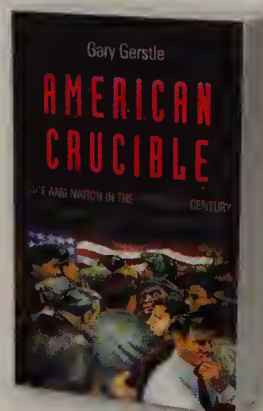
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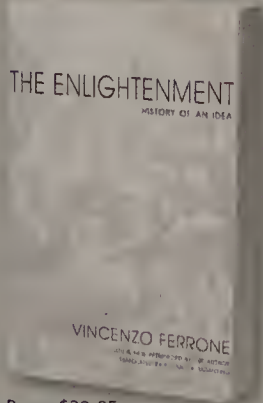
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